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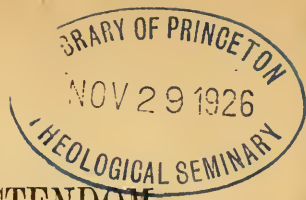




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THE  
RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF CHRISTENDOM.

THIRD PART.

EXHIBITED IN

A SERIES OF PAPERS,

PREPARED AT THE INSTANCE OF

THE GERMAN BRANCH OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE

AND READ AT

THE CONFERENCE HELD IN BERLIN, 1857.

Published by Authority of the Council of the British Organization.

EDITED BY THE

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ONE OF THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE Berlin Conference is the third in a series of conferences of Evangelical Christians of various nations and Churches convened by the Evangelical Alliance. The first of these was held in London in the year 1851, and the second in Paris in 1855. It is not attributing too great an importance to the Conference of Berlin, to say that in many points of view it surpassed them both in interest, as it probably will in the results which are yet to flow from it. The circumstances attending its origin, the development of its plan and purposes, and the character, proceedings, and consummation of the Assembly itself, all indicate to a reflective mind not only a new phase of Christian life, but a new order of events in the history of collective Christianity.

The Conferences of London and Paris stand in their origin intimately connected with the great Industrial Exhibitions of the respective years and metropolitan cities in which they were held, since it was the anticipated fact that those Exhibitions would draw men from all parts of the world to the capitals of England and France which suggested the idea of holding in them, at the same time, these Christian assemblies. But there was no similar inducement to hold a third Conference at

Berlin ; while, on the contrary, causes were known to be in operation in the north of Germany, and latent influences of an unfriendly, it might indeed be said of a strongly antagonistic nature, were justly suspected to exist in the city of Berlin itself, which might well have discouraged the attempt. Nor would the attempt have been made but for an unprecedented circumstance which, though altogether of a different kind, indicates as clearly the interposition of Divine Providence as the great Industrial movements which suggested and facilitated the antecedent Conferences. The Evangelical Alliance little anticipated the course in which it was about to be led, and was ignorant of the favour which God had already given it in the eyes of the first of the Protestant sovereigns of the Continent.

The desire to bring about a closer union among Protestants had long been cherished by the King of Prussia ; and at different periods, and by such methods as he deemed expedient, he had laboured to promote it. But he had never found the co-operation which he sought, and still longed for the success which he had never been able to achieve. His mind was thus predisposed to examine with candour the constitution and the plans of the Evangelical Alliance. Accordingly, he had attentively watched its proceedings, and made himself acquainted with its fundamental principles, and as the consequence was prepared openly to avow himself the friend of the institution whenever the fitting opportunity occurred. This the course of events in an unexpected manner, and not long after the Paris Conference, supplied. At first through the medium of private correspondence, and afterwards



by a Royal message sent to the annual meeting of the British Organization, his Majesty's adhesion to the Alliance was made known, and his wish that the next general Conference should take place in the capital of his kingdom. The intelligent and conscientious sanction of royalty was as encouraging as it was novel and unlooked for, and naturally supplied a stimulus before which many difficulties totally disappeared, while those that yet remained were materially diminished and weakened.

The preparations for the Conference engaged the continuous attention of Committees in Berlin and London; and at an early period, a preliminary meeting of brethren from various parts of Europe was held at Frankfort. Twice a deputation was sent to communicate with his Majesty the King, and was honoured with private audiences, the first deputation being composed of French and English members; the second, of English and German.\* An extensive correspondence was opened with every quarter of the globe, and a wide-spread sympathy and many prayers were thus engaged on behalf of the Conference. The different branches of the Alliance in Sweden, Holland, Belgium, France, Switzerland, in Turkey, Syria, the East Indies, and in the United States of America, expressed in various ways, and especially by published addresses, to which numerous signatures were attached, their earnest concurrence; and where no branch of the Alliance had been formed, similar addresses spontaneously emanated from

\* The first deputation consisted of the Rev. Mr. Vallette, of Paris, John Finch Esq., and the Rev. Dr. Steane; the second, of the Rev. Carr J. Glyn, the Rev. Hermann Schmettau, and the Rev. Dr. Steane.

Christian brethren, as at the Cape of Good Hope, and also from various ecclesiastical and missionary bodies, as from the Synod of the Moravian Church, from the Church Missionary Conference of Calcutta, and the German Missionaries in Bombay. British Christians of all denominations issued an address to their Continental brethren, signed by more than 3,000 persons, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with several of the Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland and some of the Colonial Bishops, gave public utterance from the press to their good wishes and prayers that the blessing of God might rest upon and prosper the Assembly. Amongst the public meetings, also, which were held to help forward the design, special mention should be made of one in London at which the Earl of Shaftesbury took the chair, and one at Lambeth Palace presided over by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the meantime opposition did not slumber. The Ultramontane press of France assailed the project, and found an echo in the Popish and semi-Popish journals of this and other countries. Hostility in England sprung up also from another quarter; for, as might indeed have been antecedently expected, the principles and design of the proposed Assembly were found to be as unpalatable to the party which exhibits Socinian tendencies as to that whose steps are carrying them in the direction of Rome. In Prussia, and some other parts of Germany, the rigid spirit of an intolerant Lutheranism, assuming at first the attitude of a fixed but passive resistance, roused itself afterwards into an earnest and active conflict. Not only was the press employed, but the pulpit and the pastoral conference also were made the arena of

a determined and sharp antagonism. But the friends of the measure were at their posts; the King never wavered; some of the highest ecclesiastical rulers avowed their support in the face of the opposition of their colleagues; the magistrates and municipality of Berlin gave practical proof of their good feeling; and the public crowded to lectures in which the objects of the Conference were explained, and the arguments of objectors refuted by its zealous and eloquent friends.

As the time of the meetings drew nigh, the interest on all sides naturally deepened. Many anxieties were felt lest expectations which had been so universally awakened should be disappointed, or any unforeseen circumstance should arise at the last moment to mar the harmony, or hinder the usefulness of the great Assembly. To those, however, who stood nearest to the central point of activity—who were most intimately engaged in the preparations, and who could take at once the most accurate and the most comprehensive view of the various parties and influences arrayed against it, or on its side—it became increasingly evident that the project had taken a strong hold upon the Christian mind both of this and other countries, and was destined under God to reach a happy consummation.

That consummation has been realised. For nine successive days there was gathered together in Berlin, an assembly of Christian men such as, considering the many countries from which they came, the many sections of the Christian Church which in some sense they represented, the official and ministerial character which the larger portion of them sustained, and above all the simple yet sublime object which had brought them

together—that city certainly had never witnessed before, nor perhaps any city in Christendom.

The volume which is now put into the reader's hands will make him familiar with the transactions of the Conference. Following the precedent of the former volumes, the materials are not arranged in chronological order, but in the order of subjects. The Berlin Conference was distinguished from the two preceding Conferences by the circumstance that it did not restrict itself to the reception of papers on the religious state of different countries, but embraced also the discussion, in essays prepared with great ability, of some of the most germane and important theological topics. To these the first place is assigned after the Salutations, and they are followed by reports full of authentic information from the various countries of the world.

It will not be out of place to speak here of the general arrangements of the Conference and the mode of its procedure. The meetings were held in the *Garnison Kirche*, one of the largest churches in Berlin, specially placed at the use of the Conference by his Majesty. Two meetings took place every day, one at ten, A.M., which sat till two; the other at half-past four, P.M., which continued till seven. Each meeting was opened and closed with devotional exercises; and to facilitate the united praises of the Assembly, an ingenious and happy expedient was suggested and acted upon. The same hymns were printed in the three principal languages—German, French, and English—and set to the same musical notation, so that with one voice, notwithstanding their different tongues, as well as with one heart, the whole Assembly sung together the praises of



God. To every member of the Conference a card of admission was presented, on which he found his name and profession inscribed, with the place from which he came, the programme of the meetings, and a map of the city. This card admitted him to the reserved seats appropriated to the members in the centre of the church. A large space under one of the galleries was set apart for ladies, and the galleries themselves, with the exception of the royal pew, which occupies the centre of one of them, were filled with the general public.

The papers read were most of them of great length, and occupied so much time that little opportunity was afforded for free discussion. Discussion indeed, as it is practised with us, seemed to be unexpected and unprovided for, perhaps not desired by our German brethren. There was no possibility of speaking at all unless you sent up your name to the Chairman, and your wish were in accordance with the views of the Committee, and then you rose to address the meeting at the time appointed by them. Under such conditions, free conference—in the English sense, at least—is impossible, and its absence was, certainly to the British members, a very considerable drawback from the enjoyment and practical value of the Conference. Nor was it possible, in meetings so conducted, that any business should be transacted, or any resolutions come to, embodying the deliberate and collective sense of the Conference. Some of the discourses, indeed, in which a subject had been elaborately discussed, closed with the enunciation of theses logically deduced and arranged, in which the writer sums up the chief conclusions of his argument, and presents them to the adoption of the Assembly ; but no vote was taken upon

them, nor, of course, unless they had been debated, was it proper that there should be. Once or twice, a proposition was submitted, which, from its obvious propriety, required no discussion, and was at once accepted; but either because there was no proper executive, or from some other unexplained reason, the vote was barren of the intended practical result. Indeed, this absence of practical business was the chief defect of the Conference; so at least we Englishmen would judge of it—perhaps not a German; but probably, an impartial looker-on would have deemed it an advantage had German patience and English activity, German thought and English work, been permitted a freer and fuller union.

On the Lord's-day which occurred in the middle of the Conference, some of the pulpits were occupied by foreign clergymen, though the instances were not numerous. At an early hour of the morning the English brethren, with a few from other countries, commemorated together, in the large room of the Hotel de Russie, the death of the Redeemer. It was a hallowed and delightful season, in which all minor differences of creed were forgotten, and Episcopalian, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist ecclesiastical forms, with probably others as well, were all lost sight of, while "in simplicity," and—may it not be added "in godly sincerity?"—every one communicated with all the rest, and all enjoyed "the communion of saints." In the evening a meeting of German and German-speaking brethren was held for mutual edification, in another large hall in the *Unter den Linden*. Some of the clergymen of Berlin took advantage of the presence of so many of their brethren from other parts of Germany to hold services in their



churches, during the week ; and the Gospel was thus preached twenty-seven times during the Conference in thirteen different churches.

There is yet another circumstance to be mentioned, of a character so unprecedented, and which created so extraordinary a sensation, not in Berlin alone, but wherever it became known, that it will certainly go down to history as the most remarkable occurrence of the Conference. His Majesty, who took every means to evince the deep interest with which he regarded this gathering of Protestant Christians from so many nations in the metropolis of his kingdom, determined to give to them all a Royal reception at Potsdam. Accordingly, on Friday, the 12th of September, three special trains conveyed them thither, and twelve hundred visitors spread themselves, in the afternoon of that day, through the magnificent apartments and the enchanting grounds of the New Palace. About six o'clock the King and the Queen arrived. The company in the meantime, after partaking of an elegant repast, had been arranged in one vast hemicycle, according to their nations, on the terrace to which the front of the Palace opens. It was intended that his Majesty should have been received in respectful silence ; but it was impossible to repress the enthusiasm of that exciting moment, when, alighting from his carriage, he threw himself upon the sympathetic affections of so many glowing and grateful Christian hearts. When the outburst of strong emotion had subsided, the Conference in its entirety was first presented to the King by the Rev. E. Kuntze, the Chairman of the German Branch of the Alliance. "Sire (said he), your Majesty has seen many armies, but never before such an

one as now meets your view ; an army not arrayed in martial attire, but girt with spiritual weapons, and wielding only the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God." The King replied with evident emotion, " I have always felt the most earnest desire to promote such a union among Christians, and hitherto it has always appeared to me impossible ; but now I rejoice to see it. The first step is taken. The first days of the Conference are passed with the joy and the blessing of the Lord. I trust it will be the same with the rest. My wish and most fervent prayer is, that there may descend upon all the members of the Conference an effusion of the Spirit of God, like that which fell on the first disciples at Pentecost." Afterwards, as his Majesty advanced through all the groups into which they had been formed, the different nations were successively presented, and some of the principal persons of each, and to all of them short and appropriate observations were made. While the King was thus engaged, the Queen had been supplied with the names of the ladies who had been most kindly included in the Royal invitation, and was paying similarly gracious attentions to them. The presentations being at length finished, as their Majesties were about to retire, amidst the renewed cheers of the Assembly, a voice struck the first notes of Luther's time-honoured hymn, so hallowed in the minds of German Protestants,

" Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,"

which was instantly taken up and sung by the whole Assembly with a hearty enthusiasm, perhaps never surpassed, and at its close, a venerable clergyman

stepped forward from the crowd and offered up a short but emphatic prayer, and pronounced the benediction. The King and Queen were evidently taken by surprise at this spontaneous and devout utterance of Christian loyalty, and stopping the moment they heard the psalm begin, reverently remained till the close of the prayer. At eight o'clock the special trains conveyed the visitors back to Berlin.

It was not an unnatural reflection by which many who were present on this occasion were led to contrast the scene then passing before them with scenes which had been witnessed in the same palace in the reign of the monarch who built it. In the *salons* through which they wandered, and the paintings and curiosities of which they were invited to inspect, were many *souvenirs* of Frederic the Great and Voltaire. In these halls they conversed, through those gardens they walked, plotting in their grand conspiracy against the sublimest hopes of men, the overthrow of Christianity. Here they "took counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed." "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision." What a striking comment on these prophetic words, in this application of them, was the Assembly now gathered on this spot! The infidelity which was to crush the Gospel has become as contemptible as it was always malignant, and the very palace in which it rioted in its bitterest and profanest hostilities, rung with the jubilant echoes of a thousand voices, united under the auspices of a nobler and worthier monarch in the lofty song of praise to Christ.

On the results of the Berlin Conference much might

already be historically written, and much more in the language of well-founded expectation. It is impossible that such assemblies of Christian men, meeting in free association, under the impulse of Christian love, for purposes neither political, nor scientific, nor in any sense secular, but purely Evangelical, profoundly respecting each other's convictions, yet standing together on the ground, not of latitudinarian indifference to dogmatic truth, but of "the faith once delivered to the saints," and stimulating one another to new activity in the service of the same Divine Master, should be barren of results. Rather, they are pregnant with consequences the moral importance of which can scarcely be over-estimated. The Church of the Future will feel their influence, and through the Church the world at large. Speculation, however, is unnecessary and perhaps profitless. Let the hopeful and observant Christian rather betake himself to his watch-tower, and there, in silence and prayer, await the developments of "the vision" which "is yet for an appointed time, but in the end shall speak and not lie."

# EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

---

## I.

### OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

## II.

### MUTUAL SALUTATIONS.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS BY THE REV. F. W. KRUMMACHER, D.D.

M. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG.

PASTOR SCHROEDER.

HIS EXCELLENCY JOSEPH A. WRIGHT.

REV. BISHOP SIMPSON.

REV. DR. BAIRD.

PASTOR KOLBENHEYER.

SIR C. E. EARDLEY, BART.

REV. G. SMITH.

JOHN HENDERSON, ESQ.

SUPERINTENDENT GÖTHE.

PASTOR GRANDPIERRE.

REV. J. S. JENKINSON.

PASTOR MOLENAAR.

PROFESSOR MALAN.

REV. DR. BLACK.

PROFESSOR CHAPPUIS.

## III.

### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE.





# EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

## OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

*September 9, 1857, Evening.—Royal Garrison Church.\**

THE meeting this evening was entirely occupied with devotional exercises, first in the German language, then in the French, and lastly in the English.

The worship commenced with the 100th Psalm, by Mendelssohn. This was not sung by the congregation, but exclusively by the cathedral choir, who attended for the purpose at his Majesty's special command, under the direction of their leader, Neithardt. The Assembly then united in singing part of Luther's hymn, "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott;" after which Pastor Kuntzel, of Elberfeld, read the 17th Chapter of the Gospel of St. John, and offered prayer.

Pastor Fysch, of Paris, after the assembly had again united in praise, read the 13th Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, and offered prayer.

Praise was again offered, and then the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, of London, read the 17th Chapter of St. John's Gospel, and prayed.

The Doxology was sung, and Pastor Kuntze, of Berlin, pronounced the Lord's Prayer, and dismissed the meeting with the benediction.

By an arrangement, previously made, the hymns were sung in the three languages simultaneously, German, French, and English versions of them being printed on the same page, and set to the same music—and this method was followed on all occasions.

\* All the meetings were held in this church, the use of which was specially granted by the King of Prussia, except the closing communion of the Lord's Supper, which was celebrated in the church of the Moravians.

## MUTUAL SALUTATIONS.

*September 10, 1857.—10 A.M.*

President: Pastor BARTH, D.D., Calw.

After singing, the President read the 12th Chapter of the Epistle to the Corinthians, and offered prayer.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS BY THE REV. F. W. KRUMMACHER, D.D.,  
COURT PREACHER AT POTSDAM.

Welcome, Reverend Sirs and Dear Brethren, from east and west, from north and south, under the protecting wings of the Prussian Eagle, in the hospitable bosom of the State to which, for centuries, the name of Refuge of the Church of Christ has belonged, and which has laid to heart more than any other country, from times of old even to this hour, the union of true believers. Welcome in the light of the favour and friendship of Him whom the royal singer thus praises: "How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings." See to-day a beautiful image of our future union before the throne of God. Never before has such a scene been witnessed on German ground. Happy and blessed days have we already enjoyed in our Kirchentags; but there stood then without our circle such men of God as Bunyan the Baptist, who painted for us the progress to heaven—as the heads of the Methodists, Wesley and Whitefield, those sounders of the spiritual alarm at a time when the Church, far and wide, had become a mausoleum, a house of the dead—men such as Chalmers, that witness with a tongue of fire, who was the founder of the Free Church of Scotland—and many others of like stamp. These stood then without the circle of the assembled brethren, and looked on only from a distance. To-day they are in our midst. The barriers of centuries have yielded. The brotherly love which springs from God has shattered the rusty chains. A portion of the communion of saints has become visible. Above the family banners of the Churches there waves the royal standard of our Lord Jesus Christ, with the inscription, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." How true is that verse of the old

psalm : " And of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her : and the Highest himself shall establish her. The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there. As well the singers as the players on instruments shall be there : all my springs are in thee."

It was not without a struggle that we attained to the position in which we to-day joyfully greet one another. Our opponents who have disturbed us are not, however, to be all classed together. We know well how to separate between the dull echoers of the word of command and those who have given the word. With deep pain have we seen, under the latter of these classes, men of note in the kingdom of God ; men of worth, with whom we have stood for tens of years, foot by foot and heart united with heart, in the holy war against the anti-Christian powers of the time, yea, men whom we have held and will ever hold high in honour as leaders in the battle of the Lord. They have, indeed, at least by silence, withdrawn many of the charges at first made against us, but we do not yet enjoy their presence among us. They look upon our meeting unfavourably from a distance. Why ? I will not return, my dear friends, to the old imputations which have ceased to be made. Those of the latest date may be thus stated : First, *our Assembly has no inward bond of truth* ; second, *it is not adapted to the time nor to the wants of German Evangelical Christians* ; and, third, *it is devoid of all fixed, clearly understood, and direct practical aims.*

I. It is said that our Assembly has only the appearance of a brotherly union, without any reality, and wants also inward truth, since each maintains his own particular Churchism, and the old boundary lines remain unmoved.

It is strange ! Once they charged us with an intended breaking up of the old ecclesiastical boundaries, and with the attempt at a union and fusion of the different confessions of faith and Church organisms, and now the very opposite objection is started. What is, then, the real truth of the matter ? Assuredly the Church barriers are not affected nor injured. I remain faithful to my native Church—faithful to her standards—faithful to her worship—faithful to her order—faithful to her arrangements, usages, and customs. I love my native Church as the spiritual mother which bore me into a new life through the living Word, which nourished me from her breasts, and which daily feeds, supports, strengthens, and quickens me with

her treasures of healing and of grace. I hold high her banner, and will hold it till this arm sinks in death, and I will praise her till this voice is for ever still. I consider that my beloved German Church reposes not less in the sunshine of promise and of hope than any other, and from my heart I wish her well ; I desire her prosperity, her perfection, both outwardly and inwardly. And as I feel towards my Church, so every one in this Assembly feels towards his. But we all know that the limits of the kingdom of God extend far beyond the temporary enclosures of particular Churches, and that that which unites us together is much more essential than that which separates us and keeps us apart.

We all bow to the authority of Holy Scripture, as the infallible revelation of God given us from heaven, above which no other authority can stand, be it reason or tradition, hierarchy, Church, or whatever else can be named. We all unite in prayer to the living God, the one Jehovah, in Three Persons, as He reveals himself to us in His Word—the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ—the only-begotten Son, who, before the laying of the world's foundation, dwelt personally in the bosom of the Father—and the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son. We all acknowledge ourselves to be lost by nature, unfitted to do anything essentially good, prone to that which is evil, without wisdom, without consolation, without help in ourselves, and dependent for salvation on the free grace and mercy of God alone. But we comfort ourselves likewise with the joyful confidence, that this grace has appeared in Jesus Christ, in Him who is God manifest in the flesh, and we see in His mediatorial work the only but the all-sufficient and superabundant cause of our happiness, and of our everlasting blessedness. We take hold of Christ through faith ; we honour Him ; with body and soul we give ourselves to Him ; and thus we find that, however sinful, miserable, and guilty we are in ourselves, we stand justified before the Judge of the living and the dead, not on account of our faith as a virtue, and much less on account of our good works, but solely for the sake of the righteousness of the Great Surety, which is accounted for grace to those who have faith in Him. On account of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost declares us in our conscience free from sin, gives a witness to our spirit that we are the children of God, fills us to overflowing with that peace which is higher than all the reason of man, and



sets forth in us the work of sanctification as He has already begun it in us.

But we know that the Holy Ghost unfolds His activity only in the method appointed of God ; therefore, while He accompanies the Word, we press the Bible ardently to our heart. We hold it to be our inalienable right, and our most holy duty, to deal directly, daily, and constantly with this sacred treasure. We honour the Church, the miraculous temple of God in the world, the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, in which He by means of the establishment in grace of the members of Christ, builds up, supplies with power, fashions, and completes the body of the Lord Jesus. We value highly the holy office of the preacher, founded and ordained by the Lord Jesus Christ himself, to make a path for the Spirit into the world, to make a way for His entrance into the heart ; and with solemn and reverential spirit, we consecrate the sacraments, those holy ordinances of our God, which not only witness our union with the whole Church, but also seal it—yea, more, and mediately convey it. We count ourselves blessed in the possession of these means of grace ; but we all unite in the common acknowledgment that we are guilty of repeated unfaithfulness in the use of them, and we find cause daily in our life to renew our confessions of sin, and to seek anew for grace and mercy. Yet, we know, “It doth not yet appear what we shall be : but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.” We comfort us with the secure prospect of a life after death, when we, transformed in body and soul into the likeness of the fairest of the sons of men, shall for ever praise and adore the works of God. Blessed with the same hope, moved by the same interests, and borne along by the same grace, though many of us are separated from each other, in body, by land and sea, we meet together, as children of one house, as fellow-heirs of a future inheritance, daily and hourly before the face of our common Lord and Master.

Behold, then, the deep soil by which our fellowship is borne, and in which our brotherhood is rooted ! Is it not really such as I have pictured ? And yet, forsooth, is our Assembly to be regarded as having only the *appearance* of brotherly union, and not the reality and essence of it ! Oh ! how much more reality is there here—not only than in a mechanical Church unity, which displays itself only as the artificial production of an



intolerable priestly despotism!—but also than in any society which has for its basis only the consistent form of an outward confession, even if it be true, or only a uniformity of outward Church forms and usages. Here with us, there is, we hope, a living membership, of which Christ is the Head; here, the fusing of hearts with the heart of the great heavenly Friend of Sinners; here we are gathered together in the love of Him who first loved us even to the death, and with a brother's love! But it now belongs to us not only to assert this, but also during the time of our joyful assembling together, as well as at all other times to prove it by action. And here we have to deal with the first *problem*, the solution of which is incumbent in these days. May all who looked upon our meeting with suspicion be unable, in breathing its atmosphere, to repress such a feeling as that which once forced the cry of astonishment from the heathen, “Behold, how these Christians love one another!” May they be convinced that we do not love one another at the sacrifice of truth or by the denial of it, but rather on account of the essential truths of God in which we all agree. May such a deep impression of these truths be made upon us, that nothing else may be found influencing us except a deep desire for the honour of the name of our God and the coming of His kingdom, and that no party interests of any kind may mislead and disunite us! May it especially be felt by you, with growing strength of conviction, that the arms of our brotherly love are wide enough to embrace in our hearts warmly, inwardly, without hypocrisy, as well as without the remnant of a feeling of bitterness, those likewise who have opposed us, and have given us the cold hand, but who bow the knees to the same Lord with us. May God grant that a problem so beautiful, and so much affecting throughout the honour of the Lord, may find among us, and through us, during these days of our association together, a solution honouring to His name!

II. It is further objected to our Assembly, that it is neither adapted to the present time nor to the wants of German Evangelical Christians. This objection only reacts upon those who have raised it, and who have imputed to our Assembly intentions which are altogether foreign to it. I assert the suitability of the time as well as the adaptation to the wants of the Protestant Christians of Germany. What is suitable to the time if not a distinctly-borne testimony of lively experience out of the mouths

of many witnesses, published as it were from the tops of houses, that Jesus is Lord, and that in Him alone the salvation and the happiness of the world is to be found for time and for eternity? What is more suited to the time than the united prayers of the faithful for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost over the Church, which has been in part converted into a wilderness, and over a generation sunk in indifferentism and materialism? What more required than an inward union of all true confessors of the Gospel in the common struggle against the destructive powers of unbelief as well as false belief, of anti-Christ, as well as pseudo-Christianity, which raise their head in our day with such certain expectations of victory? What is required if not a lively exhibition in fact, of the real union of the Protestant Church, in opposition to the shouts of triumph of its enemies, who, in the divisions of the Church and in its bitter party strifes, imagine that they witness its last death-struggles, and see the evidences of its speedy destruction? And what, my dear friends, answers better to the *necessities and requirements of our German Protestantism*, than an unmistakable evidence that the continuous quarrels of our theological schools and parties, with which we have long been satiated and weary, are about to yield to that union of heart for which Christ prayed in His intercessory prayer? What can be better fitted to meet the attempt on the part of some to revive the feelings of a century stiffened in scholastic forms, which were happily buried through the earnest theology of an Arndt, a Spener, and a Franke—a century in which, among other things, marriages between Lutherans and members of the Reformed Church were placed under the ban of the Church, and the Communion, in striking contrast to its name and intention, was raised as a rough wall of separation between Protestant husbands and wives, brothers and friends? What is more imperatively demanded by the necessities of our people than such a union as ours, in days when the incredible phenomenon has appeared, of Protestants regarding as a misfortune the work of God accomplished by means of such men as Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and Knox? or even condemning as an act of rebellion, the appearance of an armed troop of watchmen upon the walls of Zion who unite themselves anew to establish the principles of our holy Reformation? What is more wanted among us than an active and strong evidence that there exists an energetic and triumphant re-action against

the smuggling in again of a human priesthood into our Protestant Church, against the renewed attempt to assert the *opus operatum*, and against the design to change the *Church built on the Word of God* into a so-called sacramental Church?

If, indeed, there was any attempt to remove the standard of our faith or to establish a union without principles; to weaken the existing Church, or break her off in revolutionary fashion from her historical connexion; to introduce foreign customs, to Anglicise, or Americanise, or Frenchify the Church in Germany; then such a meeting as ours upon German ground would be as entirely out of place as it would prove devoid of results.

Let us have indeed, by the grace of God, a spiritual interchange of gifts. Ye French, give us of your energetic zeal in the service of the Lord; ye brethren from Italy, of your martyr spirit, and your joy in death for the name of Christ; ye Britons, of your apostolic activity, and your Christian world-conquering spirit; ye Scotchmen, of your completeness of faith, and your moral and Christian earnestness; ye Americans, of your reverence for the inspired letter of the living Word of God; ye Dutchmen, of your moderation, when thousands reeled in spiritual intoxication! Give us, ye Methodists, of your glowing zeal in the conversion of individual souls; ye Independents, of your self-denial for the interests of your congregations; ye Baptists, of your Church discipline and your congregational order; ye of the Church of England, give us of your reverence and love for the Church which nourished you from her breasts; ye members of the Moravian Church, of your broad-heartedness, wherewith ye recognise all in whom the image of Christ is to be seen; yea, give us each what you have, and we will thank God and you for the gift. But whoever among you can only think of the perfected Church as Independent, of the true Church only as separated from the State and entirely free, of Church government only as properly Episcopal or as properly Presbyterian, of the services of the Church as only rightly performed when according to puritanical observances, of religious freedom as being unrestrained and unlimited; let each keep his own idea. These are not the questions which are to be discussed and decided on here. They would carry war into our own camp, and lead the Conference to self-destruction. If there is any one who now thinks that he ought prominently to attack the policy of those German brethren who seek above all things to restore

again the Church creeds to the congregations, and to raise and strengthen the position of the Church and of the clerical office, let him remember that he is not in England, nor in Scotland, nor in Sweden, where, in general, the form of the truth still holds its place in the consciousness of the people, and where, perhaps, it may be suitable to the time rather to dwell upon love and upon the living action of faith, than upon the faith itself; but in Germany, where the thorny seed of Rationalism has overspread, even to this hour, such an immense extent of the field of the Church—in Germany, where the danger of glorying and trusting in a dead Church orthodoxy is still far distant, at least from the masses—in Germany, where, in wide circuits, the ignorance of the people in religious things is scarcely less than that of the heathen—in Germany, where congregations are here and there to be met with in which, for years past, the Lord's Supper has not been celebrated, because no one has been found desirous to join in it—in Germany, where even the Prussian Church authorities, in spite of their strict rule, have not succeeded in freeing the pulpit and the schools from infidel teaching, and where, certainly, the first duty is anew to set up once more the overturned lamp of pure and true doctrine, and to establish the knowledge of the truth.

Now, my friends, let us consider what the second problem is which is given us for solution. I give it in a few words. It is consideration for the peculiarities of the different Churches, in their history, guidance, special call, circumstances, and relations; it is a liberal acknowledgment of the good, the noble, the pious, and true everywhere, even if it meets us in the efforts of those whom we may consider partially in error; it is opposition to the unevangelical and the Romanising elements; it is an unambiguous evidence that we have not come here to add another to the parties of the Church, but rather to impart unity to those who shall meet as fellow-heirs at the throne of the Lamb. Oh, my friends and enemies be forced at last to the acknowledgment that this Assembly has busied itself with all earnestness to follow the wisdom which is from above, and of which James says, that it is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy!" God grant that this problem also may be fully solved.

III. Lastly, dear friends, it is repeatedly objected to our



Assembly that we do not know what we want, and, indeed, have no clear, well-determined, and directly practical aim. We will not take advantage of our accusers by asking them, why, if they hold such an opinion, they have arrayed against an unimportant and useless Assembly such an amount of eager opposition. They say our meeting will have no results, but will flow away like water. Yes, but we trust that it will flow away like the water of the Nile, which leaves behind it not destruction but only fruitfulness, and that flowing away from the inhabitants of the banks—whom its *floods*, perhaps, have *terrified*—it will be followed back to its channel with hymns of praise and thanks. If our Assembly will really have shown that the kingdom of God extends far and wide over the boundaries of each particular country, and of the particular views of different Churches; that the restoration of the broken peace of the Church, longed for by thousands of the widely-scattered faithful, lies no longer only within the bounds of possibility, but has been accomplished as a fact: if, in consequence of the attainment of such a result, hope is again excited in the faint-hearted, if new joy strengthens the desponding to build up the walls of Zion, and a spirit of mildness and temperance finds place in those eager for particular ecclesiastical forms, and the heart enlarges itself in all respects—if such results be attained, will not a most beautiful, large, practical purpose be gained? And if the members of the Assembly take with them the consciousness that nothing is more necessary for the conquest of the world than the gathering together of the faithful around the standard on which is inscribed “Christ all and in all,” nothing so much as a continually renewed study of God’s Word, a reproduction of ecclesiastical confessions out of that Word, and a united, strong, joyful action for the planting of the new life;—if, besides this consciousness, the presence together of brethren out of all lands impresses the conviction that the Lord, with His Spirit and His gifts, yet acts on the method of preparing *everywhere* the living stones for the completion of the building of His temple,—Oh, then, can any one doubt that our meeting will have had beautiful, real, practical advantages? Let us, however, lay to heart the objection, that we want practical objects, and let us feel that our third and last problem in these days, is not to appear as Doctrinaires and Idealists, but to consider diligently the wants of actual life, and to seek means



for their redress, in earnest counsel with each other, and in united and manly resolutions.

In all Christian lands there are still multitudes of the people who scarcely ever hear the sound of the Gospel. How can a way of entrance be opened up for the Gospel of Christ? Before the door of our Protestant Church, numbers of Romish priests stand and knock. How shall we provide for them subsistence and a field of operations, and prepare them for their entry among us? A number of small Churches languish under our home missions, in the midst of the isolation and persecution which they experience. How may we succour, comfort, establish, and strengthen what will otherwise die? Excellent undertakings, missionary and literary (I name among the latter the publication of the lives and writings of the fathers of Protestantism), threaten to be put a stop to for want of means. Will it not be suitable for us to attempt to support such undertakings? Our people are daily more and more poisoned by a light literature, which, like a flood, often dashes its destroying waves over town and country. Might we not begin to lead the poor stupified people into a better and more thriving pasture? Look at these few questions, which I could easily multiply; they point out to us at once a wide field of action, a sphere for practical undertakings, and for the direct bestowal of aid. Let us consider this field, if only to disprove this final accusation made against us; let us become truly practical in these pleasant days of our assembling together.

I now close, and declare herewith the Assembly of Evangelical Christians from all countries, to be opened. I add only the remark, that the foundation principles upon which this Assembly will continue to convene, are excluded from being made subjects of discussion, since they are to be considered as already fixed. I cannot forsake this place without bowing in the dust in the deepest humility, and yet with joyful, childlike confidence, to entreat, in the name of you all, the Saviour himself, our adorable Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, to be present in the midst of us to preside over us. May He show His love toward us, may He crown us with favours as with a shield, may He be so with us that we may be able to say, as was once said of the temple of Jerusalem, "The glory of the Lord filled the house;" and may He grant that at the close of our proceedings, thousands of the people, either anew or for the first time, may do homage at His

feet! That is what we desire, long for, pray for, and to that end may He, the Eternal One, speak His all-conquering, efficacious—Amen.

Privy Councillor Dr. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG, of Rheineck Castle, and President of the Kirchentag: Most honoured Assembly,—On my expressing a wish to be permitted to address a few words to you, the committee have allowed me to occupy this place, in order that after a clergyman, a layman of this country might, in behalf of this Assembly, welcome our dear guests and the friends here present. It is difficult to obtain a hearing after such an orator—one who, like a stormy blast, awakens the noblest feelings by the power of his words. Still, it is possible to restore our excited feelings to the resemblance of a mirror-like sea, on which the sun of eternal truth again looks down in peace, and on which the breath of the Spirit can be heard. It is difficult also for me to speak without a commission, or at least without a commission from the Evangelical Alliance, to which I do not belong. Still I must appear, even without a commission, in the name of our brotherly Alliance existing in Germany, which, on the occasion of the exciting words of the orator who preceded me, was called into existence nine years ago at Luther's grave—in the name of the German Kirchentag, which the Evangelical Alliance, in its invitation to this Assembly, thought necessary to distinguish in a special and kind manner from itself, and from persons in connexion with which, to our great regret, opposition has proceeded. But must difference necessarily involve separation, and even hostile opposition? The venerable creed, which in its simplest elements goes back to the earliest times, and which, in its grand simplicity, mentions the fact of redemption, the confession of which is renewed throughout the whole of Christendom every Sunday—this creed presents in close connexion two articles of faith, which are not one and the same, as many, including Luther, thought, and yet in a certain sense are one—"I believe in the Holy Catholic Church: The Communion of Saints." The first article is the watchword of our German Protestant Kirchentag. The Kirchentag seeks this Holy Church of God, which, as the richly-adorned Bride of the Lamb, followed her Lord in the form of a servant—it seeks it out of its fragments scattered over the earth. Where else should

it seek them, in order to exercise its love, and to labour in the work of union? The second article—the Communion of Saints—this holy bond of love which unites person to person over the whole of Christendom—is the lovely banner of the Evangelical Alliance—the cause of the meeting we celebrate at this time. One of these articles cannot exist without the other—the one demands the other. In the hands of men each must limit the other—may include or exclude too much. This is known to those who complain that the basis of the Evangelical Alliance is still too narrow. Only the heart must have no pleasure in exclusiveness and narrowness, but be ready in the Spirit of Christ, to embrace everything filled by His grace. Therefore, notwithstanding difference and opposition, in the name of the German brotherly Alliance—which here also is represented in some of its most distinguished members—I extend a brother's hand to our dear friends come from distant lands, and even from beyond the Atlantic. We heartily welcome these dear men of God, who each in their own sphere, in true confession of Christian faith and active love, are carrying out the victory of faith over the world. We thank them that they are come here to impart to us something of the gifts of the Spirit, of the joy which the Lord has given them, and to pray with us for the coming of His kingdom. May He hear this prayer! May He cause fire to fall from heaven, which shall kindle in our hearts a flame of love, that there may be no more Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female; but that we may be all one in Christ Jesus, that the world may believe that the Father hath sent Him! One word more to our dear guests, in the name of the German brotherly Alliance, about to hold its meeting in the course of a week at Stuttgart. Come, as each time hitherto some of you have come, and see that God's grace reigns amongst us, and hear how we also, in true catholicity, with open heart and voice, embrace all that belong to Him. A second and last word to this Assembly—for I am obliged to leave to-morrow evening, to attend the National Conference of Benevolence, which begins next week in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and which, in the love of Christ, examines into the wants of the poorest of our brethren, and seeks out means of relief; this Conference has addressed to me an appeal, which I could not refuse, to preside at its meetings. So rich and manifold is the blessing of fellowship which God has bestowed upon us in these dark days, in which,

till now, we have been wont to bite and devour one another. Therefore, before I leave, I must express one wish more. When, amidst the hosannahs of the people, our Lord made His entry into Jerusalem riding upon an ass, the Pharisees and Sadducees were offended at His lowliness, but the children waxed the more loud in their hosannahs. Men can accomplish nothing more than, like this beast of burden, to be the bearers of Christ. In these days, as five years ago, when the Kirchentag assembled in this same Church, the Saviour will make His entry into this city, and will reach the hearts of many. May He grant to all of us the simplicity of those children! May He direct our eyes, not to those who bear the burden, but to the precious burden himself! Let no man glory in men, or in the works of men, whatever those works may be; but let no one take offence at the feebleness of the human work. May God help us, for in every one of us lurks a Pharisee and a Sadducee! Let Christ, Christ alone, be the desire of our hearts! Let our hosannahs arise to Him with one voice! Let Him take up His abode in us! and before His throne there will ascend thanks, from many hearts, for the blessings of this day.

Pastor SCHRÖEDER, of the Reformed Church at Elberfeld: The privilege of speaking is granted to me, in order that I may express to the Assembly the brotherly greetings of the Presbytery of the Reformed Church at Elberfeld. [M. Schröder particularly mentioned that the Church which he represented had been distinguished from the time of the Reformation for its attachment to pure Evangelical doctrine, and then said:] In later times, besides other ecclesiastical bodies, the Dutch Reformed, the Baptists, and the Independents have formed Churches in the Wupper Valley. But whatever serious concern we may entertain for the particular banner entrusted to each struggling Church by the mighty Lord of battles, that banner has always been ready to bow itself before the general standard of the kingdom of our God and Saviour; and that not from any indolent wish for peace, but because the Christian, and not the Churchman, has the promise of eternal life. Not he who will stand or fall with Zwinglius, or Luther, or Calvin, but he that is born of God, overcomes the world. Because the Evangelical Alliance has so effectually brought into notice throughout Europe the importance of personal Christianity, without which none can see the kingdom of God, we salute the brethren composing it,



and their work. I must beg the brethren from England and Scotland to carry the salutation of the Reformed Church at Elberfeld across the Channel, and to tell their countrymen that we are full of gratitude to the Lord that they again, by the grace of God, fill the place that belongs to them; and as the most Biblical and apostolical nation of the earth, have acted nobly in being the first to form the Evangelical Alliance. I cannot help adding to this general salutation the expression of my personal esteem and reverence for the pious Archbishop of Canterbury. I have felt obliged, since I have seen him reviled in some of our religious papers, to remember him oftentimes in my prayers. I conclude with what I consider as belonging to the task intrusted to me—namely, the declaration of those patriotic feelings, in which I assure myself not only of the sympathy of my compatriots, but also of that of the representatives of foreign nations. Since the country of Berg, to which I belong, has been attached to the Crown of Prussia, this providential dispensation has never been so much a cause for rejoicing and gratitude as at the present time, when the prince who has had to wear the Christian's crown of thorns in the ignominy cast upon him by the world, has now avowed, not only his love to the Lord, but also to the Christian brotherhood. May the grace of God so warm the hearts of all in this Assembly, and especially of those of us who are theologians, that we shall raise our visors and throw down our iron gauntlets, and regard each other in the spirit of that love with which One has loved us who bought eternal redemption for us with His own blood. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all. Amen.

His Excellency JOSEPH A. WRIGHT, Minister of the United States at the Court of Prussia, spoke to the following effect: He said he had no expectation of addressing this Assembly till he was now invited to do so, and desired by his countrymen. He had come 6,000 miles from the West, and he raised his voice with joy in a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, which was especially dear to him, because he valued and held fast their confession of faith, founded as it was upon the Word of God. No system in the world stands upon such a foundation; none could have maintained its ground as that of the Bible had. Next to the Bible he held dear the history of the Reformation, and as it was related above all, in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs."



The Bible, he said, exhibits three societies or unions—the family, the State, and the Church. He remarked upon the family as the foundation of all social happiness. He particularly selected from among the facts and doctrines of the Bible the death and resurrection of Christ, repentance and faith, which are the foundation of personal religion, and upon which the Evangelical Alliance was also founded. It was a high gratification to him to come here to further this alliance, and he said so all the more, since he was surrounded by people from Athens, Armenia, Constantinople, and other places, who have all the same belief in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, in whom alone is salvation and grace. He rejoiced to be able to aid in the perfecting of this work.

The Rev. Dr. SIMPSON, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, said he desired to bring to the meeting the cordial greetings of America and of American Methodism. He had been delighted to be present on that occasion; and in listening to the address of Dr. Krummacher, he had almost fancied that he had heard the voice of Luther again on the earth. Americans, so far as he understood their feelings, rejoiced in that Christian alliance—an alliance not of creed and organisation, but an alliance in heart and in Christian activity. It reminded him of the little streams rising in the great mountains, which, though they could slake the thirst of the weary, could never carry the treasures of commerce to the world till they blended in one mighty river. The American national organisation, like that of Germany, was somewhat analogous to the Christian alliance: they had individual States, each independent, but united into one great national confederation. America, too, had a kind of alliance in itself, composed of all races in the world, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, mingling into one people, and he believed their prayer, from one ocean to the other, from valley to mountain top, was, that the song might yet be sung that Christians everywhere were one in Christ. As Methodists, his community loved the name of Luther, for from him Wesley received much of his theology. The speaker, in conclusion, handed in a written address from his brethren to the Conference.

The Rev. Dr. BAIRD, of New York, said he brought an address from New York, which was covered, in the course of a few weeks, with a great number of signatures; almost every post

brought new names, and even yesterday he had received additions, which still express the heartfelt sympathy of their writers with this assembly. Distinguished men of the State, as well as of the Church, the Governor of North Carolina and the preachers of the United Brethren, have added their support, and more especially the Episcopal Church, both by her bishops, clergymen, and laymen. The Presbyterians also, in their different communities, Baptists, and other bodies, have in like manner given their approbation and sympathy to this Alliance; he would not call them sects, because in America there are no sects, but all are parts of the universal Christian Church, mutually acknowledging each other as brethren in the Lord. Dr. Baird then read some few sentences from the address, and added that it was not probable that many of the subscribers would be present at the Conference, but they wished to testify to their brethren in Germany and in Europe that these noble efforts for Christian union had their warmest sympathy and prayers. May it be a glorious Assembly, by the presence of the great Head of the Church, of the Lord and King of Zion. Praised be God though all eternity! May this Assembly aid in arousing the faith which saveth, and promote the universal reign of our Lord Jesus over the hearts of men. We are living in important times. The enemies of Christianity, wearing the mantle of Romanism, of Socialism, of indifference, and of unbelief, are numerous, and the hatred of which they boast is openly known, but we do not fear, for the victory is certainly ours.

Pastor KOLBENHEYER, from Eedenburg, in Hungary: Dear Brethren in the faith,—I am certainly not authorised to represent the community, the 800,000 Lutherans in Hungary, to which I belong. They do not know that at this moment I am standing here and addressing this Assembly. But notwithstanding this, I will act to-day as if I were authorised, for I am certain that thousands upon thousands, from the banks of the Danube and the Theiss, turn with longing gaze to the evangelical metropolis on the Spree, and that thousands of hearts beat in heartfelt sympathy with you during these festive days. And, therefore, I believe that I am acting in accordance with the feelings of my brethren at home if I venture to express to you our salutation, our petition, and our blessing. Accept our greetings, beloved brethren from all parts of the world, accept our greetings from the distant country of Hungary, for the sake of the holy work

which has brought you together ; though as yet, with sighing and supplication, this holy work lies near to the hearts of the dwellers beyond the belt of the Carpathian mountains, that all may be gathered under one Head, that sacred Head which for our sakes has worn the crown of thorns. We ask you also to remember us at the throne of grace, and call upon Him with a loud voice, that He may break off from us, as from all the world, the two-fold fetters of unbelief and sin in which so many are yet held, and take from us the ban of self-righteousness, and make us as little children, for “of such is the kingdom of God.” This is my petition. And yet one thing more. As we in our native country hope in the Lord that He will arise and guide the threatened vessel of our Church from the storms of past years into a quiet haven—and we do hope in the Lord, who has given us an apostolic emperor and king—so may you be comforted, dear brethren, and wait for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and beseech Him that He will grant unto us all that spirit which is expressed in the words of that great father of the Church, “*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis liberalitas, in omnibus caritas.*” Amen.

Sir CULLING E. EARDLEY, Bart., President of the British Organization of the Evangelical Alliance, agreed entirely with all that Dr. Krummacher had uttered to-day. Christian England, he said, regrets and mourns over the fact, that for three centuries it has been separated from Christian Germany. He would not examine where the fault lay, but he believed that both parties must bear the blame, since much must be ascribed to the ecclesiastical arrogance of the Tudors as well as to German dogmatism, from which even great Luther himself was not entirely free. He related an anecdote of Louis XIV. One of the courtiers of that king, to whom it was of great importance to bring about a union between France and Spain, said to the King, “No longer any Pyrenees!” In the same way Sir Culling would say, “No longer a North Sea!” In the name of the common Saviour, he returned the hearty salutation which had this day been accorded his countrymen. They had come here to work in concert with the Germans for the Evangelical cause, for the religious good of both countries, and he hoped it would not be the fault of his countrymen should this Assembly pass by without making this desired unity a living reality. There is one friend of our great cause that must not

be forgotten. We are greatly indebted to the clergy of this country who have given us such a friendly welcome; and not less so to the laity of Germany, in whose name M. de Bethmann-Hollweg has addressed us; but above all these, we must remember one with the most fervent gratitude, who, amidst so many difficulties, has been true to his own views—His Majesty the King of Prussia. He was glad to be able to salute them all once again, and to express his hope that other guests who addressed them would participate in his feeling of joy.

The Rev. GEORGE SMITH, of London, Secretary of the Congregational Union: I come in the name of different Churches of the Nonconformists of England, to give our testimony to the love and friendship we feel for the Evangelical Alliance, and to express the sympathy of the brethren with the present Assembly. With all my heart do I agree with what our dear friend, Sir Culling, has said in reference to a closer union between Germany and England, and I hope that by the union of the two Royal families a still closer bond will be created. Although in England there are several denominations of Churches, Conformists and Nonconformists, Presbyterians and Methodists, yet, I believe that we have all a common ground of Christian doctrine on which we stand together, where there is space enough for all Christians; and I must add, that I believe this ground is larger and broader than is generally believed. And although, as we know, the peculiarities of individual Churches will not cease to exist, yet we feel that there is a line, which reaches from England to the Continent, which shall unite us with our brethren here. We think that no boundary, no stream, or ocean, or mountain, no degrees of latitude or longitude, separate Christians from each other; we believe that this love which has been to-day so eloquently brought home to us by Dr. Krummacher, will increase in all our hearts; and while I speak in the name of the Nonconformists, I do not think that I say too much if I take for granted that this is also the sentiment of the brethren of the Episcopal Church of England. We are delighted to be able to meet you here; we have been quickened by the hospitality, the love, and friendly affability with which we have been received; and we only wish to have the opportunity of proving to you again, in our own land, that both love and gratitude have a place in our hearts. I stand in official relation with the Congregational



body, but I do not speak here only in the name of my own Church, but also of the Baptists, the Methodists, and all other Churches that love the Lord; and I am persuaded that you all agree with me in the broad view we hold of Christian communion, that it is in accordance with the will of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who himself offered the prayer, that they all should be one in Him, and that the unity of the Church on earth should eventually be perfected in heaven. The blessing of God, His grace, and His mercy, be with you all.

JOHN HENDERSON, Esq., of Glasgow: As I have come to this Conference with great pleasure, so does it do my heart good to be able to say to you that I see a great number of representatives of different denominations from Scotland around me. Shall I tell you what has brought us here? We would see friends from every country face to face, and give each the hand as dear brethren in Christ Jesus; we would find hearts that are warmer than our own; and so refresh heart and soul, and draw new courage for the great work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. As far as I am concerned, I must confess that I regard this day as one of the most delightful which the grace of God has permitted me to see. Let us then unite our prayers, for that is the strongest bond of union that exists for Christians. Let us go hand in hand before the throne of our Heavenly Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; thus we may hope to be led by the Lord by a way that we know not.

Superintendent GÖTHE, from Melbourne, Australia: Honoured Brethren,—I have no authority, and yet I must give you a message from Australia, not, indeed, from my own Church, but from the English Evangelical Churches. With us in Australia, the Alliance is no mere appearance. The English Church, having at its head its bishop, that active man of God, Dr. Parry, unites itself with the Methodists, Independents, Baptists, Lutherans, and others, for prayer—and the bishop conducts the meeting—that God would send His quickening Spirit to that desert, so that we may all labour together in the good work. We have a Bible Society, presided over by Bishop Parry, besides tract and missionary societies. All these are unitedly conducted, in order not to divide our strength. With us the Alliance, dear brethren, is seasonable. For in Australia there are men of all nations, colours, and languages—American, French, Scotch, Irish, English; and in Melbourne alone there are 25,000 Germans; then



there are 40,000 Chinese, who came like a barbarian swarm to seek gold. The Chinese mission, with the Bishop of Melbourne at its head; the mission among the Papuans, which failed, after having been carried on twenty years, from being the effort of individual Churches; and even the Moravian Brethren, with whom generally everything succeeds, have been obliged to give up their mission-house because the work was too much for their single strength. Now all Churches have united in the work. I bring you one greeting, and I know our brethren will rejoice when they hear of it, "It is not the time to sleep." Let us lay these words of our beloved Luther to heart, and be convinced that the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation.

Pastor GRANDPIERRE, of Paris: Dear Brethren,—We salute you all in the name of all the Evangelical Christians of France, and especially of the Reformed Church of France, to which I belong. We are united together, not only by the bond of one faith and of one love, but also by gratitude to German Christians, to whom we are historically indebted. In the beginning of this century, when our Church began to revive, we had no theology, no pastors; our believing brethren were scattered, our Churches were levelled with the ground. Then from the books of German scholars, and from the universities of Germany, we were able to draw some knowledge in religious matters; although you know yourselves how rare at that time Christian theology was in Germany. We are united to you by good deeds; where is the Protestant in France who can forget that at the time when our ancestors under Louis XIV. were persecuted, thousands of Protestant Christians sought and found a refuge in Prussia, and especially in this large city? When we go through your streets and your public places, do we not see the churches, the schools, the gymnasiums, which the kings of Prussia have given to our ancestors, who found here a second home? Blessed be the memory of these Christian kings! blessed be the present King of Prussia, who walks so faithfully in the footsteps of his forefathers! Now, dear brethren, I will in conclusion give you my confession of faith, as some of our brethren have already done. Heart and soul I agree with what Dr. Krummacher has said. I am a friend of my Church; I love the Reformed Church. I will serve her, and give up my life to revive and enlarge her borders; but I confess with sincerity that I love still more the universal Church of Christ. We must have a hand always ready to press

the hand of all Christians, and a heart open to all Christians. I stretch out this hand to all Churches and to Christians of all nations, and this heart I open to you all; and I pray that God may make it more and more warm and ready to love the brethren in Christ. Amen.

The Rev. J. S. JENKINSON,\* Vicar of Battersea, said that, as a clergyman of the Church of England, he rejoiced to be present on that occasion, and to meet so many brethren beloved in the Lord, from so many places far and near, who served the same God and Saviour, though in different ways, since the differences that prevailed amongst them were only the differences of the rainbow, which is coloured by one light. The Church of England had taken no mean part in the great work of the Reformation, and was in close connexion and sympathy with some of the forefathers of the German Churches. He hoped that that union would be revived, and that every hindrance to it would be removed. Many of the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of England were deeply interested in the present movement, and were pouring out their souls before the throne of grace for the success of the Berlin Conference. Many of them, as well as considerable numbers of his Nonconformist brethren, were personally present, but still more were present in spirit. The Archbishop of Canterbury had expressed the deep interest he felt in the movement, and in a letter received by the Committee his Grace said, "I am much gratified by the kind invitation that has just reached me from your Committee. It is not, however, in my power to avail myself of this obliging offer, as my official duties will not allow me, except under pressing necessity, to leave this country. My prayers will attend the meeting of the Conference, which I trust will have the Evangelical stamp of promoting the glory of God and goodwill amongst men." Dr. Krummacher was right in saying that the Church of England sought only the submission of all mankind to the cross of Christ; Germany had greatly assisted her in the work, having sent to the Church Missionary Society, and other bodies of a like character, some of their best and most successful labourers. He believed that great things were about to take place, that the Church was about to be enriched with all the fruits of the Spirit, especially the fruit of love and union, which would prove her

\* This address, and those that follow, were delivered on subsequent days, but are properly placed here among the salutations.—ED.

great strength, by which she would overcome all her enemies and promote the kingdom of her Lord and Saviour. Let them all unite in endeavouring to obey the great law of Christ, that they should love one another, even as He had loved them, bearing especially in mind His last prayer, that they might be one, as He and the Father were one, that the world might know that the Father had sent Him.

PASTOR MOLENAAR, of the Mennonite Church at Monsheim, near Worms: "This is the day the Lord has made; let us rejoice and be glad in it." Honoured and beloved Brethren in the Lord,—It would not be necessary that I should speak a word in your Assembly; but I feel urged to it, as belonging to a Church that is little known, but which yet is a part of the Evangelical Alliance. I think I now see as in a vision on this blessed alliance day, my adored Lord and Master Jesus Christ enthroned as our President, and below Him at His feet are sitting the founders of our Churches. I see Dr. Martin Luther; I see Master Philip next him; I see John Calvin, I see Zwinglius, and together with them Menno Simons; I behold them at the feet of their Lord and Master, who shed His blood for them on the cross. And now in heaven they are united in the most heartfelt alliance.

And now let me offer you my brotherly salutation. Time presses too much for me to greet all the dear brethren individually; the honoured President of the Committee, who invited me to this sacred day; the brethren from England, especially those Baptists who have been in my house\*—I greet these and all the brethren with a hearty Evangelical salutation.

One word let me say to show that in the Mennonite Confession we are acting on the principles of the Alliance. Many of the Mennonite ministers, in whose name I am now speaking, have resorted for instruction in theology to your great masters. As for example, my own fatherly friend Dr. Nitzsch, Dr. Sack, Dr. Muller, and other excellent and beloved professors of Germany, in Bonn, in Heidelberg, in Halle, and here also in Berlin—in a word, your teachers have also been ours.

Further, we have an alliance, when a preacher among the Mennonites stands in so close and brotherly a connexion with the brethren of the Reformed and Lutheran Confessions, that they do not speak of their respective Churches, but of the one

\* Rev. Dr. Steane.

Lord and Saviour whom they all serve. And to this the dear brother who has just spoken could testify as well as his esteemed brother, Dr. Krummacher. Into our Mennonite Churches of the Palatinate, of Baden, and of North America, moreover, we have just introduced a hymn-book, in which you will find all the glorious hymns of the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches unchanged; and the first baptismal hymn of the Mennonites—who, as is known, hold the baptism of adults, and will maintain it as long as God gives them grace and power to follow His Word according to their own conviction—is as follows:—

“ On Jordan’s banks behold our Lord,  
Obedient to His Father’s word,  
Accept from John the holy sign  
That sealed Him to His work divine.”

And in the second verse:—

“ Christ bade His ministers go forth  
To preach the Word to all,  
Lying in sin, exposed to wrath,  
To turn from Satan’s thrall.  
He who believes and is baptized,  
Shall surely blessed be;  
And born again, no more exposed  
To death and misery,  
His portion is in heaven.”

And this hymn is by Dr. Martin Luther.

In this spirit, my beloved friends, I salute you once again, and pray the Lord of all grace that from this time we may be always more and more closely united in the sacred work of the Alliance, that one day we may rejoice in the eternal alliance with our fathers in the faith, the Reformers. Amen.

Professor MALAN, of Latour, Sardinia: Respected Brethren in the Lord,—I am deputed by the elders of the Waldensian Church to convey its greeting to this Assembly. The Waldensian Church has heard with joy that an Evangelical Alliance has been founded, for she has herself enjoyed the advantages of an Evangelical Alliance now for 200 years. All Evangelical Churches have testified their love for the Church of the Waldenses, and their interest in her welfare; and I seize this opportunity to express the thanks of this Church to all other Churches. [Professor Malan then stated that he had been requested to lay before the Assembly a paper on the Waldensian Church, drawn up by the Rev. M. Meille, but as it had



not come to hand he must substitute for it such particulars as occurred to his own mind. This he did; but as M. Meille's paper, which afterwards arrived, will be found in a subsequent part of the volume, we need not give them here. In concluding, M. Malan said :] May we not hope that we shall live to see a time in Italy like the Reformation of the sixteenth century in Germany? It can only come by the power of the Spirit of God; yet we will preach the Gospel, and receive unto our communion those who, by the grace of God, may turn to the truth. We will pursue our work with prayer, and will faithfully abide by the Word of truth; and I trust that you who sympathised with us in the time of our trial, and who then supplicated for us, will also now offer up your prayers for us in the time of our prosperity.

The Rev. Dr. BLACK, from the United States: I have been deputed by the Presbyterians to convey their heartfelt greeting to this Assembly, and to testify their gladness in the present gathering. They have felt so cordial a sympathy with this Assembly that they laid before their last Synod an address which has been signed by all its members. They are under special obligations to Germany; since, when they were in America destitute of all ecclesiastical care and of preachers, they sent over to Holland and received from thence new servants of the Lord. They hold the Germans as such very dear. With the exception of Germany itself, there are probably to be found in no land so many Germans together as in America. How highly the Germans are there esteemed one instance alone will show. In the State of Pennsylvania, in which I reside, a German has been chosen Governor. The writings of Krummacher, and other Germans, are circulated in English translations. The Presbyterians descend from the old Covenanters of Scotland, and as these showed their fidelity to the Lord, so they also desired constantly to show their fidelity. I am deputed to present an address, by which a bond will be formed, as formerly they established a covenant in Scotland, a bond of love to unite all together in one community, so that Germans, English, French, and Americans may be one in the Lord. We desire that ye may receive grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, in all your present deliberations.

Professor CHAPPUIS, of Lausanne: Brethren beloved in our Lord,—I convey to you the salutations of the Evangelical



Alliance of French Switzerland, more especially of the Canton de Vaud. In this canton there are members of different Churches. I myself belong to the Free Church. Several of the brethren who have spoken to you have, on the one hand, expressed their brotherly love, and on the other their attachment to the Church to which they belong. I shall avail myself of the same liberty. We are attached to the principles of the Free Church and to her independence; still we rejoice to give the hand of fellowship to all those who acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ as the Son of God. The party wall which separates us will never be so high that our hands cannot stretch across to our brethren of other Confessions. Therefore, brethren of different Churches, accept our hearty and brotherly salutations. May the Lord abundantly bless you! It is a good thing that the brethren should meet thus to speak together upon Divine things; it is good to feel that differences exist, if only we love each other at all times. These days which we have passed here together will be blessed; but the fact that an Evangelical Alliance exists, and that it has met in Germany, will be more effectual and beneficial in its effects than even the speeches delivered. Some one, who was not accustomed to hear sermons, expressed himself thus: "he felt," he said, "more edified by the temple than by the preaching." Well, we too may say that however excellent the speeches may be, the Alliance itself will be a more effectual blessing; for it is carried on in a spirit which will attract even those who are opposed to it. Some of the blessings which I expect from the Alliance are the following: First, the Alliance will teach us to understand and comprehend the unity of the Church, the true unity as opposed to a false unity. Secondly, these assemblies will teach us to understand what sects are, and what a sectarian spirit really is. By its means it will be clear to us that men can belong to different Churches and principles without belonging to a sect or being sectarians. Thirdly, these assemblies will reveal more distinctly and positively the spirit of Protestantism, for the latter is often hid by a half-Catholic character. Lastly, these assemblies lead us to the organisation of Protestantism. Now is the time that we should exclaim, "To thy tents, O Israel!"—in order not only to offer resistance to Catholicism, but also to Infidelity. The living children of God must and ought to come together. It ought not to be forgotten that we are the salt of the earth,

neither ought the communion of the saints to be forgotten. This communion becomes weaker if it cannot exhibit and express itself. This is also to be seen here. It is necessary that the children of God should approach each other, for upon that depends their activity on behalf of those that are without, an activity which in our century is essential. Allow me, beloved brethren, to conclude with the words of a man whose name you know, and whom we venerate as a sort of patriarch in our Church—I mean Vinet—who says: “Everything in the Western world invites the Christian to withdraw himself to the holy mountain; let us hope that no Menenius may come to lead away the people with an idle tale.” May the Lord bless all the Churches that have here their representatives! May He bring His children together from all the ends of the earth, and give them grace to testify more powerfully, more unitedly, and more effectually to the truths of the Gospel! Amen.

#### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE.

At the close of the Salutations on the first day, a Business Committee was appointed, whose functions are defined in the following resolutions.

JAMES CUNNINGHAME, Esq., of Edinburgh, said he had permission to submit a resolution authorising the appointment of a Committee to which matters of business might be referred with more advantage than considering them in the Conference. Upon his motion the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

“That a Committee be now appointed to take into consideration the religious interests of Protestant Christendom, whose principal business it shall be to inquire into the state of Evangelical religion in the different nations, and to report the result of their inquiries to the Conference.

“That it be an instruction to the Committee to divide itself into as many Sub-committees as to them may seem expedient.

“That the inquiries of the Committee, through the medium of its Sub-committees, be especially directed to ascertain—

“1. What institutions or committees exist, whose object is the promotion of the Gospel, or whose operations substantially subserve that purpose, to which assistance might be rendered by brethren of other countries; distinguishing those in which

all Evangelical Christians are united, and those which are connected with particular parties.

“‘2. What new objects there are to the advancement of which it is desirable that the united efforts of Evangelical Christians of various countries should be invited; and what local facilities exist in any particular country by means of which to promote them.

“‘3. What are the hindrances, whether of a general nature, or existing in different nations, to the propagation of the Gospel, or to the free profession of particular forms of the Christian faith, and what steps may be best to take in order to remove them.’

“That the Committee have power to take such measures as to them may seem proper, in cases where Christian brethren are hindered in the exercise of their worship, and in the free development of their religious activity.”

The names of the Committee were then read.

## SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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### I.

THE RECENT CONFERENCES OF CHRISTIANS,  
CONVENED BY THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE,  
COMPARED WITH THE ASSEMBLIES OF THE  
CHURCH IN FORMER PERIODS.

BY THE REV. DR. JACOBI,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

### II.

THE BONDS OF CHRISTIAN UNION, AS SUPPLIED  
BY THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

BY THE REV. J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF GENEVA.

### III.

FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE EARLIEST ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS, SHOWING AN ANALOGY BETWEEN THEM AND THIS PRESENT CONFERENCE.

BY THE REV. DR. PIPER,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.





# SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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## I.

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BY THE REV. DR. JACOBI,  
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, HALLE.

*Thursday, September 10, 1857.—Evening.*

President: The Rev. Dr. NITZSCH, Oberconsistorialrath and  
Prevost of Berlin.

I SHOULD not venture to compare such an Assembly as I have now before me, gathered from so many countries of Christendom, with any provincial or national council—there is no ground for a parallel, except it be with the œcumenical councils of the ancient Church. But how can an assembly unofficially convened, consisting only of private individuals, having no authority to legislate, and pretending to none, be compared with those councils which are among the most important events in the history of the Church, and which are so rich in results; the dogmatic decisions and other enactments of which are accepted as law by a large portion of the Church, and are regarded with reverence by the rest? I reply, that no comparison is meant to be instituted with reference to the importance of their results, but only in the remarkable relation in which they stand to each other, as to their character and qualities, and the significance they both possess as signs of the times. Such an extraordinary phenomenon as a Conference of Evangelical Christians from all countries, requires me to try to discover the peculiar principles upon which it rests, as well as those of the ancient councils to which we compare it.

I start from a general consideration. All intellectual life,

when it develops itself, be it taken singly or as a whole, is, on the one side, controlled by the objective forces which govern it as a law, and, on the other, by the subjective individual qualities which are brought into opposition to them. Captivated by sensuality and sin, these two sides do not always develop themselves in harmony, but the one or the other predominates; and it is a law of life that the objective forms which bind the individual first preponderate, the individual forms of life slumber till their day comes, and, awaking, they seek for harmony with the objective and universal. This universal law may also be applied to the kingdom of God; and this the Apostle Paul has confirmed when he says: "For the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all."

The history of the Church may be divided into two great divisions. The first is that period during which the individual and subjective elements are bound by the sovereignty and preponderance of universal; the second, when personality in Jesus is freed, and individual right is acknowledged. The Reformation marks this division. Let us look back to the times before the Reformation. Who does not know how the Church then held the individual in its guardianship, how the universal priesthood was replaced by a class of priests, which was of Jewish organisation and character; how the invisible Church was overshadowed by the visible—the visible Church being represented by the clergy, that priestly class which more and more infringed upon the place which the Church ought to have occupied. From this class legislation proceeded; it was itself a necessary law, and the laws which it pronounced became a tradition by its side. The Church is led by the Spirit, and the Spirit, so they say, speaks through the priests, and their decisions becoming traditions are the pillars of that objective power which the Church exercises over the individual—for the individual may, indeed, examine, but the result is prescribed to him; he may doubt, but he must submit.

All the lines of authority in the ancient Church unite more and more in the synods. It is significant how the rise of synods is connected with a victory of the objective power over the subjective emotions, and, indeed, with a victory which, at the same time, might lay claim to having right on its side. The Church was moved by the Gnostic arbitrariness, by those speculations derived from heathenism which, under the name of Christianity, extended themselves, in the most arbitrary manner,

to the highest subjects, for nothing was too high nor too deep for them to fathom. Against these subjective speculations of a rationalistic tendency appeared a subjectivism of a supernatural kind in the Montanists. They appealed, in opposition to speculation, to the decisions of their pretended revelations; but what they pretended were revelations of their prophets, was, after all, only subjectiveness and arbitrary will—they were revelations invented by themselves. The Church then assembled in council to consider how it should be stemmed; and the means seemed to offer itself in the assembling of the presidents of the congregations, the bishops, about the middle of the second century, to come to an understanding upon certain general measures. The priesthood now interposed its authority, representing itself to possess objective Divine right, and destroyed the subjectivism which opposed it. The necessity and beneficial effect of this measure was soon so universally acknowledged, that it was adopted in different places, so that at the beginning of the third century Tertullian speaks of the synods as the representatives of entire Christendom. The decisions of these synods had reference to those who took part in them, and over whom they could exercise authority. What, now, was more probable, than that the Emperor Constantine—upon a question which supremely exercised the minds of Christians, that of the Divine dignity of Christ—should have thought of calling together a synod of the whole empire, and so of the whole Church, the decisions of which should have universal authority? The Synod of Nice was convened. Its decisions were at first accepted reluctantly, but their profundity gained by degrees the approval of the most important leaders of the Church. And, as the Council of Nice succeeded in establishing its dogmas, it established at the same time the authority of synods, which thenceforth appeared a suitable means for arriving at information and decisions upon doubtful and disputed questions. It is true that these assemblies were not the representatives of the entire Christianity of the empire, the Oriental Christians being almost exclusively represented at the Council of Nice. The Council of Constantinople consisted only of 150 bishops, called together for specific purposes. It cannot be denied that the spirit which ruled in these assemblies did not in every respect preserve its character for holiness; but the importance which marked the dogmatic decisions of the ancient councils, gained for them an extended

recognition, and was victorious in the greater part of the Church, which more and more began to see itself reflected in them. It beheld in them the expression of the mind which led and inspired the entire Church, in a manner as conspicuous as it was incontrovertible. The Council of Chalcedon said : If Christ promises His presence to two or three who are assembled in His name, how much more will He be among so many bishops who have come together from such distant parts in order to confess His name ? The Church was idealised, and to a still higher degree the councils were idealised. Augustine declares, that in the œcumenical councils the holiness of the fathers is just as great as their confession of Divine things ; they expressed what was going on quietly in the Church, giving it a legal form and sanction ; they cannot err ; the one only completes the other and carries out the development more fully. The œcumenical councils are thus the illuminated pinnacles by which the degrees in the development of the Church may be recognised. The laity were excluded from giving their vote on doubtful matters ; as a rule, they were permitted to be present, but they were passive in their demeanour ; the decision belonged exclusively to the bishops. This was not even accorded to the subordinate clergy, who were allowed to join in the discussion, but were not permitted to take part in the decision, except when they appeared as representatives of their bishops. The laity being, under the conditions of priestly government, excluded, made itself felt in a way entirely secular, as the council was obliged to be subordinate to the will of a layman in the person of the Emperor. It was he who called the council ; and who else ought to have done it ? He alone could take the initiative. But now he kept watch over the council. The confirmation of the decisions depended upon him, and from this it arose that too much regard was paid to the Emperor's will and pleasure.

The settling of dogmas was one of the principal duties that devolved upon these councils, and we know, and have already remarked, how much the Church is indebted to them in this respect. Being, however, induced by the strife of parties to decide at once, the dogmatic decision became a subject of too great importance ; and thus life in Christ, and faith in Him, were placed more in the background, and were not recognised as being of greater significance than the dogma. This was more especially the case with the shallow Arians, in their pride of



intellect. The profound teachers of the Church have not quite overlooked this point of view. It was recognised by them as well as by Gregory of Nyssen, that love to the Lord is, after all, the decisive proof. Under these influences, the opinion of the bishops of Pamphylia was also expressed to the Emperor Leo towards the end of the fifth century. He acknowledges gravely the dogma which the Council of Chalcedon has pronounced, but then adds: "The doctrine of two natures must not be carried out into subtilities; it is not necessary to salvation, and might easily bewilder the mind; it is important for controversy, but the still greater doctrine is involved, that in these forms we have Christ."

The councils did not succeed in maintaining this point of view consistently or in all its purity. They were, therefore, much more interested in separating and dividing, and were forced to this by the frequently objectionable contrasts which were directly opposed to them. But they carried this further than was necessary, even to parties who did not differ essentially from the truths of the Church, belonging in their origin more to the past, and having no longer an importance at that time, and who were, even at a later period, treated with the same severity. The councils which now in this way claimed the authority of the Church had, in a certain degree, taken the development of the Church out of the hand of the Montanists, for the latter no longer ought to be the leaders of the dogma, but should follow the leadings of the council.

This aristocratic constitution, according to which the Spirit of God should be bound to the priesthood of the Church, was again unable to maintain itself for a long time. The councils were once above the Pope, and as every other individual priest, or layman, so must the Bishop of Rome submit himself to the decisions of the council. But the Church turned more and more to a central point; her chief aim was a united representation, and the Pope raised himself above the councils. Aristocracy yielded to monarchy. It was progress of a reformatory character, by which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some of his absolute authority was taken from the Pope and in a measure restored to the aristocracy—that is, to the general councils—which should be the objective power in the Church, the universal and necessary authority. It was in the fourteenth century that Marsilius of Padua, in his celebrated effort to pave



a way for the peace of the Church, and to defend the Emperor against the attacks of the Pope, propounded his theory upon the rights of the councils, which are to explain the Holy Scriptures for the Church with binding authority, and which should, at the same time, constitute, together with the Scriptures, a power which no one should dare to resist, not even the Pope himself. These councils should be the representatives of the Universal Church; they should not be composed simply of the Pope, his chief clergy and bishops, but the lower clergy also should take part in them, and especially learned men who are capable of judging on Church matters, and even the princely laity should still maintain their rights.

These are the ideas which moved and shook the Church to its foundation, and effectually prepared the way for the Reformation. They pervaded the great men of the Paris University in the fifteenth century—Pierre d'Ailly, John Gerson, and others. John Gerson, a brilliant star among the many luminaries who shine forth so conspicuously in that age, published a doctrine of Church authority which is founded upon the rights of general councils. They only represent the entire Church, and the entire Church is not the Romish Church, but includes the children of God in the Greek Church and in those Churches also which are not acknowledged by the Pope, but are condemned by him. This was a most praiseworthy effort to place the decision on the ground of personal relation to Christ. Gerson, therefore, approved of councils being constituted upon more liberal principles. Not only clergymen should be chosen as members, but, like Marsilius, he would have excellent, pious, and learned men from different ranks chosen, princes also and their representatives, for these too had to care for the good of the Church. But, after all, Gerson, together with all his friends, stopped half way; they placed the Pope below the council, but still they did not root out the hierarchy; they conceived the idea of a universal priesthood, but they disregarded its consequences. But still the trial was to be made. Those great councils met together, which so peculiarly characterise the history of the fifteenth century, the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Bâsle. Where has there been a council which could compare, either in splendour or magnitude, with that of Constance? It was, perhaps, the most magnificent assembly the world had seen. At this council the genius of Gerson

worked its ends; there he preached his principles with unbending courage, and with great propriety, amidst impending dangers. The council, led by him, set itself the great task of judging three popes and healing the schism of the Church; thus to restore peace, and to accomplish a thorough reform. Unanimity was restored within the limits of the Catholic parties, and the schism terminated; but purification did not follow. Gerson and his council were defeated by Papal absolutism, because half measures could not withstand the powerful influence of a consistently and thoroughly-formed tradition and constitution. Papal absolutism seemed to raise itself higher than ever. And how could the council expect to gain the victory, when it burned the man who represented the Evangelical principle with far greater purity? The doctrine of John Huss concerning the Church was, beyond all comparison, more thoroughly established upon an Evangelical foundation than that of Gerson's. Gerson and his party were theoretically victorious, but practically they were defeated. It was the Reformation which first secured the victory to Evangelical principles, and led to a more consistent development. The principle of justification by faith soon worked a purifying and enlightening effect, both in reference to the objective and subjective—to the universal and to the individual. Christ was put in the place of the Church; to Him she must abandon those rights which she had assumed in her vicarious position. On the other hand, she must give up rights to faithful Christians; they were all priests—all, as far as they believed, stood intimately connected with Christ. Dependent they were upon Him; but not intended to be under the lasting guardianship of an outward, visible Church; they would be led to Him, but they would not always have a mediator between Him and them; they needed it no longer, for they belonged to Him entirely.

And thus we see a principle arise in history which had long been smothered, yet now awakening with new power, never again to be subdued or suppressed. This principle extends its power through every province of life; but naturally, the province of the Church is the most decidedly affected. Already a different idea obtains among the Reformers. The invisible Church, the relation in which it stands to Christ as the only salvation and the only truth, governs them; and from this point of view the individual acquires a totally different significance, as also do the

authorities of the Church in contrast with Him. Councils also assume a different character. Luther himself has spoken many a striking thing upon the more ancient councils. On the whole, he arrived at just conclusions, if in particular instances his assertions may bear some modification. Luther highly esteemed the ancient councils on account of their practical decisions; he has, for instance, honoured them for their dogmatic decisions upon the Trinity and upon the doctrine of the person of Christ; but always with the reservation, not that these doctrines depend on the decisions of councils, but because, being the written Truth, they are therefore recognised. He certainly overlooks that this Truth has changed both in forms and places in the development; he further overlooks that there is no just ground to separate so sharply as he does the four first councils from those that follow. But this is all subordinate. Luther then asks himself, since councils have been of great use, and since the Pope and many others speak of a council, whether a satisfactory result may be expected from one at the present time? and he denies this; such a result is not to be expected in the then existing state of the Catholic Church. That in this he was perfectly right, the Council of Trent sufficiently proved. But, on the other hand, it appeared to him that the possibility of calling a council at a future time should be preserved, which might give greater satisfaction. And then he makes his propositions. A council shall be called, which shall not be too numerous; the legal forms of the authorities of a class shall not be exclusively regarded, and therefore, it must not be confined to the clergy, as those who alone have the prerogative of forming it; but excellent men shall be chosen from different classes, clerical and lay; for it concerns the laity also; and if the laity have a heart for the Church and for their own peace and salvation, then they ought to be called upon to take part in the synod and its proceedings. Certainly, without authority Luther would not have called such a council together, and nothing offered itself at the moment but the authority of the Sovereign Princes. He proposed that they should make use of the occasion, and invite those who were subordinate to them, and yet suitable to form the council. What he thus proposed is, to a certain extent, a national council, a council composed of different nations and national Churches; and viewed from this point, there is a degree of resemblance between this proposal and the Assembly which I see now before

me. But Luther was far from thinking that such a council could have rested upon any other basis than that of doctrine. He always presupposed that the result of its deliberations would have been in agreement with essential points.

Melanchthon would, perhaps, have acted in a somewhat different manner. It does not, in fact, lie in the principles of the Reformation; but to live and be one with Christ, and thus to be free from the bondage of human formulas and human institutions, is, according to Luther, the essence of Protestant faith. This principle exceeds even the consistent Lutheran dogma when strictly carried out, and Melanchthon exactly illustrates the side where it is seen in its larger and progressive form. Luther's strong believing nature led to one-sidedness, which we cannot separate from our idea of him. Melanchthon is less dogmatical; his is a more equalising and combining spirit, more open to amicable differences of opinion. Luther was strong and firm in his own truth; Melanchthon was conscientious and delicate in feeling for the truth on the other side. Melanchthon limited the circle of necessity, and allowed freedom for the less essential. Melanchthon, therefore, by his whole bearing has allowed the possibility, by an acknowledgment of mutual differences and agreements, of bringing about a union. And even in the strictest Lutheran divinity this has not been entirely overcome, that there are doctrines which are fundamental and those which are not fundamental; and thus is to be seen at least a trace of the after-working of such an idea.

The Reformed Church being a great whole in itself, divided into different national Churches, and uniting in itself so many peculiarities, could more easily call together a council composed of those who differed amicably on non-fundamental points. In fact, she has tried such a synod—the Synod of Dort. There a great portion of the Reformed Church was represented; still more were invited. Laymen were also present according to the constitution of the Reformed Church; but though there was the *form*, it was not imbued with the *spirit* of reconciliation, but from the beginning looked upon itself as a tribunal to pronounce sentence upon the opposition; and it therefore acted much more in the spirit of the ancient Church synods.

It is undeniable that the more reconciling tendencies have gradually faded away, that the spirit of Melanchthon has more and more disappeared from the Church, and we can only regard



this as an evil. It has, however, vindicated itself, but has been suppressed by violence, and it has not always shown itself in a manner beneficial to the Church on important occasions, as, for instance, as it arose from Calixtus. Then, too, exclusiveness has relaxed; Lutheran and Reformed Christians have attained to a juster appreciation of each other; and under these influences there has been a depth of Christian life, traces of which may be seen in Spener and in noble pietism. Indeed, the suppression of the individual element by the rude power of an objective Church system, is not altogether without blame in the rise of Rationalism, in which the subjective arbitrary will has made itself felt in a perfectly abnormal manner. And in this contradictory position—who is not aware of it?—we are standing; what do I say?—we are, alas, still standing! Those who interest themselves in a free knowledge, a profound study of the inner spirit of the Gospel—to whom this stands first, before the exactitude of dogmatic consistency—will be inclined to acknowledge that, in spite of differences, an assembly of Christians can take place upon common grounds. Others, who hold the ecclesiastical system and ecclesiastical exclusiveness more strictly, will find in it an unsuitable laxity; it will be an error, not without having the appearance of some rationalistic influence. Honoured and beloved Assembly, brethren from foreign lands, you will not expect that I should complain of brethren at home, who are near and dear to us as members of our Church. Far be it from me; at the same time, I beg these brethren to consider, whether the greatest consequences of the Reformation and their own later history have not fashioned themselves into the forms they have assumed, because the element of reconciling love in its powerful peculiarity has died away. I beg them to consider, whether they have not themselves conjured up a position of things, the galling fetters of which, we must sorrowfully acknowledge, many of us have painfully experienced, and still more in time past; a state of things which the Evangelical Alliance is intended to remove. I ask, if crime slinks from nation to nation by a thousand paths, and frames its plots against Divine and human laws, whether we ought, as Christian brethren, to strive against the subjects of Christ who strive against these evils? Ought we not rather to give them our hand? We will do so.

I will not protract the subject further, but draw to a conclusion. It is scarcely necessary to formulate a parallel, for it is



evident of itself from the preceding remarks. I say, that the Reformation did not aim at arbitrary power, but it desired a development of the individual element in harmony with the objective and universal. The Reformation would not place the power of the Church simply in an external authority, reaching to the individual, but the decisive point is that this authority should be at the same time an internal and living power dwelling in every member. The Reformation united the individual right with the universal; it did not restore arbitrary power; it rather fixed a higher and spiritual law, which, attaching to Christ himself, has made the bond firmer; for although the external law may reach far, the internal is everywhere present. It is, however, Christ the Son of God who makes free and at the same time binds the most surely, and as free and yet bound in Him we give the hand to each other, and accord a place to the individual element of the Church and Churches; and, therefore, we say, let Christian brethren, be they clergy or laity, appear as united together.

We are certainly an Assembly which has not arisen in the direct and positive way of development from the ancient ecumenical councils. I cannot represent it as a continuation of them; they have their continuation much more in the unity of the fixed ecclesiastical authorities of particular Churches; and if these should once form a legal synod commissioned and authorised to legislate and decide, they would then be the continuation in a direct line of the ancient synods, so far, that is, as the Protestant Church might regard itself as Christendom, which, however, it cannot do to the same extent as was anciently done, for then the Catholic Church was included. But it is this authority of particular communities which now pronounces legal decisions; and if I were speaking of synods, I should regard it as their representative. And it may, under the leading of God, serve to supply their place. May it manifest the free, subjective, individual element, as represented in Christ! Those old assemblies and Church authorities, when they pronounced decisions of an analogous kind, always treated the foreign communities as hostile, or at least as strangers; we, on the contrary, seek to cherish communion by allowing differences. When we touch upon dogmatic points, we have not to give fresh decisions, like the ancient synods, nor is it at all our design to place in the background those doctrines which are universally acknowledged in the Evangelical Church; but we have to make evident the

difference between the important and the less important, to grant to the latter freedom and individuality, and to meet it with a friendly and brotherly feeling. Those ancient synods sought to narrow the bounds of the Church; we must seek, for the sake of brotherly love, to enlarge them, and to carry our Evangelical principles so far that we may have a common field of action on which, while we manifest a praiseworthy tolerance of each other's peculiarities, we may find room for united practical objects. We should thus have much in common with the tasks which the ancient synods set themselves—the advancement of life in particular Churches. But we aim at this by means also of mutual assistance; and here a great resemblance presents itself, which all the more confirms the fact that our Assembly has not been called together by a mere arbitrary fancy, but has arisen from a true and noble necessity of our times. I say, it comes, by means of these already-mentioned objects, in connexion with those which are comprehended under the name of Inner Missions, and which have for the most part arisen from the individual movements of Christendom. Who would say, that in this Divine grace is not a truly Christian necessity? And the brethren who aim at similar objects, but who desire to adopt other means, and regard individual Christian activity with suspicion, may well ask themselves whether they will be able with equal right to place something as effectual and sufficient in its stead, and whether they are not snapping off the noblest and most delicate blossoms of Christianity. Are not these the objects which have already united brethren of different communities in the same neighbourhood? I know a case in which American brethren helped in the building of a German house for deaconesses.

This leads me to a still more general consideration, in fact to a clearly-defined Divine law, which, as the following analogy shows, operates in the relations subsisting between different nations. Who can look at the united effort of these different nations without admiration? and on what does it rest except upon this, that the individual nation will make itself known and felt as possessing distinctive rights and privileges, while it acknowledges, at the same time, that others also possess theirs? Would it not be a piece of barbarism if one nation should regard itself as alone privileged in its peculiarities? I see in it a practical illustration of the philosophy of history. As the nations

are now striving together, in spite of all confusions, so, looking to Jesus as the guiding pole-star, and trusting that God will prepare their way, Christians unite their efforts, in the face of all difficulties which beset them. An objection may, indeed, be urged that, as in the age of the ancient synods, when a great variety of nations proceeded from one Church, the peculiarities of which were absorbed in the slavery of the Roman Empire, that was a sign of approaching dissolution; so our present Assembly may indicate a similar result. But the peculiarity of modern nations is strengthened by Christianity, and that they will preserve along with it; so that it will not pass away after the manner of ancient times. And the Churches, the members of which have come together, differing amicably, are also conscious of their separate task; they mutually occupy themselves in those things which are here of importance, and keep within those limits with praiseworthy consideration; and it is far from us to wish to surpass those limits in any manner which would be annoying to each other. We are certainly an Assembly without the authority of the ancient synods; we are an Assembly which meets together privately: that is our weakness, but it is also our strength. The more freely that love operates in our midst, which respects each other's convictions, the more will prejudices disappear; and should it please God to represent Christianity once again by a large and officially deputed assembly, our Conference will be acknowledged as one of its earliest though most unpretending germs. May God be with us by His grace; may His peace be with us; may He who has brought us in brotherly love together be with us when we separate, and fill us with that peace which is more precious than any the world can give!

## II.

THE BONDS OF CHRISTIAN UNION, AS SUPPLIED  
BY THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.

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HOLY BRETHREN in Christ and well-beloved: This year completes forty years since I received the Protestant baptism in Germany; since I became enrolled among her Protestant citizens. In the autumn of 1817, I (already an ordained preacher) visited Germany, in order to be present at the Jubilee of the Reformation. Early on the morning of the 31st of October I heard the voice of praise resounding from the Church Towers, and then I repaired to the worship of God in His house—and, whilst passing through Eisenach itself, I learnt that Germans were assembled at Wartburg, in memory of Luther and of the Reformation. I also went there; though at the time I knew nothing of the German language. Luther—his words, his work—wholly engrossed me. I visited his room; I ascended the steps Luther's feet had trod: and in that prison of the holy man of God, I first conceived the wish to write something about his work. To-day, after forty years, I am again in Germany, and now am in the midst of a very different, and, I may well say, better assembly—this Conference of Christians. Here no youthful fantasies grate on the ear; here we speak alone of pure Christianity; God be praised, it is now become very different. The former political vent of feeling has been succeeded by a religious; a more Christian period has followed that Rationalistic one. Minds are now directed to the study of the Gospel, and Christian brotherly love has made great progress in Germany. Truly, the state of things is become better.

The state of my health has not allowed me to undertake the treatment of the subject which unexpectedly was intimated to me two months ago, when I was going to the water-cure. I instantly informed the Committee of this. Hence it was entrusted to abler hands to deal more closely with it, Dr.



Jacobi, of Halle. My foreign language and foreign accent, moreover, preclude my giving a real essay on it. And yet, perhaps, it is owing to my foreign tongue that you have desired me to speak before you, who, among your own learned Christian men, ought to keep silence. Yes, dear friends, it is no slight thing for a foreigner, for a native of the Alps, to appear before this learned theological Germany. We are well acquainted with the theological, ecclesiastical, and philosophical systems formerly and still existing among you. Your "Contributions to the History of Recent Theology"\* have already reached us. But we have no disposition either for an abstract dogmatism, or even for an intellectual *Sansculottismus* (Radicalism), as the Germans express it. In the midst of the confusion of schools, in the contradiction and strife of deep words and great wisdom, we do not believe that we know anything of ourselves without Jesus Christ, and Him the Crucified One. At the same time, as coming from Calvin's town, I have a word to speak to you—a very weak word—the word of a sick man, prepared at the eleventh hour.

You know better than I do, that in earlier times (as the Programme observes) many assemblies, Churches, and authorities, have sought to exhibit Christian unity. The Greek Church, on the one hand, the Roman, on the other, have done so, and even among Protestant bodies it has not been wanting. I will not enter into details. Dr. Jacobi has just done this. Many of the Protestant attempts I highly esteem, but the majority of God's children have always set them on one side. And what means have frequently been employed to effect this unity? Anathemas, forcing of conscience, exile, bloody persecutions (as under Louis XIV.), or political measures against schisms, or, at the best, dogmatical ecclesiastical rules and uniformity in ceremonies and customs. Very different is the aim of the Evangelical Alliance, and this aim I will describe. There is an external Church, but there is also an internal one. This communion of saints, this true catholicity, this mystical body of Jesus Christ, is the true Church. Still, where is she? How and where is this living body made visible? What this allotted time has to show forth, what must characterise this Conference, is precisely the clearer

\* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nuesten Theologie von Schwaz.



demonstration, the more visible manifestation, the real carrying out of true catholicity. In this Assembly the Evangelical Alliance is not the main thing; it is but an instrument, but a servant; but the living Church of Christ, she is the Queen for evermore.

But, it is objected, from her very nature she must always remain invisible. I willingly grant, there are many of God's children here below who remain hidden. But it has always been unintelligible to me, why a Church, which consists of the children of men, born again by the regeneration of the Holy Spirit, must be wholly and entirely invisible. You, dear friends, here present, are for the most part members of this Church, and yet you are all really visible! I cannot see why this internal Church may not be made also, in some degree, external? why, at least, the invisible, though only in an imperfect manner, may not appear visibly? If I do not mistake, the object of the Evangelical Alliance is this manifestation of internal Christian union among all Churches and nations where the Gospel is preached. The object is grand, and well-pleasing to God!

Shall we ever have on earth one visible, external Church alone? I much doubt it. Perhaps some day may come—a universal Pentecost—when the Spirit will be poured out from on high in such abundance, that there will be, externally and internally, but one fold and one Shepherd. I long for it, but the time is not yet. The great development of the Church on earth is not yet far enough advanced. If, now, we were to seek to unite into one and the same external Church all the varieties of worship and Church government, and even some articles of faith, many dissensions and breaches would arise.

What, then, is to be done, in order to make manifest Christian unity? This question is answered by the Alliance.

All the children of God, of every race and tongue, must arise and join together their hearts and hands, and, as Holy Scripture says, sing a new song. We should, as the rules of our Alliance lay down, have a mutual respect for the peculiarities of each Church—firm and sincere adherence to our own confessions and convictions; but, on the other side, we should cherish all the immortal bonds which may unite us to the Lord's household. But what are these bonds of union? Nothing, dear German friends, which can disturb you. Not questions of Church government, which with you, as well as with others, are so closely

allied with politics. No, brethren, as the first bond of union, we present to you Christ—our Lord and yours. The Alliance, in its creed, acknowledges Him, the Saviour, in each article. It is Christ we present to you—a man conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin, free from all original sin, from every lust, sinless and holy—yet God from all eternity, the Almighty, everlasting God, through whom and by whom all things were created; who procured eternal life for those that believe in Him. We bring forward Christ to you as our Bond of Union, who, indeed, left us an example; who, also, has given us a Witness of the Truth, but who, above all, by His all-atoning death, truly atoned for us, and has redeemed us from the curse of the law, inasmuch as He was made a curse for us. Is this Christ your salvation and our salvation? Are we not both justified before God only through faith in this Atoning One and His bloody sacrifice? and, Oh! then, are we not one? Friends, we will not agree to unite out of the truth, in an indifferent Latitudinarianism, as often happens. Every honest conviction we will respect; every upright man we will love—yes, even if he be not truly converted; but with Anti-Trinitarian, Pelagian, Rationalistic errors we will have nothing in common. “Without me ye can do nothing,” said our Lord. No, nothing; and, above all, no Evangelical Alliance.

As the second bond of union, we give you God’s Word, as the Alliance says. We cannot find, nor have the Lord Christ, except in and through the Word of God. We know that in the Scriptures, as in the whole system of Christianity, and in every doctrine, there are two elements or *factors*, the Divine and the human. We believe the Scriptures to be wholly of man and wholly of God. We recognise the human element in the sacred writings; we do not say, like the Montanists or Justin—Loquiter in ἔκτασι. No; in the inspired prophet the man himself still lives and acts. We will not occupy ourselves with vowels and consonants, and be, as Augustin says, “Miseri aucupes vocum.” We do not say, with the scholastics of the seventeenth century, “Deus dictat in calamum et puncta ipsa Θεόπνευστά.” We maintain the humanity of the sacred writings. But we assert, in opposition to the Socinians, to the Mystics, to the Jesuits, to the Rationalists, at the same time, the existence of the Divine factor, or element, the inspiration of the Bible by the Holy Spirit; and, as in the person of Christ, the union of the Divine

and human natures, had this effect, that it made pure our fallen nature, and Jesus became a Man without sin (*Anamartetos*); in the same manner, we say, did the union of the Divine with the human element in the Scripture purify the latter from all its errors, so that the Word of God is without error or blemish, *Infallible*. We do not believe that it is permitted to our natural man to remove from the Holy Scriptures what is displeasing to Him. We say, "Our conscience is bound down by the Word of God" (as Luther aforesaid to the Emperor Charles); "we can suffer all things, but we dare not overstep the Word of God. The Word of God must reign above all things, and remain the judge of all men." For (as the great theologian Calvin says) "it is as if the living voice of God caused itself to be heard still in the Word:" *Vivæ ipsæ Dei voces*.

As the third bond of union, we present to you the Holy Ghost and the New Life (this is the sixth point in the creed of the Alliance). Have you received the Holy Ghost? Yes, truly, you have. Now we also know that there is a Holy Ghost. Is there not a witness in your souls? Who has opened your hearts to comprehend the length and breadth, the depth and height of the love of Christ, which passes all knowledge, and given you the earnest of your adoption into the ranks of God's children? . . . Well, my friends, this Witness, we also know it. . . . Are we not, then, one? The Spirit of Love has kindled a fire in your breasts. To the Son you say, together with one of your own countrymen, "I have but one Love; it is even Thou and Thou alone." Now, my friends, this fire burns also in us—perhaps more faintly than in you, but still kindled by the same Spirit. In your invitation you say: Too few opportunities have we found for intercourse with Jesus. To that we respond; and, moreover, each one of us will gladly join with one of our best British friends, Noel, in saying, "The one cord, which draws us all into one, is Love to the same Friend. Jesus is the best friend of every one among us. His love, which lives in our hearts, creates in us a community of thoughts, hopes, and feelings, which unites us, formerly strangers to each other, in an eternal bond of unity."

As the last bond of union that we bring forward. . . . What shall I say? . . . "I speak as a fool," as the Apostle says. Still, No! . . . As the last bond of union we bring forward the

Lord's Supper. The Evangelical Alliance testifies in its creed to the importance, to the Divine ordinance and perpetuity of this holy sacrament. I know that (as you expressed it in your invitation), "that that feast of love has become an apple of discord." But, however man may have perverted it, God the Lord ordained it as a feast of unity; and at this table we are one. I do not hold that the life of the children of God can be nourished with bread or quickened by wine. The outward signs are not enough for me; I must have, therewith, the promised grace. We are no longer in the dispensation of types, but of realities. Yes, my Saviour! thou hast said it—"My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." Thou hast never deceived me. At the breaking of bread, when I have thus viewed thee, O Jesus! as if thou wert crucified among us, then truly have I not only partaken of bread and wine, but through faith eaten thy flesh and drunk thy blood; for Jesus says, "This is my body," he does not merely say, "this signifies." But the word *signifies* is for me too dry, too bare, too dead. I believe that I have a mysterious, secret, incomprehensible participation in His body. *Ut vita nostra in Christo sita sit, necesse est animas nostras ipsius carne et sanguine vesci, velut cibariis propriis et peculiaribus*, says Calvin. Here, indeed, diversities, nuances, may exist among Christians; but I hold by the testimony of Luther, in his noble letter of 1st December, 1537, to the Reformed places of Switzerland: "It is indeed true, such great dissensions cannot be so easily and so soon healed without leaving some furrows and scars. But this much is ever possible with me, that nothing shall be wanting on *my part*, God knows, whom I call to witness on my soul. We concede that it was ordained by Divine omnipotence that we should partake of His body and blood at His supper. And if we do not entirely understand each other in this matter, it will be best to become friendly towards each other, till the dark and troubled waters have settled down." This is the most beautiful letter of Luther, and this mandate of the man of God, Germany of the present day will, after three hundred years, again send forth to us.

Now, honoured and beloved German friends, since in the Evangelical Alliance so many strong bonds of union are to be found, we say, "Let all saints greet each other therein with the kiss of love." This invitation is not addressed to those only who are present in this church, but let it go forth into the whole



of Germany, to all those who bear in their hearts the great secret of heavenly joy; to all those Christians, far or near, whether they are for or against this gathering or not, who have either embraced the Evangelical Alliance, or attacked it freely and courageously. If the latter do not love our Alliance, they love our Lord and Master. I honour them; I love them. I will have them join us. I will not allow them to escape. Let strict, old Lutherans excommunicate me, still will I shake them by the hand; my heart clings to them; and if sometimes, at the sight of their zeal, I am inclined to say, "*Sancta simplicitas!*" still I esteem their fidelity. Ah! if Melancthon even said, that were it possible he could shed as many tears as there is water in the Elbe, and yet he should not sufficiently weep for the strife among Christians, then indeed must the Saviour, He who wept over the city of Jerusalem, weep tears of blood, if I dare say so, when He beholds His distracted Christendom. If a man feels thus, what must His feelings be, who is Love? I know not what the future has in store; but of the present time this testimony will remain: We will be brethren with all Christ's brethren, and to all such we stretch out our hand.

There is need thereof. Our age shows mighty signs of changes which are approaching. Among men, and specially in Christendom, a revolution has taken place. "Upon earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring," says our Lord. Now it is a glorious sign of the times, that hundreds are here gathered together, not only from all European, but also from all other lands, with one voice to bear witness to their union in the living truths of salvation. A distinguished Christian, Lord Shaftesbury, lately said in London, our present meetings showed a new epoch in the world's history, and the commencement of a new order of action. Yes; in this Conference I see a new, true, extended, holier, more living catholicity; and this new catholicity will be the last sentence in the history of mankind and Christians, the accomplishment of all promises, and all predictions.

It is truly a difficult work, and we are feeble instruments. But we not only believe in Christ as the crucified and risen One, we also believe in His omnipresence, His perpetual *παρουσια*, in His real and living presence. We are here in Him, and He in us. He is in the midst of us; and even as He has given the command of unity, so will He also give the fulfilment.



It is said, indeed, dear friends, the Evangelical Alliance has few adherents, few members, even few friends in Germany. Now this important Assembly testifies to the contrary. The idea of the Alliance is exalted, holy, divine, and Germany has perceptions for great ideas. In the Church, as in Christ, as in the Scriptures, there is a human and a divine element. The visible Church is the human, the invisible the divine, and we beseech you, let the divine come more under the regard of the Church. The body of Christ shall rise, for it is not dead; in Him alone is life on earth. Germany will not reject our petition. It will not be false to the godly Christian mind of its Reformers; but this would happen, if she refused to stretch forth her hand to all who are Christ's. Germany began the Great Reformation. She has an œcumenical, perpetual vocation. She should make use of this privilege; she ought not to forego her birthright, but ever be mindful of the motto—*Noblesse oblige*.

A perfect organisation consists in all its members being in harmony, and active each in his own sphere. The Lord has many members in His body; and only to adduce two, the Anglo-Saxon and German races; both have their great work to accomplish in the world. I wonder at the learning of the one—at the activity of the other. Let us not divide them. In Christ's kingdom there should be no wall of partition. Isolation is profitable neither for nations nor for individuals. We will not impose upon others our own tendencies—our Church principles. We desire no fusion—fusion, confusion! Yet still the English may receive much from the Germans, and the Germans from the English. I thank my friends the English, that I was enabled by the railroad so quickly to reach my German friends in Berlin. But all nations have something higher to receive from each other. "The eye cannot say, I need not the ear; the hand must not say, I need not the foot." Let us in God's kingdom make use of all energies. Christ has prepared for us in heaven an eternal joy; we on earth must prepare for Him such a joy as will please Him. "I pray that they may be one in me." From every land, from all the ends of the world, let us with one heart exclaim, Glory to God in the highest! Peace—Peace—Peace on Earth! and goodwill towards men!

## III.

## FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE EARLIEST ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS, SHOWING AN ANALOGY BETWEEN THEM AND THE PRESENT CONFERENCES.

BY THE REV. DR. PIPER,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

Honoured Brethren,—I take the liberty of drawing your attention to the primitive times of the Church, and to the first great ecclesiastical assemblies. If to our Evangelical Church there can be no higher object presented than to walk in the footsteps of the Apostolic Church, and of the Church of primitive times, the present Assembly might regard the first ecclesiastical councils as its pattern. Certainly the question with us is not of external authority and investiture with authority; but if this Assembly should enjoy in itself the witness of the Spirit, if founded upon the universal priesthood of believers, it should accomplish anything becoming a synod, it need not trouble itself about authority. I turn to the question of the day, in which it is required that a comparison should be drawn between the recent conferences of Evangelical Christians from different lands and Churches, and the assemblies of the Church in earlier times. After the two addresses to which we have listened, facts may be communicated which have reference to the subject. I shall, therefore, mention some which have come under my notice during the journeys I have made this summer in England and France. And I would first mention a Greek MS. in the Imperial Library at Paris (Cod. gr. 510), which contains the discourses of Gregory of Nazianzen, who, by his defence of the Divinity of Christ, obtained the name of “The Theologian.” It is of the ninth century, ornamented with miniature paintings, the originals of which are probably for the most part, not much later than Gregory himself (therefore about the end of the fourth century). One of them leads us directly into the midst of the most ancient councils. This

painting gives us a representation of the second General Council of Constantinople in the year 381. The men are sitting in a semicircle—bishops, and amongst them the Emperor. In the middle of the semicircle a throne is raised, upon which, however, no one is sitting, but upon it lies an open book, the Bible; so that the proceedings in this assembly were carried on under the presidency of the Word of God. A gem which is to be seen in the Royal museum here gives a further explanation of this. A throne is represented which has been incorrectly explained to be a bishop's chair; upon it lies a crown of thorns, inscribed with the Greek initials of the name of the Son of God,  $\text{IXY}\Theta$ . It reminds one of the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the Book of Revelation. But if this representation of the Second General Council shows that it was assembled in the name of the Lord, and desired to arrive at all its conclusions by the study of the will of God as revealed in His Word, we have in that fact a close analogy with the present Conference, as appears not only in this general Protestant idea, but especially in the opening speech this morning, when the prayer was offered that the Lord himself would preside over and guide it.

But, further, as no one was seated upon the throne, least of all could the Bishop of Rome, or his deputy, be placed there, for no such person was present at the council. At the same time, the Roman Catholics acknowledge this as a general council, which is a very weighty fact, that cannot be wholly disposed of by those who defend the pretensions of later times, by reference to those early days of the Church of Christ. The assertion, therefore, that from the beginning there has been no general council without the presidency of the Bishop of Rome, or his legate, comes to nothing. But this circumstance may afford a clue to what should constitute the real object of this Assembly, which, resulting from the peace existing in the Evangelical Church, should not seek controversy with Rome, but rather to defend itself from the assaults and pretensions which are made by Rome.

I remember still the figures in the picture. There are two men, Macedonius and Apollinaris (the portrait of the latter is now lost), whose doctrine was condemned by this council, and so the doctrinal development of the fourth century closed. It is well known that Macedonius denied the consubstantiality of the

Holy Ghost with the Father and the Son ; Apollinaris called in question the proper humanity of the Redeemer, substituting His Divine nature in the place of a reasonable soul. By the rejection of these two errors, a foundation was laid for theology for all future time. And the Paris Branch of the Evangelical Alliance has given especial prominency to this foundation. Besides the substance of the doctrinal developments of that age, the course of procedure by which it was arrived at itself claims our whole attention—that course, especially, which resulted in the accepted doctrine concerning the Deity, the great question which occupied the fourth century, just as the conflicts of the following centuries were about the person of Christ. Long and maturely was it weighed, and after repeated consideration it was decided. If this procedure may not in every respect be followed by us, it may at least furnish us with an example for our guidance. For with these repeated Conferences—which are a happy sign of newly-awakened life in the Evangelical Churches—there may be danger in attempting to make the greatest possible use of the few days we can be together, of undertaking too many important questions, which it would be impossible to work out in such an assembly. Ancient times give us, on the contrary, the example of working for centuries on great individual questions. The second century, for example, especially discussed the doctrine of the monarchism of God ; the third, the doctrine of the distinction of the persons in God, and the divinity of Christ ; and the fourth, the doctrine of consubstantiality in God, which last meets us in this painting. We see finally how long it took them, as now, before the different provincial and country Churches could be brought to unite in a general council ; and to this a remarkable parallel is found at the present day, when Evangelical Christians of different countries and Churches are at length met for the brotherly interchange of sentiments. Three centuries have passed away since the Reformation, which left the Churches that rest upon the same apostolic foundation, separated from each other, and many new Reformed ecclesiastical rites have been added since then. No doubt they have all had their peculiar avocations, and will continue to have ; but their divisions have at last brought about the mighty effort by which these divided brethren have stretched out their hands to each other. This I witnessed principally in England, where the venerable Dr. Steinkopf, Minister of the German Lutheran Church in the



Savoy, London, speaking with deep emotion of God's ways, and of this union of soul in the Evangelical Churches of England, assured me that twenty years ago it would have been impossible. A still greater improvement is there expected, and we may participate in this expectation, looking at the probability of a closer union of the British Churches with those of the Continent, and especially with those of Germany. If, while in a state of separation, these Churches had the task of perfectly developing their distinctions, and of subjecting the national peculiarity to the service of the kingdom of God, it will be a higher step if the nations which stand upon an Evangelical foundation should now conclude an ecclesiastical alliance, and exchange with each other their gifts of grace. The time also in which this is taking place reminds us of the three centuries which elapsed from the commencement of the Church before constitutionally a general council—a council, that is, of universal Christendom—could be held. The Churches of Asia Minor, of Italy, of Egypt, and Roman North Africa, and generally speaking of the Mediterranean countries, had had to fulfil their especial work, and by turns to take a prominent position, till at last under Constantine, in the year 325, a general council was called. But the council which, as a general council, is most nearly allied to our countries and our design, and possesses greater importance for us than the first Nicene Council, is that held at Arles in the year 314. Then there came together for the first time bishops from all parts of the West, and many bishops were there of whose sees we had no positive information before. Besides, from many towns of France (as Arles, Lyons, Vienne, Marseilles, Bordeaux), they came from Italy, Spain, and North Africa, and there were representatives from Germany, Trèves, and Cologne, and from England, York, London, together with *colonia Londinensis*. Of this council a modern writer of ecclesiastical history, Chr. Fr. Walch, says that they exercised great forbearance, and manifested much zeal to unite the brethren who were one in faith in the bond of charity, a thing more uncommon but not less praiseworthy. What higher aim could the Evangelical Alliance and our Conference have than this!



# SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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## INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

BY PRELATE VON KAPFF,  
OF STUTTGART.

### IV.

## ON THE UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF THE CHILDREN OF GOD.

1. BY THE REV. RECTOR AND PROFESSOR MOLL, D.D.,  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

2. BY THE REV. PASTOR KRUMMACHER,  
OF DUISBURG.

3. BY THE REV. PASTOR WUNSCHÉ,  
OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH, BERLIN.





# SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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## IV.

### UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF THE CHILDREN OF GOD.

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#### INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING, THE PRELATE VON KAPFF,  
OF STUTTGART.

*Friday Morning, September 11, 1857.*

THE PRESIDENT, Dr. von Kapff, after having offered prayer, read Deut. xxx. 11—14, and St. John's Gospel v. 1—16, and then delivered the following address :—

And now only some few sentences, dear brethren, upon these glorious words of the Lord. We shall hear to-day addresses upon the "Unity and Diversity of the Children of God;" yesterday we heard from our dear brethren quickening words upon this oneness of believers; we feel in our assemblies the breath of the Spirit, strengthening brotherly love, and exalting the power of unity. But what is the positive ground of this unity? This is told us in these words of the Lord. It is the remaining in Him, as the true Vine, whereby we, as the consequence, are united together; and if we do not cling to Him like clusters upon the vine, neither can unity exist among us, which is the moving idea of this Assembly—a personal, living communion with Christ, the Head, by the enlightening influences of His Holy Spirit. That is the great condition of the unity of believers, which rejoices us to-day, a personal, living communion with Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God, the Head of the community of which we desire to be members; and this communion with Him is not in idea, not in theory, not in forms, but it so exists in the inmost heart that we are sensible of it by the power of the Holy Ghost filling our hearts with Divine love. For only when this Spirit of the Lord has worked within us—

when the new life of the new birth has been awakened and strengthened in us—then alone can we hold fast true union of spirit by the bond of Divine peace. Without me ye can do nothing; without me ye cannot love one another, neither can ye be one—one with another; but in Him is given us the love uniting us according to His command, that we should love one another, even as He has loved us. And how has He loved us! What tongue can tell what we owe to Him who, through unheard-of shame and torture, has given up His sacred Divine life for us lost and condemned sinners! How has He loved us! And as He has loved us, so should we love one another. The power to follow this great and sacred command, obedience to which we shall renew during these days, will become ours through the promise, “As my Father has loved me, so have I loved you.” Wonderful words! The Scriptures scarcely contain more loving words than these. Who can understand the depth of the love of God, who gave up His only-begotten Son for us? And the Lord will feel this love for us. Is it possible that the Holy One, before whom the heavens themselves are unclean, before whom the cherubim and seraphim hide their faces, can love a sinful race that has sunk down to hell, and love this race, even as the Son is beloved of the Father? Where is the soul that will not be inspired with a holy and blessed joy at this message? It is a light in which we ourselves become brighter and clearer while it shines upon us; and everything in life will become bright, everything transfigured by this truth; we appear to ourselves altogether changed in this promise; we become, as it were, different persons. How poor soever we may feel ourselves to be, so that we almost give up in despair, if we but hear, “The Son of God will love me as the Father hath loved Him,” the very heavens open before us, the angels of God look down upon us, the sun of eternal love shines upon us, till we long to cross the stream and be for ever with the Lord. This message concerns us during these days; we shall also have our portion now of perfect joy, as the Lord has here promised. Yes, we shall also be enabled to believe that which we have twice heard: that which we ask of the Father shall be granted unto us. And if, too, the individual soul is not wide enough to take in the exceeding fulness of this faith, the community may pray more boldly, more courageously, with the full confidence that the prayers will be heard. We comfort ourselves with this

in our united supplications. Dear brethren, bring everything that you have upon your hearts at times of public prayer for the entire Church! We send these sacred couriers up to the throne of the Almighty, where the angels, the twenty-four elders, bring incense in their golden censers before the Lord, and we have sure confidence that our crying will be heard for the coming of the kingdom of God.

We have here the promise only on the condition of remaining in Him. These words belong to those at which when I come to them, I close my mouth before the sacred mystery. We cannot explain it—it is the deepest and the highest; I can only express the wish in all your names, that, as Christians, we may be such as remain in the Lord, and He in them. If we mutually pray earnestly for it, the prayer will be heard, and He will remain in us in all the power of His grace; and though this may variously exhibit itself, yet this power will be one and the same. The powers, offices, and gifts, are different, but they will not strive one with another; they will work together to that holy unity in which Christ Jesus is glorified in us and through us, will work in the whole world. He has chosen us; we have not chosen Him. Upon this our hope rests, that this choice is of His grace, of His love, and not our own work and merit. It is He upon whom alone I build as upon a rock, full of hope which faileth not.

## IV.

ON THE UNITY AND DIVERSITY OF THE  
CHILDREN OF GOD.

1. BY THE REV. RECTOR AND PROFESSOR MOLL, D.D.,

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE.

Beloved in Christ Jesus,—We are now to take into consideration the “Unity and Diversity of the Children of God,” and the honour of speaking first upon this subject devolves upon me. I accept it less as a privilege than as a duty, and I see myself commissioned with the attempt to find a pathway on this broad province, which it might reward us still further to pursue. From the place where I am now standing, words were spoken, yesterday, which have mounted like fireballs, and have not only thrown a gleam of light over the greatness of our task, but have also cast sparks into our souls, which may well kindle and feed a sacred flame. Permit me now to seize the axe, and give a few strokes, so that, if it please God, air and light may enter into the forest of thoughts, which shoot up exuberantly, yet disorderly, when the words are uttered, “The Unity and Diversity of the Children of God.” We leave, therefore, the region of general considerations, and also do not enter upon tedious examinations into the nature of the unity and the right of the diversity of the children of God. They would touch on questions which in this Assembly are partly matters of course, and partly, indeed, are supposed, by its very existence. Rather permit me to go by a direct road to the point in which, in my view, the interest of the whole theme is comprised. The theme is this: That they are not in themselves different, but essentially *the same relations*, in which we have to recognise both the unity and the diversity of the children of God.

Follow me, therefore, first of all, to the region, altogether within which only can we in any seriousness speak of the children of God. You will see that the equal rank of the children of God individually is compatible with a particular



position in this rank. The province we speak of is that of revelation. And I take this word in the strictly theological and ecclesiastical sense. I understand by revelation, not the discoveries of reason—in which the latter plays hide and seek with itself—nor the weak but often bold and delusive attempts of men to raise, with their own hands, the veil from the mysteries of God and of His eternal life; I understand by revelation the historical revelation of the living God, for the introduction, exhibition, and accomplishment of His kingdom in the world. For instance, the supposition which lies at the foundation of all hope of salvation for us is, that God has placed himself historically in a relation of grace to us, within which we can know and apprehend Him personally as our God. His descent from that light which no man can approach unto, His drawing nigh to those who dwell upon the earth, His abode with our race upon the earth, alone present the possibility of a fellowship in which we have not to do with thoughts upon the invisible Being, nor with speculations upon the idea of God, but with the true God himself. You see that by this our religious life is on all essential points fixed as ethical and practical, and, in fact, so that it necessarily proves and gradually develops itself in historical conditions. The fall did not first call this peculiarity into existence; for, also, the life in Paradise, while men were yet innocent, was upon earthly soil, although with a Divine basis. But the fall, by its awful severity, has changed the peculiar form in which the relation of men with God appears. For the holy love of God exerts a continually antagonistic force to sin. From this arises the awakening of religious sentiments, the governing of the moral direction of life, the formation of religious ideas into positive conceptions and doctrines; and not by a mere spiritual influence from God upon the soul; nor as a simple consequence of an impulse coming from God through human activity, and by independent cultivation; nor as the natural development of a seed deposited in the human breast; nor even is the practical progress of sin in the world overcome by precepts and dogmas, nor by systems and theories. The Divine influence upon the soul and life of man has much rather been, from the very commencement, inseparably connected with definite revelations which present themselves to many as facts, and is diffused through the world by positive historical institutions, by arrangements

and measures which have the character of Divine appointments and ordinances. It is a covenant relation which God has established with His children. But this covenant is not, therefore, a free association of parties possessing equal rights—not a treaty which we have effected of our own accord—with God. It is an institution of grace, and plan of salvation by which God seizes, surrounds, and holds us to effect our redemption. It is His covenant which He has made with man; a covenant, the arrangements of which form the separate threads of that net of love with which Divine mercy hastens to draw men from the world. He who permits himself to be caught in it, experiences in himself the grace and truth of the faithful God of revelation, and will ever continue to be drawn into closer union with Him. Must not the position of man be, by this means, individualised, who bears the name and the rank of a child of God? He has been able to obtain both, only at the same time with and within the limits of an historical covenant relation, founded upon an actual revelation of salvation. I need not, before this enlightened Assembly, show how all historical life is the individualisation of the universal, and at the same time the exalting the individual to the community and continuity of existence, and how, by this means, the sinking down of unity into uniformity and formalism is prevented by an internal and effectual law, in the same way as the division of unity into useless differences, which afterwards, indeed, clash with each other within the limits of actual life till they arrive either at mutual concord or unyielding opposition. It is sufficient here to place in the foreground that the history of the kingdom of God also develops itself according to the same law of life, and that we have not to devise this law—not even to discover it—but only to acknowledge it as revealed. Christian catholicity is not an abstraction, but a reality; it is not an external combination of heterogeneous appearances. Just so its exclusiveness is something quite different from the peculiarities of obstinacy and the narrowness of sectarian arrogance. Christianity is specifically distinguished from all other religions as a manifestation of the household of God, the children of which, as essential members, have an individual and definite position, office, and character, but they are participators of this diversity only in the degree, and by virtue even of their essential and genuine unity, which individualisation has an historic life in these diversities; and

this life is an endeavour after the realisation of a Divine thought.

No hesitation, I imagine, will be felt in admitting that the name of child of God is not only known in the Old Testament, but that it was used in more than one acceptation. We perceive in this a confirmation of our subject. The house of God has a twofold economy, which we call, in brief, that of the law and of the Gospel. Neither excludes the other, as is the case with Christianity and Judaism. They supplement each other, however, neither externally nor formally. They are reciprocally conditional; they appeal to each other continually; they bear their apparent contrast in their own life everywhere. The law of God carries in itself not merely the sanction of its fulfilment, but also presents itself within its own province as the promise of the coming accomplishment of the Divine will. And on the other hand, the Gospel, as the expression of the perfect benevolence of God in its historical fulfilment, is in itself the normal representation of the royal law of love, and the expression of an unconditional authority, which obliges to the obedience of faith. The obligation to the obedience of faith is peculiar to both Testaments; and in both it has the same essential character and relation. Inwardly it consists in an undoubting confidence in the power of salvation and in the certainty of the Divine statements. Outwardly it represents itself as unwavering obedience to the Divine ordinances; and the latter have to do with the redemption of the world and the working out of man's salvation by the never-wearying fidelity of God, who so governs all created things by His power, that even in the midst of a resisting world His purposes of grace are accomplished.

The holy nature of God obliges us to regard the government of the Almighty as perfect, so that the accomplishment of the eternal plan of salvation is carried out agreeably to the Divine intention in wise adaptation to the times and to the necessities of successive generations. But as little as the nature of God changes, so little does the order of salvation historically exhibited by Him; and the becoming a child of God is never effected by anything else than the prescribed means of grace within the limits of that order.

This leads us to the second point, from which light falls upon our subject, namely, to the effectiveness of that grace by which alone a sinful man can become a child of God, and which reaches

and takes hold of each individual. The children of God are not a race of natural growth. They are born like the dew of the morning. Their origin is a miracle wrought by the grace of the Almighty. Do we compare them to the branches of the vine? Then we must say not one of them has rooted itself out of the world and planted itself in God's vineyard. Do we call them members? Then we know that they are by an act of grace incorporated into that body whose Head is our exalted Redeemer. Do we regard them as citizens of the kingdom? Then we confess that God has rescued them from the powers of darkness, and has translated them into the kingdom of His dear Son, "in whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins." Do we inquire after their right? Then we must confess that they had none; but are received from grace to grace. Where, then, is their right to the position of children? It is the right of adoption.

But we cannot stop here. Grace does not merely form the lasting foundation of our position as children, and thereby of our essential union with all God's children; it is also the constantly efficient cause of our individual Christian peculiarity, and thereby of our diversity. For grace is certainly an essential, yet according to its own definition, an effectual exhibition of the eternal love of the holy God towards a sinful world. Therefore grace works according to the order and in the manner of a moral living power. It rises infinitely above nature, and everything that is created; as in its foundation and in its aims, so in its powers and in its effects. But this does not take place at hap-hazard, nor in a manner which sets at nought its own law, which wounds nature, which tramples down the creature; but temporal and earthly existence is penetrated, restored, and purified by the blessings, gifts, and powers of the eternal and heavenly world. True to its own law, to the law of the liberty of a perfectly wise and ever-blessed God, grace works the works of God with the zeal of eternal love, but circumspectly and gradually, with the emphasis of Divine earnestness, yet without constraint; always in an equal measure of Divine compassion, ready to aid every one who desires salvation; constantly near to all misery, but distant as possible from monotonous conformity, and effecting anything but colourless uniformity. On the contrary, its internal riches are displayed by the fulness of its exhibitions, and this again portrays and reflects itself in the



manifoldness of its productions. Who would venture to prescribe to God, who His own self determines in himself by a holy and eternal liberty when He must begin, where He must commence, how He must carry on the work of creating children of God? Endless the riches, inexhaustible the fulness, unnumbered the forms, and yet in all is to be recognised the signature of the children of God: "Through the grace of God I am what I am." This same grace, which decreed salvation in eternity, has accomplished it in time, and brought it down to us. The God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, who created the heavens and the earth, saved Noah with all his house from the Deluge, gave the Law by Moses, spake by the prophets—the same God who speaks of Israel as His first-born son, and of Ephraim as His beloved child, is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the first-born of every creature, the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, and to them that believe on His name has given power to become the children of God. As He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation, so also after that in Christ He has reconciled the world unto himself, has He given to us the word of reconciliation, and provided that in His own time it should be preached. But to each one among us grace is given, according to the measure of the gift of Christ, who has given himself for the redemption of all.

Most intimately related to this is the third point, which explains our subject, namely, the restoration of the Divine likeness after which man was made in the children of God. Here we recognise manifold individual forms of the same Divine image. We may, according to the Scripture, characterise it as the peculiar destiny of man to be a personal organ for the accomplishment of the Divine will upon earth, and the terrestrial head of the creation for its lasting union with God. Therefore personal life is the essential sphere of human life in general, but the unchanging model for each individual is given by the form in which God himself manifests that personal life in an eternal and perfect manner. Man's personal life has a character neither entirely original, nor absolutely free, nor purely spiritual, but rests on a natural foundation, inseparable from his individual being, and predetermined by his consciousness and will. He is therefore not the image of God absolutely; but he is created in

the image and after the likeness of God. In his concrete life there is a twofold element; one in which he forms in his individual and personal being a distinct unity, composed of body and spirit; then, conformably with his position as a creature, he fulfils his special mission within the boundaries of limited circumstances, and lives his individual life in personal communion with God. We know only too well, that this communion is not a self-preserving possession. We know how and by what means the loss and destruction of this sacred possession was brought about; but we also know how and by what means restoration and salvation were gained for us, and triumphantly we praise the grace which has made it possible for us to lead a life in God, according to the pattern and likeness of Jesus Christ. For Christ is the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of His person. Through Him is not only the perfect knowledge and the true notion of God communicated, but also the transformation of sinners into the true likeness of God is effected, and the imprinting of the Divine image on the children of God. Our transference into the rank of the children of God is, of course, to be thought of under the form of adoption, and is effected by a pure act of grace in the justification of the sinner. It indicates, therefore, first of all, a change, not in the man, but in the position and relation of the man to God. But grace cannot work otherwise than according to the holy nature of God; and the relation in question is religious. Its moral aspects must, therefore, on no account be lost sight of. They occupy a prominent place in the Holy Scriptures in the requirement of faith as the essential condition of salvation, and the ethical nature of true saving faith shows itself in the acknowledgment that it can be produced only in a contrite heart, through the Holy Spirit, in connexion with the ordinary means of grace. That transference into the position of God's children is accordingly no mechanical removal and change of place. The translation from the world into the kingdom of God, is at the same time a transfiguration and transformation, the changing of the essential form of life from the image of Adam to the image of Christ. But what is the image of Christ? Not a self-made ideal, not an artistic composition, not an abstraction of the understanding, not an image of mythical fancy, but the living form of the true and only God-man. Just on this account His picture is not exhibited as a model for external imitation or

as an outline to be filled up at pleasure. It is the efficacious archetype of the communion of God with man in a personal living representation, with the finished character of the true child of God. From this we best comprehend why the imitation of Christ is something different from the complete education of a noble soul to an harmonious existence. We see that the question is, how, in the midst of a wicked world, and without destroying the worldly existence of man, to rescue him from worldliness of life and to transform him into a personality well pleasing to God. But such personality has, on the one hand, as its presupposition, the new birth, which is the commencement of a new life in God and from God; and, on the other hand, as its condition, the earnestness of a religious education, which has for its centre the culture of the will. From this proceeds religious character, that is, impressions of the life of Christ in positive individual forms of the likeness of God in man. And after these our souls ardently aspire.

In order to understand this correctly, we must not forget a fourth consideration—namely, the individual transforming power by means of the one Holy Spirit.

It is not with the life of God, as some poets fancy and many worldly-wise dream. God is not the ideal, eternally revolving in itself, which is forced to allow its creations continually to perish in the whirlpool of its revolutions, in order to be able to maintain its unity and eternity. God is not the *One* who must be at the same time the *All*; from whose hidden depths the glory of the Divine life may spring up into the light of existence in ever richer streams and in evermore beautiful and glorious forms. Nor is He the solitary God, in the unapproachable height of His own indivisible equality. Endless duration does not bubble up to Him from the caverns of that spirit-world which surround His throne; rather is He the ever limpid-spring of all life, knowing himself and all His works from the beginning, all-sufficient, independent, blessed in himself, the God of the spirits of all flesh. He is the only Good, who eternally determines, sustains, and asserts himself by the positivity and by the increasing energy of the self-assertion of His holy will. Thus He lives from eternity His perfect individual life. But He does not live in the form of a simple self-consciousness, but in the self-distinction and combination of His holy being as the Triune God. Just on this account He does not create from a

necessary creative impulse, nor from craving after objects to contemplate and love; nor does He create and order things according to the scheme of a world of external ideas, but in creating and preserving, governing and saving, teaching and purifying, carries out His own thoughts of wisdom, according to the free determination of His holy benevolence. Therefore, He does not regard a happy development of worldly affairs merely without envy, nor an evil one merely with displeasure; nor does He attack the order of things violently and capriciously; nor does He, as the Eternal Spirit, form the mere collection and remembrance of all spirits which have left history behind them as their Golgotha. He works according to the free purpose of His grace, by the holy power of love, upon the world which has become estranged from Him, yet which He has not abandoned, and carries out the thoughts which He has for the world in such a way that everything is treated according to its nature, and to every being justice is done. It may, therefore, indeed, be said that corporeality is the end of the Divine method. But this profound word can only be rightly understood when it is at the same time maintained that God's will and workings aim at the purifying of the world and the embodiment of all spiritual and moral existence; for He takes each one who is susceptible of salvation into His holy and blessed communion, and communicates to him the peculiarity of His own manner of life. But the participation of this communion with God can only take place upon the basis of the contemplated redemption and reconciliation of the world by God in Christ through the Holy Ghost, whose activity shows itself in all directions in individual culture, and in everywhere preserving the individuality of all along with their essential unity. By Him our union will also be raised to a genuine community of life with the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the holy Scriptures speak with all seriousness of a communication of the Divine nature to the regenerate. But never does this relationship—which is often, and by the Lord himself, described as the unity effected by the Son—receive the character of a participation in the Divine essence. Man never becomes a god except in mythology. Not merely the difference between the Creator and the creature is preserved, but the moral-religious character of this distinctive transformation of man is always made apparent in the difference of the spiritual pre-suppositions and of the historical conditions of redemption completed in



Christ. Thus, an incorporation of the man into Christ takes place at the new birth, and this is intended so seriously that it extends to a growing up together with Christ to a like death and to a like life. But this incorporation is effected by a certain instrumentality; on the one side, by the Christian Church in the application of the means of grace entrusted to her; on the other side, by the faith of the persons concerned. The same Spirit gives now to each one his portion in the community, according as He will; and we know well that, by the word which is planted in our souls, and which can make them eternally blessed, He enters as the imperishable seed of the new birth into the human heart. But we also know how we should apply the teaching of the Lord concerning the Word, and the sound thereof, to him who is born of the Spirit. We, no doubt, perceive in such an one the mighty movement from invisible powers in a direction strongly marked; but we cannot denote the point whence they have arisen, and the limits of their effects escape our perception. There is also no prescribed rule by what door the Spirit shall enter the heart of man, and no law with respect to the province on which He ought to begin to work. We only know that He will not leave one province of life untouched or unchanged. Whether the awakening of the soul may have been effected by rousing the mind, or by laying hold of the will—whether the first seizure may have been effected by means of the affections or of reason—His will and work aim at the sanctifying, perfecting, and purifying of the entire undivided man, at the restoration of the personality of a child of God, as an individual form of the image of God after the likeness of our Lord Jesus Christ in the communion of the Holy Ghost.

From these remarks we see that with the same right St. Paul says, "Ye are all children of God by faith in Christ Jesus;" with which he says, "I live, but yet not I; but Christ liveth in me;" and "the life which I live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." Nor does our Lord refer in vain to the many mansions that are in His Father's house. There are the dwellings prepared for the disciples, whither the Lord, according to His promise, will lead them, and take them to himself at His second coming, that where He is they may be also. This will take place at the regeneration of the world, when the Son of Man will sit on the

throne of His glory, and the apostles who have followed Him will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. All this has reference to distinctions of personal life, which have their value in the view of God, and extend from eternity to time, and from time to eternity, but have their root in a common relation to God, the Author of salvation, in which lies, also, the root of their personal living in union with God, and therefore of their communion with the collective people of God. We cannot comprehend the riches of their relations, nor fathom the depth of their purpose, but we are able to cast a look full of anticipation at the extent of the kingdom of God, and also an admiring glance at the condition of its inhabitants. We who dwell on earth can perceive a great difference between ourselves and the inhabitants of heaven, and yet by means of our adoption we can hold fast our union with them, and can well understand that which was written to the Hebrew Christians: "Ye are come unto Mount Zion and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than the blood of Abel." But we can, therefore, rightly comprehend, and scripturally determine, not merely the relation between men and angels, between members of the Church militant and of the Church triumphant; we can also most clearly discern the difference between the ordinances of the old and of the new covenant, and in all honesty adopt the words, "Ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire;" and can, however, maintain with all earnestness our union with the believing and righteous of the old covenant, and rejoice that in the kingdom of heaven we shall sit with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For these patriarchs and men of God of the old covenant are of value to us, not as figures and masks, but as historical characters in that service of God which has a direct reference to the appearing of Christ. They are, therefore, not symbols of ideas to be applied allegorically, but types of historical significance, of high religious and moral worth. They bring typically before us the essential features of human life carried on in communion with God, as the apostles and believers

do this ante-typically; yet in both cases so that the common type of adoption into God's family, which has its absolutely perfect expression in Jesus Christ, individualises itself within the limits of historical relations and upon the foundation of natural and spiritual gifts. It is needful only that we should truly realise that we are children of God, and that though we are inhabitants of the earth, we are yet citizens of heaven, who, living in the flesh, yet by the spirit do mortify the deeds of the flesh, in order to have a living experience in ourselves, that the love of God which is infused into us, and makes us partakers of the gift of the Holy Spirit and of eternal life, does not in the slightest degree hinder us from being husband or wife, parent or child, master or servant, nor even take away the local colouring and the national fashion, but only puts everything in harmony with the character of the new position of life which belongs to us as believers.

We have, therefore, a reasonable cause to pray for the enlightening influences, that we may justly appreciate the riches which the creating grace of our God has brought within the limits of the life of Christian nations and individuals. Else we might mete them with too small a measure, and, with our eye fixed upon the Divine right of diversity in the unity of the children of God, might lose our gratitude for the fulness of the blessings which flow to us from unfathomable depths, in the reciprocal influence of individuals, and in the interchange of gifts, which serve to complete and develop the individual form of Christian life. We cannot look at history without perceiving that East and West, that Roman and Germanic character, that Saxon and Suabian race, that Frank and Friesland art have aided as spiritual elements in the historical formations by which Christian life has been exhibited in the world. And we do not doubt that other phenomena—not indeed unanticipated—will arise, when India and China are evangelised, Islam has disappeared before Christianity, and when Israel as a people shall be converted to Jesus as the true Messiah. Yes; this our Assembly gives us, in the elements composing it, an elevating and touching proof of the strength and extent of the desire even now to realise the unity of the children of God, by bringing together Christians whose countries, whose histories, and whose ecclesiastical organisations are so different.

But does there not lie just here a danger, if not, indeed, a

presumption and a wrong? If the view is thus directed towards the representation of the unity of the children of God, will not the eye lose its power to recognise the right of ecclesiastical peculiarity? Or if we are willing to guard the right of diversity, and even to extend ecclesiastical diversities, does not unity then become an empty word, and the attempt at its representation a folly, if not a fault—the work of dreaming enthusiasts, if not sin? And will not the end of such an undertaking be vexation and strife, the dividing asunder of those who have been brought together in vain, the destruction of the existing Church communities, and the formation of other sects? We do not deny the danger. But danger never alarms the courageous; and we have the courage of faith. We can suffer fools to censure us, for we are inspired. But we are not enthusiasts, for we are sober, and watch unto prayer. We pray, therefore, that God may turn away from us vexation and division, and prevent the decline of Christianity. Nor will we be vexed, however much it may grieve us, that many whom we esteem as our brethren in Christ, keep away from our midst through conscientious considerations. But we cannot have our own conscience made prisoner by another's opinions, nor can we alter it, however much we deplore that any should find cause for vexation in us. Let us only be diligent, beloved in the Lord, that we may have "a conscience void of offence both before God and before man." Then we can quietly put away from us the reproach of presumption of wrong, and of sin. It does not affect us. But we dare not let it rest satisfied with itself. We must contradict it for all those who have ears to hear. Allow me, therefore, in conclusion, to make some remarks upon this point—how both the unity and diversity of the children of God may be recognised just in that in which one is too often inclined to seek exclusively either the one or the other, namely, in the ecclesiastical representation of the one true faith.

The only efficient cause of salvation is, of course, the grace of God in Jesus Christ; the only condition of salvation is faith. Let us keep firm hold of this simple but fixed principle, and everything is certain and clear. Through faith is secured to each one full appropriation of the offered salvation in personal living experience, and all the healing power which is conveyed by means of grace to the individual form of life in God. Two things, therefore, are important—objective truth and subjective



vitality. In these two directions appear an historical separation as well of the definite doctrines of faith as of its vital influence. Who would deny that there never will arise, through the influence of historical currents, distortions, confusions, nay, that even impure and sickly phenomena may present themselves, and by means of the imperfection which still cleaves even to believers, conditions may exist which not only dull the perception of the character of existing things, but also are capable of disturbing and bewildering the course of the life of faith as much in the individual as in the ecclesiastical community? Then the healthful tension of the members ceases, and with the fruitful interaction of living distinctions, the freshness and the joy—nay, the certainty and the power—of progress are lost. The different parts fall asunder; those which are connected no longer recognise each other; that which has become strange, that which is not understood, is treated as hostile; differences become contrarieties; opposing persecutions excommunicate each other; and those who adhere to them find themselves in the midst of a conflict. In the face of historical facts we may not doubt that there are justifiable oppositions, necessary exclusions, and unavoidable separations. This is connected with the self-preservation of positive faith, which is not alone self-reliance on religious conviction, but healthful reliance on revealed truth. But we dare not deny that there is such a placing of parties, and such a maintenance of certain positions, that those who hold to them not only come to an open rupture with those who think otherwise, but also to a rupture with the fundamental principles of Evangelical faith, and so long as they endeavour at the same time to maintain these principles, however theoretically, will be at strife and in contradiction with themselves. For there is no internal necessity for the above-mentioned appearances. Every true reformation is much more occupied with the healing of such injuries, and the prevention of new malformations; yet, let it be well understood, not by the forcing together of justifiable differences of life into one exclusively authorised form and formula, but by returning to the only ground of salvation, the grace of God in Christ Jesus through the Holy Ghost, and through the introduction of the powers of the kingdom of God into the life of men from the true sources of all real saving mediation.

To make this Evangelical maxim—in which also is contained

the principle of our reformation—a power within the limits of the professed life of the children of God, I consider as one of the greatest tasks of our race—one of the most important subjects which our Assembly can discuss. I will not trespass upon the province of the Conference, which will hereafter occupy itself at length with the right of Evangelical Confession. I have only to lay before you, in a few sentences, the ground I have for the conviction, that while I am attached honestly and lovingly to the Church of my native country, and can, in all sincerity, subscribe to its confession, I yet feel that I am one in faith with the true and faithful members of other Churches, and can meet together with them, and can also present myself in such union before the holy presence of God. I lay the emphasis upon this last point. For we do not now speak of the never-denied internal concord of all the pious with the similarity of the striving after the heavenly riches in the unanimity of a purely spiritual communion of salvation. We speak now of the Church, but not of her as she is the subject of the faith and communion of the saints, but as she possesses historical reality in her living members upon earth. She must, therefore, confess her belief in words; nor has she ever otherwise existed in the world than in the form of the confession. The essential unity of the Church always expresses itself in the same confession, whatever may be the territorial distinction and national peculiarity; and it is possible to suppose a future where the unity of the faith of the Church may be represented by a common confession of all the members of the Church. For my part I openly confess that, according to my firmest conviction, the future belongs to the Church of the purest confession, since this Church has for itself the promise of the Lord. But unity is not uniformity, and community in confession does not necessarily demand the same formulary and the same form. Where, in the prescribed confessions of the different communities of the historical Church, is the perfectly pure expression of truth, and therefore the confession entitled to universal authority and sole recognition? Is not the formulary dependent upon the degree of ecclesiastical doctrinal development? Is not this conditional on theology? And can this form itself separate from the course of development of the epoch, and without dependence on the other branches of science and the knowledge of the day? The Church may no doubt be certain of the material truth of her doctrine, and the

Evangelical Church can have the conviction that her doctrine, drawn from the Holy Scriptures, really explains the Scriptures, and gives again the sense of revealed truth in essentials. But she must, as she has already done constantly in her official explanations, principally insist upon this, that the interpretations of the Scriptures by her servants is to be considered not as infallible; the ecclesiastical symbol not as standing on a level with the Holy Scriptures; the confessional dogma not as exhausting the Scriptures, nor as absolutely determining its relations. The confession may, therefore, be an ecclesiastical sign of recognition and rule of public doctrine, without thereby losing, in the slightest degree, the character of a testimony of faith; and so, also, *vice versa*. Deep musing on the faith, and hence on the grounds of salvation, impels not merely to active testimonies of the power of faith and unity of faith, but to the living expressions of the soul absorbed in God also belongs the doctrinal testimony of faith; and this has its worth in the distinctness of the expression and the sharpness of the proposition. We have, therefore, no reason to regard the dogma doubtfully, or theology scrupulously, or ecclesiastical authority distrustfully, or to become indifferent to the confession. How should we commit this spiritual suicide, and separate ourselves perversely from the historical ground upon which we have received peculiar duties, and through the grace of God have become what we are? It could never occur to us to characterise the fulness of the confessions as an exuberant formation, or to wish that the universal Church should be robbed of the riches of her knowledge, in the variety of her doctrinal expressions, or to try whether it be possible to limit the ecclesiastical development of the doctrine once more to the first and simplest expression of faith in which the apostles confessed the Lord Jesus Christ. We will in nothing limit the just rights of history, of doctrine, of the Church, or of the confession. But we wish that the Church should not be mistaken for the school; and cannot comprehend the communion of the Church under the one-sided point of view of a mere doctrinal communion, far less permit a decision to be given on the position of believers in the kingdom of God, derived from theological dogmas. We cannot, and will not, confound theology with religion, the positive character of doctrine with the positive character of faith, the dogmas of the Church with the

holy Word of God, the confession with the Gospel. We see that the style of doctrine of the Apostle James widely differs from that of Paul, and that Peter has a different manner from John. But we do not find that they teach a fourfold Christianity, but that one Gospel is preached in a fourfold form. These living witnesses of the Lord Jesus which have spoken by the Holy Spirit after this manner, "I believe, therefore I speak," have become in this respect too our patterns, and have given us not only the kernel and root of the correct representation of doctrine, but along with its true type, also the lasting rule and the right method for the development of the doctrine; so that whatever in ecclesiastical productions cannot prove itself to be the true fruit of that seed of sound doctrine, and thereby maintain its life, must by degrees fall off and withdraw itself. Just on this account we have patience with the slow progress of Church development. We only look on, that we may lose neither our way nor our aim in the midst of the historical changes. We do not seek after ecclesiastical amalgamations, if we endeavour to awake in the members of Christianity, divided by confessions, the consciousness of the need of mutual assistance. It is not ecclesiastical disorganisation that we want in order to produce the possibility of bringing about a representation of the organic union of the members of the one body of Jesus Christ. We do not strive after ecclesiastical formations in the narrow, historical, legal sense, but fresh and living testimonies of Evangelical faith, in order that we may more and more show by the grace of God, how it is with the men of God, who are not only confident in their faith, but live a life of faith, ever bringing out more distinctly by confession and by life, in their diversity and in their unity, their true character as children of God. If you are desirous thus to be stamped and marked as individual forms of the likeness of God in Jesus Christ, join with me in the prayer, May God grant it according to the riches of His mercy in Christ Jesus. Amen.

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II. BY THE REV. PASTOR KRUMMACHER,

OF DUISBERG.

Most honoured Assembly! Beloved Brethren in Christ Jesus!  
 With the sincere desire to steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis,  
 on the one side of a latitudinarianism incompatible with the



holy words of God, and making concessions to error, and, on the other side, of a narrow-mindedness and sickly, self-satisfied, Laodicean disposition, disowning and violating charity, I come before you in the name of Jesus ; and in order that I may not be misjudged by many here to whom I am unknown, I feel myself obliged to begin my speech with the declaration, that with all my heart I belong to the Reformed Church, and have, through the mercy of God, found in her symbols the summary and expression of the pure and eternal truth of the Divine Word. In all the diverging doctrines of Protestant denominations, I stand, bound in the spirit of my mind and of my conscience, on the side of the Reformed theology and Church. As a member and as a theologian of that Church I intend to live and die. I am so rooted with my innermost being, with my faith, life, and tendency, in the Reformed Church and theology, in her peculiarities and modes of thinking, that I should—especially at a time like the present, when the Reformed Church, her doctrine, her constitution, her simple worship, are so often despised and calumniated, even by so many who are themselves believing brethren—be guilty of the sin of denial if I were in any way to hide or weaken this confession, which by the way of *oratio*, *meditatio*, and *tentatio*, is the issue of a serious and diligent study of the Word of God. I know in whom I believe, and by the grace of God I am firmly rooted in this faith.

Yet not the less warmly have I greeted the providential appearing and mission of the Evangelical Alliance, called into life by the Lord himself. I have recognised its pathological and therapeutical significance for the Church, and on this account, with a glad heart, I have acceded to the request to lay before you my thoughts upon *the unity and diversity of the children of God*. And I do this all the more joyfully, since, at the present ecclesiastical period, a party has appeared which has made the baneful attempt to restore the times of uncharitable disputes, calumniations, misjudgings, and divisions, on points of orthodoxy ; and, in the endeavour to secure for their doctrine, which they arrogantly identify with the unerring revelation of God, the right to be regarded as infallible and entitled to sole authority ; in a word, as the exclusive doctrine, to call into being, perhaps unconsciously, a stagnation, a mutilation of ecclesiastical life, a spiritual arrogance, and a pseudo-Church system—un-Protestant, ogling at Rome, and seducing to Rome. It is

necessary, therefore, both with regard to those who are so fascinated and dazzled in the camp of Protestantism, who work against the unity of the Church, and with regard to our opponents in the Papistical body, who proclaim with mocking triumph that the divisions of the Evangelical Church are an incontrovertible proof of its speedy destruction—it is necessary, I say, to testify before all the world with emphasis based upon the infallible Word of God, that we fellow-believers of the Evangelical faith are, notwithstanding all difference of our individuality, all manifoldness in our methods and views, which had its foundation partly in the counsel of God, partly in human sinfulness and weakness, partly also in the imperfect knowledge of the present life, are yet united in all essential and fundamental articles of faith and life by the bond of a true, and therefore Divine and eternal, unity.

And if now, by the grace of God and His blessing, this unity of the children of God, amidst all their diversity, shall become a matter of full conviction and living consciousness, then, through the exertions of the Evangelical Alliance, will there be, not only a fresh seal set to its authority, qualification, and importance, but also a new and freshening breath of life will be breathed into this union, thus promoting a bolder enunciation of its belief and a more courageous prosecution of its labours. And to this, may the Lord—without whom we can do nothing, but who gives strength for all things which with a true heart are undertaken in His name—grant the rich blessing of His grace. In making the diversity and unity of the children of God the subject of our consideration, we have first to ascertain who are the children of God, then to explain their unity, and lastly their diversity.

I. To be *a child of God*—how simple and insignificant are the words! and yet in this homely phrase the most sublime dignity lies shrouded, of which a child of man can be made a partaker. Let our spirit rise to the loftiest heights and descend to the profoundest depths of thought or imagination, a nobler dignity it cannot conceive. No relation can be imagined which could bear in such measure the stamp of intimacy and confidence towards God as the relation of a child, which, without the revelation of God, had never entered the heart of man. The most sublime appearances in the province of Church history, as well as in the life of the glorious witnesses for Christ, find their

genesis and their ground of explanation in the relation of adoption. To be rescued from the slavery of sin and to be received to the heart and house of our Heavenly Father as a child of God, pardoned and accepted in Christ; this gives to the heart, as nothing else can give, the courage needed for active duty, for ready conflict, for earnest self-denial, and for a cheerful death, and, therefore, we speak of the *power* of adoption.

There is no one upon earth who has made himself a child of God. He who in truth may be called a child of God must, by the Spirit and grace of God, be born anew, or, as it is literally, be born from above. "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name; which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." Only for the sake of Christ, and in Him, has the believing sinner the right of adoption; and the seal and earnest of this right, received through grace, is the Spirit of the Son, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The consequence is, according to 1 Pet. i. 17, that our walk and conversation, during our sojourning here, must be passed in fear. Correct, thorough, and comprehensive knowledge of Divine truth; external similarity with the living children of God in speech, conduct, practice, and morals; ability to speak of spiritual experience, pleasure even in Divine things—all form by no means a certain criterion of adoption. There is something mysterious about this dignity, and only he who possesses it understands its nature, for the Holy Spirit, who "searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God," this breath of God, that bloweth where it listeth, the sound whereof we hear, but know not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth, "beareth witness with our spirit that we are sons of God." To have the knowledge of adoption is not to be adopted; the privilege exists only where a spiritual life is imparted. Then we are happily conscious that we are no longer under taskmasters, no longer under tutors and governors and the elements of the world. We are ransomed, emancipated in very deed, no longer a servant, but a child and heir through Christ; Jerusalem above, the free woman is our mother; we are not children of Hagar the bondmaid, but Isaac's children, according to the promise.

In pain, and amid tears of holy sorrow, the children of God are born. Mourning over their own heavy and ineffaceable sins,

chosen, called, and drawn by their Heavenly Father, and urged by the Holy Ghost, they turn themselves to the Lord Jesus, and only in Him do they find the joy of access to God as their Father. But in Him, for the sake of His bleeding sacrifice, for the sake of His mediatorial righteousness, they also obtain full authority to call the Eternal their Father, and to appropriate to themselves all the privileges thence resulting. It does not, however, become the portion of all the children of God to possess the full consciousness of the blessing of adoption. Not to all is it given to see the fulness of the merits of Jesus Christ and the tender love of their Heavenly Father's heart, so that they can rest undoubtingly in His fatherly arms and rejoice over their newly-attained dignity of adoption. There are timid, trembling ones among God's children, longing after the certainty of adoption, agonising hearts who would fain perceive the distinctly marked signature of the children of God in themselves, yet by their perception of the misery of their sins, of their want of faith, and of moral requirements wavering in their conviction of their adoption. Among all Christian confessions, even in the Roman and Greek Churches, are to be found such as these, whose knowledge is limited, deficient, perhaps extremely erroneous, but whose heart "hungers and thirsts after righteousness." And are there not such in the heathen world and among the people of Israel? Does not the Apostle Paul speak, in Rom. viii. 21, of a longing and travailing creation that shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption to the glorious liberty of the children of God? But who would reckon the souls agonising for the grace of God as belonging to darkness and the kingdom of the devil? Who can here mistake the marks of the grace of God, who does not regard our categories, but will have mercy upon whom He will have mercy? And, therefore, the embryo of true longing after grace, however undeveloped it may be, if it be only sincere and earnest, must not be injured by a rough hand. It is not human schemings that give the stamp of adoption; God's choice grace and calling are free, and mock at all human limits. But, least of all, is a doctrine, however systematic, thoroughly subtle and scholastic, justified in claiming for itself and its categories to be the only valid representation of the true physiognomy of the children of God. There is often more of the true adoption of God in one of these striving, longing souls, untaught by men in the dogma, than in the ablest doctor of the



dogmatic science. Oh, how graciously did our Saviour receive that centurion of Capernaum, that Canaanitish woman, the thief on the cross, and the woman of Samaria; and yet how deficient must their dogmatic system have been! It is, of course, understood that in speaking thus we in no way undervalue the worth, even the necessity, of scientific investigations and dogmatic-systematic labour, or would diminish the importance and significance of deeply-impressed marks of adoption; but even in those Christians who have received the seal of adoption and can rejoice in this with all their hearts, it is not the doctrine, not the sharply-expressed definition of the truth in separate and non-fundamental dogmas, which makes them children of God, but rather the painful consciousness, brought about by the Holy Spirit, of the misery of sin; and their only comfort in life and in death is that which they draw from the incontrovertible facts and fundamental truths of the Gospel. And these consist in the incarnation of Christ, His perfect obedience, His mediatorial sufferings and death, his resurrection from the dead, the justification of the poor sinner by faith in Christ and the pursuit which arises, and is inseparable from this, after holiness of heart and life.

II. This leads us to the second point which we have to throw light upon, *the unity of the children of God*. How impressively the Holy Scriptures enforce the unity of the children of God, and how sharply they chastise the factions and divisions among them, may be seen clearly from 1 Cor. i. 10: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions (*σχίσματα*) among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and the same judgment." But these divisions exhibited themselves among the Corinthians in this, that one said, "I am of Paul;" another, "I am of Apollos;" a third, "I am of Cephas;" and a fourth, "I am of Christ." Speech is the expression of the mind (of the *νοῦς*), and contains the meaning (*γνώμη*) of every one. Therefore Paul exhorts, "Be perfectly joined together in the same mind;" for if the mind is not one, unity in speech is only disguise—a mere appearance of unity. In 1 Cor. xii. 25, the Apostle refers to the unity of the different members of the body which are ordained by God, and infers from this the absurdity of divisions. With great emphasis he insists upon this, that the members of the *one* body, in all

the diversity of their formation and functions, are intended for mutual assistance, and that no member of the body can regard the other as superfluous or despicable. The eye cannot say to the hand, "I have no need of thee," nor the head to the feet, "I need ye not." All this he applies to the body of Christ, to the Christian community, in which a unity, ordained and willed by God, is to find place. In 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19, he says: "For first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions among you; and I partly believe it. For there must be also heresies (*αἵρεσεις*, *dissentiones*, *opiniones*) among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you." Here, therefore, the approved *δίκιμοι*, the upright, are opposed to the schismatics, who are the authors of the heresies (*αἵρεσεις*) which are expressly reckoned in Gal. v. 19, as among the evident works of the flesh. The flesh is ready to exalt itself beyond the boundaries set by God himself, and rends asunder the bond of love. And it is certainly of great importance in the present ecclesiastical period, that immediately after the serious warnings of the Apostle against these schismatic and heretical excesses, he speaks of the Lord's Supper and its institution, in which the two-fold *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* is not wanting. This is, therefore, significant for the present time, because, unfortunately, since the Reformation—since that unhappy discussion at Marburg, and especially in our days, by the power and devices of Satan—the Lord's Supper, this repast of love, has furnished, and still furnishes, occasion to the most unloving accusations of heresy, to divisions, and to the most determined preparations for battle. Hence in 1 Cor. iii. 3, envy, strife, and divisions (*διχοστασίαι*) are called "carnal, and walking after the manner of men." But this is not apostolical. Paul had heard at Rome that certain persons "preached Christ even of envy and strife, supposing to add affliction to his bonds," as we may see in Phil. i. 15, 16. How easily might a division have arisen had the Apostle exerted himself against these individuals in a carnal manner, for which he had every reason in the eyes of men. It would have been an easy thing for him to gather together a party against them, but he rejoiced much more that only *παντὶ τρόπῳ*, "Christ was preached (*εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ*), whether it be in pretence or in truth;" although he does not leave unnoticed the impure, which he calls wood, hay, and straw, but leaves the judgment by fire to Him who

then will righteously decide. But far from such a disposition are all those who, in their carnal and impatient zeal, bring about divisions, even, perhaps, without being clearly conscious of it. It is, however, certainly possible also in the present day that a man may separate himself from all other Evangelical denominations, and, boasting of an immediate extra-apostolical connexion with Christ, may in some distorted sense, maintain himself to be a Christian, by which he makes his individual self his god. The chief thing remains indisputable, that we receive more of the fulness of Christ, that we yield ourselves up to the *whole* truth of the Gospel, then we are not sectarian; for in Christ we love all the children of God of every communion; we have communion with them in spirit; we make use of their gifts; sectarianism dies away in Him; and we are raised in the Spirit above all divisions. We agree together in love, and are diligent to maintain "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." This is (as Stier justly remarks) the unity consisting in the mind and working of the one Divine Spirit, since, according to His nature, He is above every division, and in all true thought, holy intention, and moral action, constitutes the one pervading or constant principle. And where only a spark of this spirit is to be found, we must seize, preserve, and take it with us in the great unity of humble, honest conduct, pursued on a similar course and with a like aim. This internal, hidden unity manifests itself in peace, and where this peace exists in pure hearts, they join together also outwardly in unity of the Spirit. The objective foundation of this unity is that characterised by the Apostle, "One body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all." This objective unity of the Spirit we have not to manufacture, to represent artistically, but to maintain, for it already exists. It is a body, because there is a Head from which believers are derived. Hence every false dismemberment, each separation wounding the truth and love among those who trust in Christ, is condemned. In truth and love the members of the united body are to live together in the same way that they hope to be together in eternity. "One Lord," says the Apostle, one Jesus Christ. Everything depends upon our positive connexion with Him who is, was, and remains the Head, the Centre, and the Foundation of the Church. And

what brings the individual into this living connexion? The *one* faith; the *one* baptism; *the* faith which is sealed by the Holy Ghost in believers. However much there may be in the body of a Church that induces separation in constitution and doctrine, there is still only one body, only one Lord, only one faith. Baptism is the positive testimony of the individual that he determines to be the Lord's, and vows obedience to Him. The decision of doctrine upon this point is not here (as Olshausen says) the question; but the Apostle says the community of the Lord has only *one* Lord, *one* faith, *one* baptism; differences of doctrine may arise, without affecting the essential object of faith. The essential faith of the heart is very different from the peculiar doctrines, comprehension, and opinions of this faith. We find the *one* faith in *one* Lord in all Christian confessions. It is not a particular view of the reconciliation effected through Christ which saves, but this reconciliation itself. It is not the conviction of our election that makes us children of God, but the Divine choice itself. "It is not knowledge that saves me," says Barth, "otherwise those must be saved who have the knowledge without living in it." The *πιστις*, of which the Apostle speaks, is no doctrine; he does not speak, as Stier says, of a *νηρεῖν τῆν ἐνότητα τοῦ γράμματος*, but rather of subjective dependence on the Lord. The faith of the heart, recognised and blessed by the Lord with fruits, decides at last as to the pure doctrine. The Churches, therefore, in the same way as the individual believer, are to conduct themselves in love towards each other without relinquishing or denying acknowledged special truths. It might appear singular that the Apostle does not mention the Lord's Supper in this connexion. Did he foresee that on this dogma believers would separate? Did he wish, by his silence on this point, to give a hint to the contending parties that the decision as to connexion with the Church of Christ was not to be looked for in this ordinance? Or did he wish here only to mention those things which are the foundation of connexion with Christ, without entering further into what this connexion includes and guards, strengthens and nourishes?

It is certain that in the one body, which organically consists of many members, there is *one* Spirit, but in the fulness of its life there are various gifts; there is *one* Lord, but as He conducts a manifold government, there are therefore various offices; there is *one* God, but as He works in all, there are various powers.



The instruments which the Lord of the Church designs to raise up are (as Zeller says) neither popes, nor emperors, nor kings, nor princes, men of power and might, but men illuminated by His Spirit, armed with power from above, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, appointed and commissioned by himself alone. But that which is built up and grows out of Christ is the Church, which is destined to attain to "the unity of the faith and to the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." That is the as yet unattained goal. The whole community shall become a *υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*—namely, *α υἱὸς ἀνὴρ*, no longer *τέκνα* or *υἱοί*. The body, filled with the Spirit of the Head, will become in its full growth even as the Head, Christ. "Speaking the truth in love," says the Apostle, we are "to grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ;" and every other "speaking the truth," however fairly and elegantly, yet "without love," will be a lie. Here, too, the mildness which excludes all rudeness is of value, just as much as the earnestness of truth which excludes all weakness. But in connexion with this union of Christians in Christ there can be no question about orders of priesthood, since the *ἐπιχορηγία* of every member of Christ is what constitutes the universal priesthood; but when the visible organism falls to pieces, after it has attained its destiny, then will the body, which by such means has been formed, be revealed in its glory.

Here belongs that which the Apostle says to us in Phil. ii. 1—5: "If there be therefore any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, fulfil ye my joy, that ye be likeminded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind. Let nothing be done through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus." Thus the Apostle demands subordination; each should serve, rather than rule; each should find his joy and delight, not in enjoying alone, and retaining for himself the higher position to which he may be appointed, and the gifts and possession which it may afford, but rather let him willingly resign and devote all these favours to others; everything to the end that the unanimity of Christians may become a living principle, and be strengthened

and promoted. Therefore he calls upon us in Col. ii. 18: "Let no man beguile you of your reward"—or, as it is in the original, *μηδείς ὑμᾶς καταβραβεύετω*, let no man rob you of your crown—"in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding the Head, from which all the body, by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God." He therefore separates himself from Christ, without whom there is no Divine light and life. In Col. iii. 12, Paul exhorts, "Put on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye. And above all, put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness. And let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also, ye are called in *one* body; and be ye thankful." The Apostle here places love as the summary of Christian perfection, because, in the commandment of love, all other commandments are fulfilled. The being called in *one* body—this deeply essential communion—demands of us that we should maintain peace, and guard it in the midst of all disturbances, and with it continual gratitude for the grace that is given us. We discover nothing like an overweening estimate of scholastic *theologoumena* when the Apostle, in the warmth of his heart, rejoices over the Thessalonians. He boasts of the labour of love, the work of faith, the patience of hope. And how much has he it at heart, in the course of this Epistle, that their love to each other, and towards all, should display itself abundantly. He tells them that it was not necessary for him to write to them upon brotherly love, for they were taught of God to love one another, and they loved also all the brethren in Macedonia. How warmly, at the commencement of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, does the Apostle praise their brotherly feeling, and that the love of every one of them all toward each other aboundeth. And how typical, in this respect, does the first community of believers exhibit itself, of whom it is said, "And all that believed were together (*ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*), and had all things common;" and, in addition, "continued steadfastly (*προσκαρτεροῦντες*) in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship (*κοινωνία*), in breaking of bread, and in prayer;" "The multitude of them that believed were (*καρδια και ἡ ψυχῆ*)

μια) of one heart and of one soul." The whole Church of the children of God compose one body, "fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part," by the love, power, and wisdom of God. This union is assisted by joints and bands which are suited to each other in every diversity of construction and position. Even as one member of the human body supports and strengthens another, imparting life and vigour to it, so should the children of God support, strengthen, and serve one another.

At the commencement of his Epistle, the Apostle John appeals to the Word of Life which he has heard, seen, and handled. This he proclaims, in order that those also to whom he writes may have fellowship with him, which fellowship is with the Father and His Son Jesus Christ; but this excludes the walking any longer in darkness, and fits them for walking in the light. Not as if this walking in light involves or postulates the assertion of entire freedom from sin, but rather the experience of reconciliation, and of the forgiveness of sins in the blood of Christ, and the fulfilling of the Divine commands, especially of love to the brethren and rejection of the love of the world. He characterises, as the fundamental commandment binding on the members of the new covenant, "That we should believe on the name of the Son of God, and have love one towards another." He enlarges our hearts in testifying to us that "every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God, and in every one that confesses that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God." But where the love of the brethren is wanting, there the confession of the love of God is a false confession. But "he who believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God;" he also belongs to the great alliance—to that alliance of the children of God which He has founded and loves.

It has pleased Eternal Wisdom to exhibit many such short pithy abridgments of the sacred truths of God. The words of Christ to Nicodemus upon the new birth and the faith, is sufficient for all those who are desirous to learn how they can enter the kingdom of God. Still shorter is the summary given of all Christ's preaching in Galilee, Mark i. 11—15: "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." Paul expresses the entire abstract of his doctrine in this way: "We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness, but to those who

are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." In 1 Cor. i. 23, 24, and in the fifteenth chapter, he reminds the Corinthians of the Gospel which he had preached to them, by which they were saved, and thus sums up its subject-matter, "that Christ died for our sins, and that he rose the third day, according to the Scriptures." In Phil. iii. 7, 8, when completely describing his own Christianity, he says, "But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ; yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord; for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ, and be found in him, not having on my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith: that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death, if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead." Of the same character is the answer which he gave to the question of the alarmed gaoler at Philippi, "What must I do to be saved? Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved and thy house." And in Gal. vi. 14, 15, he opposes, to the mind and doctrine of carnal apostles, this short summary of his own doctrine: "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature; and as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them and mercy, and upon the Israel of God." All these summary representations of the doctrine of Christ give a sufficient and satisfying answer for the simple in all religious discussions. He, for example, who is born again, believes on Jesus Christ; he who can glory in the cross of Christ, and is a new creature, cannot possibly be resting in a soul-destroying error, because for him the kingdom of God and eternal blessedness is a certainty; the cross of Christ divides him from the world, which lieth in wickedness, and is going to destruction, for the new creature in Christ Jesus availeth before God. On the contrary, everything which is opposed to, or leads away from, repentance, faith, knowledge of the crucified Saviour and the new birth, is a destructive error. Of this unity of the children of God, as the



essential and fundamental character of His Church, and as their highest aim, the Lord also speaks himself in the prayer He offered as our great High Priest (John xvii.) He speaks of His own whom the Father hath given Him, who know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent, to whom He has manifested the name of the Heavenly Father, who have kept His word, have received it, and have known surely that He is sent from the Father. He says He is glorified in them; He prays for them, that the Father should keep them in His name, that they may be one, as the Father and Son are one. It is, therefore, the work of Jesus Christ, the completion of His redemption, that the unity of the Father and the Son may become a unity of the entire world of those who believe on Him. Hence the Spirit, which is the eternal bond of the Father and of the Son, dwells in the believing Church, binding and preserving it in unity with the Father and the Son, in knowledge of whom it has eternal life. The world hates this Church, bound together in the unity of faith and love, but the Saviour prays for its members, that they may be kept from the evil and sanctified in the truth. He prays at the same time for those who, through their word, will believe on Him: "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me; and lovest them as thou hast loved me." He had appeared to restore the unity in the shattered human race by reconciliation with God. But the invisible unity of love is also to reveal itself externally, and just this revelation of external unity is to be the strongest witness to the world that Christ is the Son of God, from which it is self-evident how completely they are opposed to the chief object of Christ's coming, who deny this unity and exert themselves in opposition to the union of the children of God.

III. There are all kinds of children born in Zion, that the Highest himself may establish her, as it is said in Ps. lxxxvii. 5. They are born; they do not create themselves; but it is the Lord who calls them into life. They cannot work themselves into the right of adoption. A man may, indeed, be able by his own exertions to arrive at a conviction of the understanding upon the Divine character of revelation to a certain fulfilment of this and that Christian duty, but still there is wanting the new birth by the water and the Spirit, without which no man can *see* the kingdom of God—to say nothing of entering therein—and with-

out which he can know nothing of the things of the Spirit. It is only by the new birth that light enters the understanding, power into the will, integrity into the heart, speech and hearing into the conscience, or that words of confession gladly pass over our lips; only by the new birth do we receive arms that are raised to heaven, and feet that run the way of the Divine commandments. All the children of Zion experience this. They all desire to give up their own life and have the new life given to them. Christ is their life. In their veins His blood runs; they all strive after one object and walk in one path. They wish to love the Lord who has loved them and given himself for them. The Highest acknowledges them as living stones for the temple of God. They are stones of different forms and characters, of different colours and different polish, all wrought with the chisel of God, often proved in the glowing fire and separated from the dross. They are people of various kinds and natures—people who, both in internal and external respects, with regard to rank, country, and the inner life, are very different. In Zion dwell kings and subjects, high and low, educated and uneducated, Tyrians and Moors, Hottentots and Esquimaux, people of the most different confessions, of the most various peculiarities, but all standing under the cross of Christ, beneath the shade of the branches of the tree of life, eating of its fruits, feeding in the pastures of the Gospel, drinking of one fountain of life and healing. Each one of these children of Zion has his peculiar stamp; not one is exactly similar to his fellows. The internal aspects of the children of God, and their internal dispositions and experiences, are just as endlessly different as their external aspect and their external destiny. One is drawn gradually to Christ by long and fatiguing investigation, another suddenly, like Saul on the way to Damascus. One is living quietly and honestly, but without a living faith, dead in sins; eternity glares upon him, the Saviour sends His ray of grace into his soul, exhibits to him the utter nothingness of all his supposed virtues, and the inner man is awakened to a longing after reconciliation in the blood of Christ. Another is snatched in the midst of a life of sin from the path of destruction by Almighty Grace. This one is led to Christ by a school of suffering; that one by a sermon, by a friend, or even by a blaspheming enemy of Christ. And how various is the character of the children of Zion. In one, faith is the most prominent

characteristic; he has few emotions, but with sober, earnest spirit, he leans upon the Word as upon a rock, is obedient in the faith as were Noah and Abraham, and in all cases of mystery or consolation he holds fast by the promise of God; he does not see, but he believes, and goes on to Moriah with his Isaac, firmly believing, "The Lord doeth all things well." In another, everything blossoms as in spring, his heart is constantly rejoicing and exulting; he rests, like John, on Jesus' bosom, and, like Mary, sits at His feet, entirely absorbed in His grace and truth. He would fain call all the world to the arms of his Redeemer, and the general tone of his soul is, "Oh, that thy fire might soon burn, thou unspeakably Beloved One, that soon the whole world might know that thou art King, God, and Lord!" Love is the chief type of his being. In another, it is hope. Feeling himself fettered in the land of death, he mounts, on eagles' pinions, from the imperfect to the perfect, and desires to depart and be with Christ. In Zion, too, we meet with the childlike simplicity of heart, which is not equally rich in wisdom and knowledge in high and profound thoughts and views, and does not understand intellectual and refined expositions of the Bible, but which keeps fast hold of the Lord, faithfully puts out to usury the one talent confided to it, and reposes without a care on the Lord. There we see another who can with great dexterity explain and define the wonderful mysteries of the Divine Word, and with peculiar clearness surveys the depths of Divine revelation. There are Christians whose bent is principally to the external, working and creating with unwearying activity for the purposes of the kingdom of God. There are others who chiefly seek quiet solitude, and are called to a more contemplative life and to a deep investigation of Divine truth. This one displays in his conversation more of a venerated and devout character—that other, a cheerful cordiality and easy candour. Some have much to complain of, are deeply depressed by the feeling of their sins, and by the perception of their want of fidelity, while others, glad in their communion with their Saviour, go their way, carrying in their hearts the certainty of their forgiveness and their justification before God. While one is more receptive, digesting the grace received in silence, another is more productive, and, like Peter, cannot help communicating the treasures he has received. There are those who are timid and easily discouraged, and others who are fresh and

courageous in the Lord and in the power of His might, going on from strength to strength, from victory to victory. There are not flowers merely of one kind, of one colour, of one form, of one and the same odour in the garden of the Lord—the heavenly gardener has not thus monotonously and tastelessly arranged His garden, for there are to be seen the greatest variety and diversity. How various is the type and how different is the manner of representation of a Paul and of a John, of a Peter and of a James. The city of God is composed of precious stones of the most various kinds. The names of the twelve tribes of Israel are written upon the twelve gates of the New Jerusalem, and each soul will be reckoned to that tribe of Israel the spiritual character of which it possesses, but all these characters form in their diversity the most lovely harmony. There are many gifts, but there is one Spirit, who reveals himself variously in all these gifts. There are many offices and services to be discharged for God and for our neighbours, but there is one Lord, Christ, the King of His people, the Head of His Church, the Steward of the heavenly sanctuary, who has all such offices under Him and portions them out, and there are many powers, but there is only one God who “worketh all in all.” In each one these gifts are productive for the general good. “To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another is given the word of knowledge by the same Spirit.” Wisdom occupies itself with the works, ways, judgments, and mysteries of God, and gains an understanding of the connexion of those things which singly, or in single combinations, proves, estimates, loves, or hates, and knows how wisely to apply the Word of God. “To another,” says the Apostle, “is given faith by the same Spirit; to another the gift of healing.” The difference of gifts arises from the will of the one Spirit, and effects a difference in the children of God, which is not to be blamed, but admired. If in one Church all the members resembled each other so much, that if one had been seen and heard then all would have been seen and heard, it would be an evil sign. With the unity there is to be a variety of spiritual gifts; so is it ordained by God. The different degrees of Christian developments form a difference in the children of God. A perfect Christian is he who is ready to every good work, and by habit has a quick sense in distinguishing good from evil. The perfect are placed in contrast with young children, to whom



must be given, not strong meat, but the milk of elementary doctrine. Paul speaks, in 1 Cor. iii. 1, of young children as carnal, and of the perfect as spiritual; and as the Corinthians were still so carnal, Paul was obliged to feed them with milk. John divides believers into fathers, young men, and little children, in which division, of course, he speaks of spiritual age. The knowledge of the fathers goes beyond space and time to Him that is from the beginning; the knowledge of the children extends to the father's name, which is more comprehensible than the name of the eternal and essential Word. John does not warn the fathers, but he warns the young men against the temptations of the world, and the children against the snare of antichrists.

The diversity of the children of God exhibits itself also in the peculiar task and mission, as well as in the character and manner of thinking, of the individual. And here I must be permitted to mention some men of God whom we number with joy amongst the heirs of eternal glory, because they were in very deed partakers in the adoption of God. While passing over the living in silence, I will only mention Luther and F. A. Lampe, Zwinglius and Œtinges, Calvin and Gellert, Saurin and Jœnicke, John Knox and Lavater, Thomas à Kempis and Martin Boos, A. H. Francke and Fred. Perthes, Magnus Frederic Ross and Claus Harms, the Electress Henrietta Louisa and Mrs. Fry, John Arndt and Professor Knappin Halle, Storr and Claudius, Wesley and Tersteegen, John Albert Bengel and Jung Stilling, Haman and Bogatzky, Zinzendorf and Neander, Spener and Oberlin, Gottfried Menken and Heubner. What diversities meet us here in appearance, bent, and representation in the whole nature of these men! and yet they were all, in all their diversity, united in all the essentials of living Christianity, especially in the nine articles of belief which the Alliance has determined upon for all members, although with respect to doctrine they were widely separated on many points.

Experience has taught that in times of a healthy, sound development of Christian life and effort—as, for example, was the case with the German Evangelical Church during the ten years after the jubilee year of the Reformation (from 1817—1827)—Christians imbued with love to the Lord and to His kingdom, forgetting more minute dogmatic distinctions, will unite in working together for the furtherance of the heavenly king-

dom. And only then, when after many hard battles and victories, a time of peace, long, yet full of danger, ensued, did the blight of confessional strife threaten to desolate the verdant pastures of brotherly love and union; and disunion, hateful to God and His holy angels, entered the Church. We do not complain that these Christians should have formed from God's Word a firm conviction upon the dogmas of their confession; such we all lay claim to, who are now assembled before God; but it is a symptom of a serious malady, having its root in proud presumption that any one confession should be thought authorised and justified in setting itself up as the infallible tribunal of interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and requiring all other confessions to yield a complete submission to its doctrine. This, then, is blamable in these Christians, that they should doubt the conscientious investigations of others, who are conscious of having found in God's Word other views and convictions upon non-fundamental dogmas, and are therefore conscientiously bound by them, and on that account should withhold the hand of brotherhood from them in sincere love and charity. As long as the principle is steadfastly maintained in the Evangelical Church, that every Christian is not only justified but bound to investigate freely the Word of God, so long there will be different views upon non-fundamental doctrines and mysteries, but which can only then interfere with the union of Christians in Christ, when inflexible dogmatism is set up in the place of that charity which, according to 1 Cor. xiii., is beyond all prophecies, all mysteries, and all knowledge, even above the faith that could remove mountains, in the place of love, that royal law, that bond of perfection. The evil, therefore, is not the firm holding of confessional dogmas; for instance, upon the relation of the two natures in Christ, upon the doctrine of the two sacraments, and other doctrines; but it is in dogmatic exclusiveness, which withdraws proudly and unlovingly from those Christians, who in the fundamental doctrines acknowledged by the Alliance have found and recognised the bond of union of all sincere and living Christians. Should it, however, be said, that these nine articles bear an exclusive character, we acknowledge it, as far as regards Rationalism and Romanism, which can never be otherwise than hostile. Our alliance regards both these systems as fundamentally wrong, because they are in open and direct contradiction to

God's Word, the only infallible source and guide of faith; although, on the other hand, it does not hesitate to acknowledge that, even among Rationalists and Romanists, there may be such as strive sincerely after grace and truth; and, that on this account, by God's free grace, and in a hidden manner, they are on the way to attain unto it. The Alliance is strictly exclusive towards every error which is in direct opposition to its nine cardinal points, but enlarged and warm is its brotherly love to all those who, from the bottom of their heart, can say Amen to this, its confession.

I conclude with the words of Augustine, one of the fathers of the Church: *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.*

May the Lord our God and Saviour preserve, bless, strengthen, and further the Evangelical Alliance and its efforts by His Holy Spirit to the praise of His name, and to the healing and strengthening of the partakers of His kingdom. Amen!

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3. BY THE REV. PASTOR WUNSCHÉ,

OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH, BERLIN.

Allow me, my brethren, a preacher among the United Brethren, to say a few words upon the great, comforting, and blessed truth, that the children of God, in spite of all diversity, are still one. Under the term unity is not to be understood uniformity or monotony, but an internal, organic unity and brotherhood, which has the same commencement, the same means, the same end. Under diversity separation, strife, and hostility are not to be understood, but the development of the manifold gifts and forms which have all one source and one aim. And this is the meaning of unity and diversity, because we now speak of the adoption into God's family. But this adoption is not the adoption which is of "blood, or of the will of the flesh, or of the will of man;" nor is it that which is expressed in the doctrine true in itself, that all men have one God and one Creator; but it is the adoption which has its beginning in the new birth of the Spirit by the living Word.

The unity of the children of God is founded upon their adoption by God. This God is *one* God. Between Him and man is but *one* mediator. But both enter into the hearts of men by *one*

Spirit. The children who are born to Him must, therefore, be one. It is the same Spirit that begets them. It is the same blood that cleanses them from all sin. They have all one Saviour, on whom they believe, and whom they love. They have all one grace, by which they become blessed. They have all one home, to which they are travelling. They are all members of God's house, joint heirs with Christ. They are one, but not uniform.

Their diversity is established in a like manner, on their adoption by God. Neither in the kingdom of Nature, nor in the kingdom of the Spirit, is there uniformity; and yet God is the origin of both. The triune God creates every plant, each animal in his kind, in his peculiarity. There are not two men who are uniform; at the most, they resemble each other. Every one has his peculiar physiognomy, his peculiar gift. This diversity is a regulation willed by God. In it is manifested the manifold wisdom of God, the riches of His spiritual gifts. His children must, therefore, be different.

The object of this unity and diversity of the children of God is, therefore, not to create either uniformity or division, but mutually to assist in the edification, establishing and ornamenting of the whole. They are all one heart and one soul, one body and one spirit, "even as they are called in one hope of their calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." They have many gifts, many offices, many powers; but there is one Spirit, one Lord, one God that worketh all in all. In each one the gifts of the Spirit are devoted to the general use. They are all "baptized by one Spirit into one body." But the body is not one member, but many. No member can say to the other, "I need thee not," but the members shall care for one another. It is not a perfect body which has but one member, or where one member is wanting. Do they call themselves by different names—of Paul, of Apollos, of Cephas, of Christ? They still know that "Christ is not divided, that Paul has not been crucified for them, that they have not been baptized into the name of Paul." This diversity in unity serves them for the edification of the body of Christ, "till they all come to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." Should they meet each other on the way of life, they do not ask, "Whence?" but "Whither?" And as "the mount that burned with fire,



and was shrouded in blackness, and darkness, and tempest," is not their destination, but "Mount Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, the innumerable company of angels, the general assembly and church of the first-born, the spirits of just men made perfect, the mediator of the new covenant, the blood of sprinkling," therefore they give each other heart and hand, in token of fidelity, through every change. They have all one inheritance, and serve one Lord. My brethren, we can all of us only be made eternally blessed by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. Do we believe this? So let us be upright and "grow up into Him in all things which is the head, even Christ; from whom the whole body, fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." The world will no longer point its finger at us, as upon those who confess the religion of love, but at the same time bite and devour each other. We shall experience the power of the Gospel in overcoming the world. Let us no longer glory in men. "All things are ours. Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come, all are ours. And we are Christ's; and Christ is God's."

Loving union wins the fight,  
 Ascends each mountain height,  
 Beholds, in rapid flight,  
     Its late exulting foe.  
 Then psalms of victory ring,  
 With thanks to Christ, the King,  
     For hostile ranks laid low.  
 Loving union wins the fight! Amen.



# SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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V.

## THE UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD OF BELIEVERS.

1. REV. PROVOST DR. NITZSCH,

PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

2. REV. DR. MALLET,

OF BREMEN.

3. REV. PASTOR KÖNIG,

OF WOLKWITZ.

## FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

1. REV. DR. SACK, MAGDEBURG.

2. REV. PRELATE VON KAPFF, STUTTGARDT.

3. REV. DR. BARTH, CALW.

4. REV. DR. PRÉSENSÉ, PARIS.





## SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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v.

### THE UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD OF BELIEVERS.

1. BY THE REV. PROVOST DR. NITZSCH,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

*Saturday Morning, September 12, 1857.*

President : Pastor PRIMARIUS TREVIRANUS, Bremen.

BELoved Brethren in the Lord,—They must be very influential principles of unity in operation amongst us, when, although belonging to different Churches and parties, for one or other of which we cherish a strong feeling of preference, we yet bid farewell to a zeal which usually cools and embitters divided parties against each other to their mutual injury—they must, I say, be powerful principles which are able to awaken in parties so pure and reciprocal a zeal, that they are obliged to long and seek after each other; and are in a condition, should the occasion of necessity arise, to make common cause, and to form a possible and perfectly allowable syncretism—I use the terms, possible and perfectly allowable, because the celebrated Reformed theologian Alting has now shown us what such a syncretism would be.

But if we now ask, Whence do these principles arise? the answer is, They must, at all events, lie in the nature of a Christian Church, which is a unity. We have a great Teacher who teaches us what the Church is; for Jesus Christ has not only revealed to us in the Scripture the elementary notions of His kingdom, but, since we are every one prone, like school children, to regard a thing from its first best side, Jesus Christ, the unerring one, has taught and represented what His Church is, by means of Church history, which He overrules and has

arranged according to His own wise plan. A wise and kind Teacher takes the component parts of a thing separately, and shows each, one after the other, to be perfectly authorised in its proper place, and corrects the scholar who, perhaps, thinks of understanding the whole at once. Christ, as controller of its development, has hitherto placed before us, one after another, merely particulars—and, therefore, of themselves, partial and imperfect representations—of His Church; but yet they are all of things which it was needful should, in their proper time, transpire, be suffered and enjoyed, if it was wished that the Church should be understood in its essential and necessary component parts. But the principal matter for a master of doctrine is, after laying out the particulars of a given subject, to comprise the whole together again, and thus present the thought complete. So, also, our Lord who, as Founder of the Church, is likewise our Teacher by means of Church history, will at last teach us, through the varied experience of His Church, to perceive and comprehend its totality and unity—what it is in reality. This may be yet in the future; but if we would expect it, we must give ourselves to Him as His instruments—instruments for this His great work of comprehension in unity. But where are we to find sufficient security for all this, such as shall sustain our co-operation, if not in what was at the beginning said of the Church which is in Christ, and was claimed on its behalf? The apostles in their time—for in almost every age, the one-sided views and failings to which the Church is subject have appeared, and, therefore, of course, also in the very earliest—the apostles had already become aware of tendencies to party spirit and exclusiveness—one would be of Paul, another of Apollos, this of Cephas, and that of Christ; therefore, the Apostle exclaims, “Is Christ divided?” but yet awards to these named gifts their proper place, and says, “All are yours.” So, also, there is not the smallest ecclesiastical party, if it has existed centuries, which has not, as a sign set up by the Lord, something special to say to all others. At another time, the Apostle probed the disposition of men to see if it was sound, and said, “If there be, therefore, any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, fulfil ye my joy, that ye be *of one mind*” (Phil. ii. 1, 2); and again when he was imprisoned at Rome, but knew, however, that the Word was not bound, but continued to work and to

found Churches, he was yet anxious for the stability of Churches that were without support in the family, nation, or State, and were born in the lap of free association; and he, therefore, ceased not to exhort them to be endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. "There is one body," &c.

With Peter the case is different. This Apostle wishes to strengthen the Churches which are opposed by the whole force of Judaism, to which, however, the revelation was given. Hence he awakens in them the feeling of inheritance rooted in their new birth from the seed of the Word, and says: "Ye are lively stones," penetrated by the life-giving power of Christ, the corner-stone; "ye are the house of God, the holy nation, the royal *priesthood*;" and this last is a word which to-day we are thoroughly to consider. This thought is not so democratical, nor so aristocratical, nor so exhausted and trite, that we should be ashamed to assign to it one day of the present Assembly.

Still, the idea, "all believers are priests," is somewhat new to the understanding, and difficult to realise in the life, notwithstanding that, in reality, it is very old. We shall, therefore, ask what is meant by *priesthood*, and *universal* *priesthood*, and how Peter came to use the expression? We shall be said to raise the question of the possibility of this thought, or, at all events, objections against it. Is it so, indeed?—are all believers, all Christians priests? How does the actual condition of our Churches, and the character of their members, agree with this statement? If all are priests, where, then, are the laity? Or, as an official order is thought indispensable also by Evangelical Protestants, how does this agree with the universal *priesthood*? Just such questions as these lead us to those fundamental thoughts with which we may comfort, and warn, and exhort one another.

"Priest" is, to an Evangelical ear, a name of doubtful import, according to the nature of the God and of the community intended, between whom there must be a mediation by means of persons, even when Jesus Christ is the God. The priest receives something from God and brings it to the community; and again takes something from the community and carries it to God. What can be conceived of nobler, greater, and more perfect in personal existence than a man, on whose heart the sacrificial flame of adoring faith unquenchably burns, and who stands before God lovingly to bring into remembrance all those com-

mitted to his charge? But, on the other hand, again, how low and degrading is the notion of priest, of mediator, often presented to us by the facts of religious history! Yes, it may be said that the most exalted and the most debasing views of human nature are to be found in the representation which has been given of the priest; rising, as it does, on the one side, to the incarnation, and the service of seraphs, and sinking down on the other to the religions of magic, astrology, and sorcery.

But we will clear our way, and pass on to biblical territory. And, if we refer, in the first place, to the Old Testament, we see that, antecedent to the Hebrew law of the priesthood, the Lord had already declared, through Moses (Exod. xix. 5, 6), "Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice, ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me, above all people: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." If, then, the whole nation of Israel is a priesthood, expressly declared so by God, where are those for whom mediation is to be made?—for what laity, so to speak, is Israel to perform priestly service? In this case, the heathen constitute the laity. And what prophecy declares shall be perfectly accomplished by a *servant* (Isa. xlii. 1), is already exhibited as the vocation of the people. And this has been verified by history, since the salvation of the world, commencing with the Jews, was effected by means of Jesus. But this first Israel was a carnal people, and incapable of representing a spiritual kingdom of God; consequently it was necessary that they should, by various methods, be purified from the uncleanness of their nature, be weaned from idolatry, preserved and held together for the service of the living God: order and unity, and a visible representation of the whole process of salvation, were, moreover, necessary. Now it was only by a special priesthood that it could at the same time be shown, both that the sinner, as such, could not have free access to God, nor part in sanctification, and that yet the Lord provided a way of expiation to every transgressor who was not cut off from His people. Since, then, the whole nation needed expiation, it must, through various divisions and gradations, narrow itself at last into a sole high-priesthood, for the restoration of its capability to serve God. The matter, however, could not rest here. Already has appeared a High Priest of quite another order—that of Melchizedek—of which we are reminded in Psalm cx.



But that intercourse with the Lord, spoken of in the Psalms and in the Wisdom of Solomon, belongs to the special priesthood. The prophet comes from every tribe; and while he directs as to the present, he points to a better future, when the Spirit of God shall be poured out on the whole nation, the law shall be put in their inward parts, small and great shall know the Lord, and when the Lord shall take from among the Gentiles both priests and Levites.

That which prophecy anticipates and the whole law has foreshadowed, comes at length to pass; there is no longer a particular order of priests, no special kingship or priesthood; but the great fact of the existence of the law of God on earth, the great fact of His sacrifice, of His triumph over all hostile powers in His resurrection and glorification, changes the entire case, takes away the letter of typical and external ordinances, and realises the essential idea of the high-priesthood. Yet this High Priest, who is also King and Prophet, remains not alone; but now that He is perfected and glorified, He makes like unto himself all those who are conscious of and yield themselves to the attraction of His cross and glory, while, at the same time, on account of their remaining imperfection, He constitutes them His laity. In giving to us the anointing of His Spirit, the believer becomes, even now, according to New Testament explanations of Old Testament symbols, a prophet of God, since he preaches the faith; a priest who presents consecrated offerings; a king who, in collecting and building, works together with Him who is gathering together in one all things which are in heaven and on earth. And now, by virtue of that offering once for all, true sacrifices can be presented if we, each in his own place, render that which is the highest form of worship, sorrow and suffering as martyrs. To every Christian, so far as he is regenerate, it is given to be apostle, martyr, witness—one might also say, monk, so far as there is truth in monasticism, that we are to crucify the flesh with its affections and lusts. It is to be feared that even Christians have too much forgotten that each believer in his measure is called to be missionary, martyr, and ascetic. Only thus can the essential idea of these offices be realised. And just this is intended by Peter when he exclaims, "Ye are a royal priesthood"—an order of excellence which has no superior, just because there is nothing higher than the communion of the Holy

Ghost, the new life, the righteousness which availeth before God.

But, my friends, how does this doctrine of "the universal priesthood of believers" agree with experience? It must, indeed, be so; and the actual fact must harmonise with the truth, bearing in mind that we speak of a priesthood, not of the flesh or of the letter, but of the spirit. Let us, then, look into our Churches, and see how much of this spiritual priestly Christianity is to be found. There is no doubt that the view which the fathers of the Reformation give of the Church corresponds with the third article—the Communion of Saints. In the estimation of many this is only an idea! It is what the Church ought to be; therefore its task, its unattained and, perhaps, even unattainable goal. But our fathers thought otherwise; they regarded the true, absolute, sole Church of Christ as no other than the community of sanctified living members of Christ. It may be that their members cannot be ascertained, or that, so far as known by their fruits, they bear no comparison with the statistical amount of Christians; but the truth is not concerned about numbers, whether small or great. Consider, moreover, how often our Lord draws that line of distinction—"many are called, but few are chosen;" so that our view of His Church ought not to be attacked. Accordingly, the Redeemer, when He sent forth His messengers, commanded them—"If a house does not receive you nor your salutation of peace, then depart, and shake off the dust from your feet." In this way must these messengers—this Church—wander through all regions and times, until it reaches its goal; that Church, which must ever exist and abide, because the Word of God must ever abide and overcome; for where the Word of God is, will there be a people of God obedient to its commands, and in proportion as that Word of the Gospel is more widely and purely proclaimed. Luther says, where the Word of God is, there will also be a people of God; and where the people of God are, there will also be the Word of God. Let us, therefore, not be led astray on this first point; and if ever the age should indulge the thought that the world must return to its primitive heathenism—that Christianity has become effete, and should this thought lead to the dissolution of existing Churches—there must begin the next morning the work of reconstruction. And who would be the builders? Believing Christians; since, that the Gospel is ever more widely

proclaimed, that preaching and the sacraments are maintained, is owing, not to Christians in *name*, but to true believers. A well-known modern Catholic author came forward, about ten years ago, as an advocate for the Romish Church, and endeavoured to show that our notion of the Church was too internal—much too spiritual—had nothing concrete and positive. Yet, after he had in this way established the necessity of a second higher priesthood having authority over the universal priesthood, and had thus proved himself an expert advocate for this high official legalist priesthood, he is compelled, by the Spirit of Truth, at last to confess that, certainly the true supporters and pillars of the Church have not been the popes, cardinals, and bishops as such, but regenerate believers renewed in the spirit of their mind. And thus, at the end, he yielded the point of controversy with us. So it has been, and so it will be, in all times of transition and of formation; it is always true, living, faithful Christians, who give their substance and their persons to the furtherance of home and foreign missions.

But, supposing this to be true, it might further be objected—If, you say, believing Christians are priests, and they form the universal priesthood, yet this can only be true for a moment—the moment, that is, in which the life and truth of the Church are represented as at rest, and not in action; and it may, therefore, be asked: Is there, then, no growth of the Church? Whence do the priests come? Does not such increase belong to the very life, being, and existence of the Church? Undoubtedly: nor have our Reformers forgotten this; for they declare that, although the Church, in its essential constitution and form, is spiritual, yet it has external marks by which it is known. Among the first of these have always been placed the preaching of the Gospel, and the administration of the sacrament, according to its original institution. When these are attended to by the universal priesthood, then, at all events, the Church comes out from its so-called ideality into the world of reality. Then is there a growth, an increase, yet only so as the expressly-declared and well-auguring appropriation of Jesus Christ, by baptism, has already taken place, and, to speak figuratively, the forecourts of the middle sanctuary have been passed. The genuine Christian is always at one with a genuine Christianity.

But we now come to the difficult question, which Luther

and Spener, and a succession of celebrated theologians, have not shunned, viz., Can the universal priesthood work harmoniously, with the necessary *official order*? They answered decidedly in the affirmative. Now, in what way can this be shown? It must at once be granted, that the official persons can be chosen only from an existing priestly community. Former ecclesiastical writers compare the Old and New Testament priesthood thus:—There, it was the *tribe of Levi*; here, it is the *best of the whole people* (community). Every answer to the question, which does not recognise Christian individuality, must rest on the supposition of external corporate rights. It is true, that there is involved in the idea of the Church the notion of office, and distinction in office, and that there is an office vested in persons, which refers back to the appointment of the Lord: “He gave some apostles, and some prophets and evangelists.” This may, however, be regarded as an arrangement limited to the period of the establishment of the Church; but we find in the organic constitution of the first Churches other offices—the office of bishops or elders, and of deacons. By whom are these instituted? By Christians! At the same time with Christian Churches are found to exist this and the other arrangement—the presbytery, the Sunday, and so on. But for these no law, no statute of the apostles, is to be found in the original record. Men, therefore, have investigated the conditions of official and Church order, and they have confounded both these with the order of salvation; rather, they have raised, or, more properly speaking, have degraded the primitive arrangement into theocratic law. The universal priesthood belongs to the order of salvation, which is formed in the spirit of the Gospel, and would be destroyed by a second special, and therefore higher, Old Testament priesthood. The priest of the New Testament has an immediate relation to God in Christ, through Christ in the Holy Ghost. *Order* must be widely distinguished from law. We cannot correctly judge on Christian ecclesiastical affairs, unless we keep law and Gospel quite distinct. We cannot say that the movement which bears the name of Church history results from two antagonisms—Reason and Faith—Church and State; no, the principal movement arises from this, that when a new evangelical principle like Christianity enters into the world, the ancient, legally-constituted principle is not at once overcome, but a struggle



ensues, and in this contest the defenders of the new principle become wearied. And, if they enjoy a period of repose, it is because they treat with the other principle, and amalgamate with it, so that a sort of regenerative influence is unconsciously exerted on heathenism and Judaism, which were already superseded and inappropriate. Then, of course, a New Testament law is framed, by which the primitive order, which was living and spontaneous, is compressed and stereotyped, and the universal priesthood is issued. The primitive official order was *directly divine* in its constitution, as may be shown in several ways: in the first place, the *gifts*, which were channels of blessing to the Church, and means of carrying on its work, came immediately *from the Lord*. This is the first point of moment in that Divine order. The second is this: that the order, which in and by itself was no order of salvation, nor was, on the other side, derived from the State, might be sustained and promoted solely by spiritual means—for instance, by love, faith, patience—and hence that the apostles did not rest it on an *express law of God*, but on these spiritual exhortations:—“Love one another;” “Be of one mind;” “Let him that is exalted humble himself;” “Submit yourselves one to another;” thus would superiority and subordination become a living reality. Order may be originated or altered by men who are wise in counsel; it is plastic, fashioning itself according to time and circumstances, although, as to its basis, object, and laws, in reference to the Divine service, &c., it has its unchangeable elements. With law itself it is otherwise.

The third point of importance, in reference to the Divine order, is, that God has instituted the office of preaching the Gospel together with the seals of the covenant of faith—an office which demands its own continuance, binds all Churches and members of Churches to the service of the Word, and renders the order necessary to this service, with all its conditions, of paramount obligation. It may, probably, be the case, that when the Word is preached, the person is regarded more than the office by the Church, on the whole; but, on the other hand, if the Word is to be uniformly and constantly preached, the person must, in spite of defects, be tolerated and respected for the sake of his office. Luther deduced this obligatory order directly from the idea of universal priesthood. A special priest of the theocracy was permitted—nay, required—to set himself

before others. To a spiritual priest this is not allowed; for "who art thou that judgest another?" (Jas. iv. 11.) And, after all, the obligation to render to the office and the official person due honour and obedience, there yet remains free, open relation-ship or personal access to God. With this freedom no official authority in the Gospel is allowed to interfere; nay, the more complete this authority is, the less may it usurp dominion. Teachers and hearers there must be; but the Evangelical teacher and pastor is not only permitted, but is required to train up all his flock to become Bereans—independent students of the Word. In a word, the ecclesiastical gradations of office, in their Evangelical relation, remain so penetrable by the Divine influence, that they, together with the greatest promises, reach down to every occasional helper, every voluntary preacher or dispenser of the Word; so that if an ordinary Christian looses or binds thee, according to God's Word, thou art required to pay to him as much regard as to an ordained priest; but, then, those who fill these several offices must look beyond them for knowledge and salvation. The Apostles, for their part, associate themselves with the general body of priests in the most important part of their labour. They entirely and expressly deny that they have dominion over the faith of others. They call themselves servants, overseers, dispensers, and stewards in the Church. These are no lordly titles. The steward (*οικονομος*) in a great Roman household was head-servant, whose duty it was to provide for all the rest. But it will be replied that, at all events, the apostles stood in the first rank, and that their successors are the bishops; and to maintain this, it will, perhaps, be said that the phrase, "He gave some," indicates the constitution of the Church from first to last; but, in this case, the bishop, at all events, belonged to the lowest rank—pastors and teachers—since these can only refer, at the same time, both to his office and to the narrowest circle of ecclesiastical existence. The apostles decline to acknowledge as their successors the hierarchical bishops who, in the third century, imitated the special priesthood of the Jewish dispensation. In fact, there cannot be, strictly speaking, any direct apostolic succession; the apostles, with respect to their essential, peculiar, and still enduring activity, can have no successors. But in the limited sense of preaching the Gospel, which is to be carried on within the smallest sphere of the Church, and through

all time, it is correct to say that the pastors, as a whole, are the successors of the apostles; this office had, moreover, been already fulfilled by our Lord himself, as I have shown in my essay on ordination charge. But, granting this, it does not follow that the apostles have vacated their office; that they can be replaced by others: they are ever there, they are here also in our Assembly, because each of us remembers their words and clings to their expressions, and because in them the Spirit of Truth has laid the foundation of preaching. So that, as to them, there is neither successor nor representative; and still less is there any representative of Christ, who, in reference to all men, is our only Master and Mediator.

It might, perhaps, be said that the Lord continues to give some as apostles, some as evangelists and prophets, and that these "callings" must still in some way be renewed. And, indeed, no one would deny that there are still, in the kingdom of Christ, extraordinary gifts. Reformation and missions are extraordinary demands, which can be met only by extraordinary endowments. Luther, for a long period, signed himself *Ecclesiastes*, and to that he was appointed; and J. Elliot, or David Tzeisberger, or John Williams, may be regarded as apostles for our Evangelical Missionary period, apostles for a smaller part of the world; at all events, in closer conformity with the regulation of our Lord (Eph. iv.) than ordinary bishops can be so regarded.

In the Church of the New Testament there were ordinary and extraordinary offices. But we have not maintained at all, completely or generally, even the permanent offices of the Apostolic Church; to the office of teacher alone has permanence been given; while, on the other hand, the office of government, and the full and true office of helper, has been scarcely tolerated, much less promoted.

But not to detain you too long, brethren, I will add only two observations. It is true that the mere constitution of the office avails nothing. Still it is a living law that the Church, by means of offices, sustained in part by stated individuals, and in part by societies, accomplishes its work. And if the constitution avails nothing, neither does the want of it, and that cannot be esteemed as an arrangement by which, for the honour of the pastoral office, the best gifts and abilities have been incapacitated for service. The Apostle (in Eph. iv.) had quite another thought in his mind. The saints are perfected for official work.

All priestly members are, according to the end in view, adapted to the ministry, all in their measure, and called to the service of the whole body. Thus, it is evident that official order and universal priesthood do not destroy, but may protect each other. Along with every right maintenance of order, Paul desires that *all* may prophesy—a wish in which he had been preceded by Moses.

The case, then, stands thus, that if the office is properly regulated, and active, there will arise a number of functions which do not at present exist. As Augustine once said from the pulpit: "I am bishop of the whole community; but you who are Christian heads of families must discharge my episcopal duty in your own home circle!" On the other hand, the leveling of all *gifts*, of all vocations, the abolishing of all precedence and subordination in rank, the dread of theology, and of authorities which condemn a part to silence, to listening and obeying—all this is want of order; and how is it that this is, usually at least, demanded in the name of the universality of the office of priest and of teacher? Who, then, is right? the legalist, who, by a special priesthood, suppresses the universal; or the spiritualist, who by an equality of the priesthood, destroys all gradation in office?

Where, then, shall we find the final cause of the error which exists on this subject? It arises from a weighty difference in our subjective faith in the Trinity. We all, as Christians, believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and only in this belief can our objective creed in reference to Divine worship be complete. But then it comes out, imperceptibly and unconsciously, in the different periods of Church history, that some Christians attach themselves more especially to the worship of the Son, and add thereto only a lifeless or nominal worship of the Spirit; while others hasten by the incarnate Son, on account of His historical limitation, and give themselves more especially to the service of the Spirit, who has revealed himself through Jesus. The one party, therefore, would adhere to Paul, where he writes, 2 Cor. iii. 17: "The Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." For that which separates the Divine community of Evangelical Christianity from all limitations of external operations of the letter and of the flesh, &c., is this—that Christ is appropriated only through His Spirit, and that the "power unto salvation,"



which is inherent in His institutions, depends on the fact of His Spirit being already there. He, therefore, who thinks to glorify Jesus Christ by maintaining that, as Divine and human, He rules and works in every instance—but yet not so much through the Paraclete as through the priesthood and Church—must in the end regard with indifference, not only the Spirit, but also Christ himself, in comparison with Jesus, and, in short, fall into *Jesuitism*. Whatever of salvation, life, and grace, Jesus has in store for us, or what He is in himself, can be communicated to us only in two ways—either through the Lord, who is that Spirit, or through the Church, its operations, and offices. And this principle attains its full development in the counter-reformation and the Society of Jesus.

But that sentence of the Apostle may be transposed, and Paul himself permits us to transpose and read it thus: “The Spirit is the Lord.” The Spirit can teach and preach only what reveals and glorifies Jesus Christ (John xvi.): He must, therefore, be supported by the Word, or by the *marrow* of tradition, which is necessary to the extension of the Church, and which increases in all ages, and endures through all times, so far as it is regulated by the Holy Scriptures; since, from the beginning, Christianity was destined to develop itself more perfectly in science and life, in morals and speech. Christ is the subject and support of the Spirit. He who destroys this relationship, and places the Spirit alone, opens the way to spiritualism. Two errors, therefore, present themselves. The one into which the letters of Ignatius fall, when they declare—“Thou dost not stand in communion with God, if not with the bishop;” and Cyprian, when he asserts that “if Christ is to be with the two or three met together in His name, one of them must be a bishop.” The other error attained its maturity when the Reformation became the innocent occasion of all that spiritualism, enthusiasm, renunciation of the external word, sacraments, theology, and offices, against which it has so powerfully and successfully exerted itself.

Having arrived at this point, I can speak only a few words of comfort and of warning. And first of comfort; for it cannot but be that every appearance in the Christian community which has taken offence at some of our national, ecclesiastical, or theological elements, if it has attained consistency, if it is tolerated by our Lord, if it takes part in any work of Christian missions,

it cannot but be that every such community must in some way act as a living corrective to us ; and in this light ought we to regard the Independents, and Baptists, and whatever similar phenomena may present themselves. I for my part belong to the Evangelical Church, and, in respect to doctrine, probably lean towards the German Lutheran type in which I was educated ; yet none the less do I, from the bottom of my heart, reckon myself as belonging to the Evangelical Church *in toto* ; and on these accounts : Because I see that the differences between the two parties in the Evangelical Church are not *tanti*, that they ought to prevent the maintenance of full Church communion ; because I see that the higher the place assigned to a doctrine, about which there is a difference of opinion in these two Confessions, the more is the imperfection of doctrine felt on both sides ; because I see that we have before us a future for making a Scriptural progress, to which we need to prepare ourselves ; we need to separate the theological from the religious element, and to subordinate to great and essential principles whatever is merely conditional. But just on this account, that I belong to the Evangelical Church in its definite sense, and see how much the Church, as a whole, is indebted also to the National Church, and to the means of edification dependent upon it, will I not surrender at discretion to any section of the Church, by whatever name it may be called, though at the same time I will allow that we have not yet carried out fully the rich principles of our Reformation. I think it possible to justify myself before any who may bring a charge against me on account of these positions. Independency is not right ; for every individual Church is bound to unite itself with others, in order that it may be more powerful against the common foe, and more energetic in the common cause of missions ; and when Churches have entered into a *nexus ecclesiasticus*, then they must admit of an order and of a gradation of office. Yet Independency vindicates one truth, a truth always to be found in Church history, that wherever there is a Church which constantly hears the Word and maintains the sacraments, there ecclesiastical power rests. This power might, perhaps, become more *energetic* in a higher region, but it does not hence follow that it is an error to claim for every complete and rightly-organised individual Church a share in ecclesiastical power. All beside this is erroneous theory.

But also, with respect to the Baptists—some of whom carry on a proselytism in our Churches which I consider very objectionable, because opposed to the apostolic spirit and practice—I still think the same thing. The Baptists, by their rigid moral discipline, by their strong desire after a pure Church, by their warnings against the consequences—too often evil—of the National Church system, bring many important thoughts and facts before the whole Church. And let us, therefore, bear in mind that our great Teacher, who has thus permitted us to suffer from divisions, has in this way placed *actually* before us much which we have not yet laid to heart. Moreover, those whose influence has been simply conservative, are highly to be honoured. Roman Catholicism even, had it not become instinctively the conservator of the Church, and restrained the fermentations and divisions following upon the withdrawal of spiritual gifts, by means of forms, of doctrines, of worship, and of morality—how would the historical character of Christianity have been preserved? That it has misinterpreted itself is, no doubt, true; and we also have done much injury in giving too much importance sometimes to National Church systems, sometimes to nationalities, and sometimes to science and Gnosis, &c.

And now may the Lord grant us the spirit of self-knowledge and examination! “Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.” (1 Thess. v. 19—21.) In this direction no irregular or bewildering duty is prescribed; from it no delusive subjectivity will arise. When people thus truly examine themselves, proper respect is willingly shown to them; for we can try ourselves only by a touchstone. Have we a touchstone? have we all one? is it the same? Let each answer for himself. I conclude.

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2. BY THE REV. DR. MALLET,

OF BREMEN.

My dear fellow-Christians,—Although I am commissioned to speak after our beloved brother to whom we have just been listening, upon the same subject, it is, of course, not supposed that I rise to supply deficiencies, or to clear obscurities, much less to correct errors; but I have been called upon simply because it is thought well that after that devout man, and so deeply

learned in theological science, a voice should be heard from that part of the Church which is composed of those babes who have the promise that to them shall be revealed the mysteries of the heart and of the kingdom of God. If the Evangelical Alliance has received, as there can be no doubt that it has received, into the liturgy of its heart the prayer, "Show me thy ways, O Lord, teach me thy paths;" then it is self-evident that it will utter no word in public, nor take any step in its course, without first recognising the truth, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path."

We will turn to this light and hear what God's Word has said upon the priesthood, the rights, duties, office, and rank of priests. When the Lord God, by the leading of Israel out of Egypt, first showed himself as an acting power in the history of the world, He uttered a word to His people, of which it may be said that it includes in itself all other words, deeds, and institutions of God. It is this: "Thou shalt be to me a kingdom of priests." We see that God does not here speak of a priestly office, but of a priestly rank, which comprehends the whole nation, without exception or distinction; men and women, adults and children, they shall all hold this rank above all creatures and nations in the community of God and in the service of His love. But since the Lord does not say, "Thou *art* a nation of priests," but "Thou *shalt* be," He expresses this, that it is not yet such a nation, nor can be only as He himself undertakes to prepare and make it such a nation; and that just such a universal priesthood is the object of all His ways and all His institutions in Israel.

The first thing that the Lord did towards the fulfilment of His word, was the building of the tabernacle of testimony, the erecting of an earthly sanctuary, by which visible sign men were to be taught concerning the heights and depths of the Divine nature, and the Most Holy One; concerning that which no eye has seen, no ear heard, nor has entered into the heart of man to conceive, that which God has prepared for those who love Him. How extremely important the erecting of this earthly sanctuary was, is shown us in many ways in the Divine Word; for though the Holy Scriptures relate but once in full the creation of the heavens and of the earth, it repeats seven times successively, and almost in the same words, the account of the erection of this sanctuary, and thus places it above even the



creation of the heavens and of the earth. Yes, this sanctuary was the centre of Israel, and at the same time the hour-glass on which the Divine chronology was marked, and the periods of the kingdom of God were determined. Yes, after this sanctuary has disappeared from the earth, after everything has passed away from it that could pass away, we see with astonishment how it again rises before our eyes, through a New Testament Solomon, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and how the entire Christian Church within this sanctuary is led onward by a heavenly guide, in order more and more to recognise the glory of its royal High Priest, and of the universal priesthood of His entire Church connected with His high priest's office.

The first result of the building of this sanctuary was the establishment of an exclusive priestly corporation, within which the service of the sanctuary must be confined, and one entire tribe of Israel was chosen for this office, one entire family selected to offer the sacrifices and gifts in this sanctuary, and one was chosen for the office of high priest, who pre-eminently possessed the right and the duty to offer sacrifice, and once a year to go with the blood of this sacrifice behind the separating and veiling curtain into the holy of holies, to atone for the sins of the people.

But we know that the introduction of this priestly office among the people gradually excited universal dislike. "Wherefore," so spoke the camp of Israel, "should that which God has given to the whole nation, be taken away and given to one family as an inheritance? This God has not done, but Moses has done it, to strengthen his own authority, and to make his family great among the people." This, without doubt, was the language of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and by this means they caused a rebellion against Moses, under pretence of serving the cause of God. But we know how this rebellion was crushed, and became the occasion by which God the Lord established and confirmed the priestly office anew. At the same time the Lord made use of this rebellion to instruct the people of Israel, and us also, upon the priestly office and its work. The whole nation was assembled before the ark of the covenant, and the twelve tribes of Israel were required to hand over to Moses their rods, on which were engraved the signs of their dignity and the name of those who laid them in the ark of the covenant, in sight of the whole nation. A night of

great excitement and expectation passed; the next morning the people were again standing on the same spot, and the princes of the tribes of Israel, who had resigned their rods, or, as we might say, their sceptres, into the hand of their exalted king, were again to receive them from his hand, with or without the priestly sign. One rod after another was taken by Moses out of the ark of the covenant, and as it had been consigned to the ark, so did it come out; but when he took the last rod, such a change had taken place, that at the moment of its appearance the whole people must have felt, in the very depths of the soul, the near presence of the living God. The dead rod had become a living one, it budded, blossomed, and bore rich fruit; it was there, all at once, in the beauty and glory of life, such as it had not formerly possessed, and that was Aaron's rod which Moses gave back unto Aaron's hand. But it must be remarked, the rod might not remain in Aaron's hand, but Moses took it again, and, according to the Divine command, laid it in the ark of the covenant. This was to teach the people that, although Aaron was the high priest chosen by God, he is not the true and genuine High Priest; and that the office and work of the priesthood lies not in this world and in an earthly sanctuary, but that Aaron and his service, as well as the sanctuary itself, were only shadows and images of an invisible sanctuary and of the true royal High Priest. That was Divine teaching, and from that time no opposition arose against the priesthood of Aaron. From that time the question was answered: What is the priesthood and the work of the priests?

Priesthood is the office of holy love; priesthood has to do with death and with sin, by which death has come into the world: the work of the priesthood is to make the unclean clean, the dead living, and to bring that which is separated from God back again into blessed communion with God, the source of all light and life. That is the priestly work. Therefore God chose the sign of the dead rod, which had been cut from the tree—torn away from the source of life, withered and dead, and which could be again brought to life by no human power, and by no creature in heaven or in earth; therefore He made this dead rod to live again, and to live so that they must exclaim, "Never had it so lived and blossomed!" That is truly the tree which is planted by rivers of water which never dry up, and in the

waters of which is the power and the strength of eternal life. Thus, then, the priests might reflect, and say to themselves that they are not true and actual priests, but that they belong, on the contrary, to the dead rods, which must first be brought, by the work of the true priests, from death to life.

But in order that this should not be forgotten—that the visible should always remind of the invisible, and that the present should be a prophecy for the future—God the Lord established an order of prophets as well as of priests, which was bound by no external law, and which was always renewed by the Holy Ghost in single individuals, in order that the holy thoughts of God, embodied in the Divine symbols, might all be uttered, and that the kingdom of God should be preserved in ever-growing light and clearness before the eyes of men. And at each period when the priesthood appeared with new importance, this order of prophets also raised itself to a higher degree, and afforded the greater brilliancy of an eternal light. When David wished to change the moveable tabernacle for a magnificent temple, lest the majesty of this temple should occasion a forgetfulness of the invisible sanctuary, and the splendour of its worship should turn away the minds of the people from the worship that is spiritual, the mystery of the eternal priesthood was revealed to the king by the Holy Ghost. Then it was declared to him that men dwelling upon earth could build no sanctuary, could do no priestly work, but that God himself would build His sanctuary and dwell therein in His fulness, and reveal himself in His glory; that He had chosen His high priest, and that it is He who says, “They have pierced my hands and my feet; I am a worm, and no man;” but to whom God says, “Sit thou at my right hand.” That is the Priest of whom the Scripture saith, “The Lord has sworn, and will not repent. Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.” Then resounded in this temple, for the first time, the psalms and hymns which have sung of the high priesthood up to the present day. But when the ruined temple was rebuilt, and the opposite danger arose, that on account of its inferiority it would be despised, then the prophetic office was revived to enhance its value, and so proclaim the coming of that High Priest who would give life to the dead. And thus the order of prophets and the priesthood in Jerusalem has never been anything else than an increasing setting forth of the glory of God in heaven and upon earth, and

of the future High Priest of the human race. And on this account it is said of this city, "Glorious things are spoken of thee." When the time was fulfilled, to which all priestly types and all prophecies had pointed—the time, of which it is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "When he cometh into the world he saith: Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me. Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God"—in this is revealed something of the most secret and most holy will of God; in this is heard the words of the Son—the words spoken to the Father, that the high priest's office (which He alone could fill) He had undertaken, with all its sufferings and bloody pains; the sacred office of High Priest, which He alone can fulfil to the glory of God and the redemption of the fallen race of men. Then was the fulfilment of all that God had promised in words, signs, and types to the Israelites. When the Word became flesh, the tabernacle of God was set up among mankind upon earth, in which "dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," and into which all must enter who will turn from sin to righteousness, from death to life, and enter into His holy and blessed communion. When He dwelt with men, and was, in all things like unto men, then in very deed appeared amongst men the Lamb of God, who desired not sacrifice and offering; the Lamb which had always been typified, which was without spot of sin, and which alone was capable of bearing the burden of the sins of the world. And when He offered up His innocent blood on the cross, in obedience to the Father, and in merciful love to men, then was the one sacrifice offered which is eternally valid, and which is effectual for the sins of the whole world. And when He ascended to heaven with this blood, then He obtained that eternal redemption in virtue of which those who, by sin, are lying in death, can become again living souls. Yes, beloved brethren, it is the dry wood of the cross with which He had, as it were, become one, on which His own body was wounded and pierced, which, after that He had been laid in the grave as a pale corpse, and from out of the dark grave had again risen, became the eternally-blossoming Branch, bearing in itself all the fulness of Divine life, as the Tree of life in which all Divine beauty and glory are perceptible, from the leaves of which the heathen nations are healed, and through the fruit of which our



bodies and our souls are again brought to life. In Him, all the promises became yea and amen; in Him, all the Divine promises found their fulfilment; everything shadowy in Israel was illumined, and the priesthood became, in Him, a Divine fact. Hence, He exclaimed upon the cross, "It is finished!" Hence, at this moment, the veil of the temple was rent in twain, as a sign that, by this sacrifice on the cross, that wall of separation had fallen, and the way to the eternal God was again opened. God rent this veil, not from the bottom to the top, but from the top to the bottom, to make manifest to the entire people that no human hand had rent it, but that it was done by the hand of God; and that He was the High Priest, to whom God said, "Sit thou at my right hand;" who had received power in heaven and upon earth, and by whom God would reveal himself. Then, also, the new people of God were made to understand that they possessed nothing of all that, up to this time, had been regarded as most precious and sacred in religion. They had no sanctuary, no priestly office, no altar, no sacrifice, and no gift; that which was formerly the centre of all religion, and where, formerly, man had satisfied his spiritual necessities, was now entirely wanting. The Church of God was, in fact, in this respect also, as "having nothing, and yet possessing all things." For this she must hear as a reproach, from both Jews and heathen, that she was externally so poor, and that if one would come over to her, he must leave a rich religious garden, to find himself in a desert, where he must inevitably perish. But, so far from defending themselves, the holy apostles have always admitted to the world, both Jewish and heathen, their poverty as to worldly possessions, but have maintained in opposition to this the inexhaustible riches which the Church of God has in Jesus Christ, so that they say, that there is no language in heaven or on earth that is worthy to describe it. If the heathen at Ephesus pointed at the beautiful temple which had been built for Diana, or if the Jews boasted of their temple at Jerusalem, the Apostle Paul would tell the Church of the Lord, "Ye are yourselves the temple of the living God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, of which Christ is the corner stone, the habitation of the Holy Ghost, which is ordained to extend itself over the whole earth, to enlighten, to fill, and to glorify both heaven and earth." When, too, they were reproached that they had no gifts, no sacrifices

for sin, they answered, that never was there a people upon earth, nor ever would be, that possessed a gift and an offering for sin ; that even the heathen offerings were only shadows and images, and only a yearly remembrancer of sins still unexpiated, while they had this one and genuine sacrifice of the Son of God crucified once for all upon the cross. When, further, they were charged with having no blood of cleansing and of sprinkling, they could justly assert that the blood of bulls and of goats could not cleanse from a single sin ; but the blood of the Son of God, as the Lamb without spot, that has offered himself, cleanses from all the sins of the flesh and of the spirit. When they were charged with not possessing an altar, and, therefore, having no mediation between God and man, they answered, " We, too, have an altar, which is Christ !"

And thus the sacred writers answered all these reproaches ; and when endeavours are made, by all kinds of scholastic arts, to bring us again under the yoke of an earthly priesthood or sanctuary, then we cry, " We have a true priest and a true sanctuary. We possess Him whom God has given to us ; we have the great and merciful High Priest—the only One who is so in reality—the merciful One who has compassion upon our griefs from His own experience ; greater than the compassion of a mother for the misery of her child, and who, on the other hand, is so great and so powerful, that He alone can fulfil the priestly office, and say to the imprisoned, ' Be free ;' to the leprous, ' Be clean ;' and to the dead, ' Live ;' and that He can lead by His own hand the lost children to His Heavenly Father, and be able to say again and again, ' This my child was lost and is found, he was dead and is alive again.' " Therefore are we exhorted " to come boldly to the throne of grace," into this inmost sanctuary of God, " that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help us in every time of need."

The holy Apostle connects with Christ's office of High Priest the universal priesthood of all believers. For what is the approach to the holy of holies, to the throne of grace of our God—what is it otherwise than the highest right of the priest's, which our Lord Jesus gives to all poor sinners at the moment when He says to them, " Come unto me ?" And if any one in this heavenly sanctuary, at this throne of grace and mercy, as it has appeared and only could appear, in God's dear Son—if any one finds here the help we stand in need of for our salvation from the

power of sin and death, what has he then received? Then he has received the priestly consecration. And if any one has become a partaker of the priestly consecration, so from a dead stem has arisen a new and living tree of righteousness, in which is a Divine light, a Divine life, a Divine love; he has with it entered into the service of Divine mercy, and has received the vocation to do the work of a priest for himself and for others, while he works hand in hand with His heavenly Master in the great work of the salvation of a fallen world.

But for this universal priesthood, God has testified by means of actual deeds. For, as the people of Israel, sunk in hypocrisy, would, in opposition to God's words and actions, keep hold of the symbolical sanctuary and priesthood after its fulfilment, and when its end had come, God the Lord destroyed the sanctuary in their very hands, and overthrew their altars, so that they cannot be rebuilt by any human power.

We know certainly, and acknowledge it with deep sorrow, that what God, by His solemn judgments, has broken in the hands of the Jews, has been built up again by Christian hands in opposition to God's word and deed. We know that, in the name of Christ, in a Christian Church, a high priestly kingdom has again exalted itself, and the dignity of high priest has again been created by men, and a man bears upon his brow the three-fold crown of prophet, priest, and king; and by this usurped power exercises the office of mediation between God and man, between the Mediator of the new covenant and His Church; and that, by virtue of this office, he lords it over body and soul—present and future—time and eternity. We know that this degenerate Church assumes the entire spirit of the Jewish and heathen world. She has again her visible temple where men must worship; she has her altars, around which the people must gather; she has her priests, who perpetually present gifts and sacrifices, because redemption is not yet completed; she has again her mediatorial office between God and man—in short, she stands in determined contradiction to the word spoken by our Lord on the cross, that all is finished. All is finished! Then, henceforth, where a breath of His Spirit is felt, where His blood and His death are proclaimed, a priestly office is no longer possible; but the time has come when there is no longer room but for a universal priesthood in the fulfilment of the Divine Word, "Thou shalt be to me a nation of priests."

It is remarkable that this Church has chosen as its patrons two apostles—the one the Apostle of the Jewish nation, Peter; and the other the Apostle of the heathen world, Paul—in order to establish upon them its entire glory; just the two apostles who bear testimony the most distinctly against every earthly priestly office, and for the High Priest's office of our Lord Jesus, and the universal priesthood of all believers in Him.

It would lead me too far if I were to go more fully into details; and, besides, I am before an Assembly where I should only be repeating which is already well known. But we must be astonished, on reading the Epistle to the Romans, at its prophetic character—how, from the first to the last word, it is directed against the priestly glory of Rome, and how much it is supported and fulfilled by subsequent history. The Romish see, with all its visible glory, is already darkened by the prophetic leaves of this Epistle. It is exactly the same in the First Epistle of Peter, which, from its commencement, speaks of the priestly office that is effected immediately from Heaven in the souls of men. He insists upon the sole authority of the Divine Word, and utters the great saying concerning the universal priesthood of all believers.

While, therefore, holding fast the holy Word of God and the universal priesthood, and entering a protest against every official priesthood, however and wherever it may show itself, we still confess with joy that our beloved Lord has instituted a ministry in His Church—that is, the ministry of reconciliation, to proclaim His priesthood and His sacrifice, which says to mankind, “Come, for all things are now ready; all is completed.”

Our beloved Lord himself instituted this office, and himself selected and educated the first bearers of it, ordained them by the outpouring of His Holy Spirit, and committed to His Church to care for this office; that she should esteem it as sacred, and to honour it; which she has done and does to the present day!

But this office is far removed from doing any damage to, or placing any check upon, the universal priesthood; it is rather an office that without the universal priesthood can scarcely be maintained. The Holy Scriptures take care that this office of preaching shall never lose itself in the labyrinth of an exclusive priesthood. When the holy Apostle Paul speaks of the different gifts and the different objects or aims of this office,



and says, "He (the Lord) has appointed some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors, and teachers," how easy would it have been for him to have added one word, which he always remembers first when speaking of the building of the house of God, and, all the more so, as it would have been a word of peace and of reconciliation—the word, "He has appointed some priests!" But the holy Apostle has not uttered it, who, at other times, makes every concession to charity and love, and so well knows how to support and strengthen the weak; he has made no concessions to error; not a word has been uttered by which a single Christian could be led astray. And when we see him in his office, we see that he claims for himself no exclusive power; for, when he speaks of his office, what does this man say—the greatest among men who have lived upon earth, the chosen instrument of the Lord, by whose mouth He has spoken to us, by whose pen He has written to us—what has this man said, who has a right to speak as no other can? "Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ." What words are these! What is a worm to an eagle? And yet, brethren, the meanest preacher of the Gospel, standing in the ranks of the universal priesthood, may speak exactly as does the Apostle: he is a servant of the Gospel, and he is commissioned to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ to the heathen; and he speaks of it as an inexpressible grace, for which he was utterly unworthy, that to him was entrusted this office, which had brought him to poverty, suffering, persecution, and, at last, to death. And when Peter speaks of this office before the Church at Jerusalem, he says not a word of an office or service at the altar; but he says he has the ministry of the Word and of prayer, and does not even regard this as exclusive, but is much rather convinced that it is the office of the whole Church of God. Thus we see that, with the institution of deacons there also appear some who take part in the ministry of the Word. Jude exhorts (ver. 20) all Christians "that they should build up themselves in their most holy faith." Neither did the apostles claim the office of mediation; and when Paul says, that he bears them upon his heart, he prays the Churches that they would also bear him upon their hearts. It is also very certain that, to the sacred office of the ministry, which is connected with the universal priesthood, the administration of the sacraments in the apostolic

Churches was not absolutely confined ; and if this is certainly the case at present, and each humble Christian must joyfully submit to the appointed order, the right of the universal priesthood to do all sacred work is not thereby taken away. And should circumstances change to that degree that this order cannot be maintained, then each believing Christian who has the universal priestly office, may come forward and take upon himself to discharge this office of priest ; and if the Lord has left a prayer in the Church, it is the prayer of the universal priesthood—for He speaks of it as the common sacerdotal privilege of all the faithful to say, “Our Father who art in heaven,” since He speaks of such as have passed from death unto life, whose hearts are deeply moved by the same sentiments that dwell in the heart of God himself, their great High Priest, and who desire that His kingdom may come, His name be hallowed, and His will be done. They all appear before the face of the Heavenly Father in the priestly intercession for all who are in any necessity of body or of soul, and acknowledge that they have received the priestly office to pray for daily bread, for strength to battle against temptation, for deliverance from evil, till the great and glorious day comes, for which both heaven and earth longs, when, from heaven to earth, and from earth to heaven, shall be heard the glad anthem, “Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever.”

And with this I will conclude, satisfied to be able to say, that in order to save time, I have omitted much. To apply this to our present position may well be left to each individual. But we will all of us ask, whether we belong to this priestly race, to those who, before the throne of the heavenly grace, have already wept, and have been comforted with eternal consolation—whether we belong to those who see that the Lord has begun His priestly work in them, and that their poor dead nature begins to put forth, and bear the leaves, and blossoms, and fruits of a Divine life ? And if we can say, Yes, there can be no doubt that we have part in all the service of Divine love here on earth, even to the last breath. And here we will make one remark, that, generally speaking, where the priesthood is, there is life, and that all life in the Church does not come from external ordinances and organisations, but rather that these are the fruit of the spiritual life. Life does not come from eternal ministries, but rather that vivifies them. It does not spring

from this or the other form of Church government, but it comes from the heavenly sanctuary, as all life on earth comes from the universal priesthood.

But thou, Lord Jesus, our great and merciful High Priest, stretch forth thy sacerdotal arms over thy people ; bless them ; and may they be a blessing upon the earth. Show to us, O Lord, that thy grace is upon us, and that where thy grace is, there is peace. Amen.

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### 3. BY PASTOR LICENTIAE KÖNIG,

OF WOLKWITZ, NEAR DEMMIN, IN POMERANIA.

We are all of one mind, that on account of the fearful darkness which sin has brought upon all spiritual life, perfect truth concerning the living God and man's relations to Him can only be drawn from the Word of God, and that our thoughts and ideas upon God and Divine things are correct only in the proportion in which they agree with that Word ; as the great Apostle says, "Not that we are able to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God." Upon the sublime truth of the universal priesthood of believers, we shall only then be in possession of a correct view, as far as we know that we are in unison with the Holy Scriptures. How much this truth is above the circle of the common self-reliant habit of thought, can be seen and felt, not only from the painful fact that there are millions (even in the Evangelical Church, which, for its authorisation rests, one might say, principally upon the universal priesthood of the saints), who can neither hear nor utter the word priest otherwise than with an ironical, sarcastic, satirical, and mocking smile, and to whom priest, in their rude idea, is almost synonymous with deceiver ; but also, another still more important fact shows it, that for more than a thousand years this truth of the Christian Church was, as it were, lost, and only by the Reformation has been again brought to light, nor is it even now realised by us in all its truth ; it is the great idea which yet awaits its perfect development.

If I have as yet spoken of the universal priesthood of believers or of the saints, and not of *all Christians*, it is because of the great difference which in reality exists between the believer and a merely nominal Christian ; and this will be justified in

the course of this address. Time will not allow that this subject should be fully discussed. Should this be attempted, not only must its conformity be shown with the doctrine of Scripture, and the questions dependent thereon be answered—Who are priests of the living God? what sacrifice do they bring? what rights belong to them, and what duties have they? in what relation do they stand to the clerical office, to Church government and public worship, and to the gifts of grace from the Holy Spirit?—but it would also be necessary to give a complete history of the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, more especially as contained in the different confessions of the one holy and universal Christian Church, and likewise to show its importance.

I. The roots of the doctrine of a priesthood acceptable to God, like those of most Christian truths, lie in the revelations of the Old Covenant. God says (Ecl. xix. 5, 6), “Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people; for all the earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation.” In Hosea xiv. 2, it is said, “Take with you words, and turn unto the Lord; say to him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously: so will we render the calves of our lips.” So Samuel (1 Book xv. 22) says, “Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.” In the Psalms xl. 7, “Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; mine ears hast thou opened; burnt offering and sin offering didst thou not require.” Ps. l. 5, “Gather my saints together unto me; those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice;” (ver. 13) “Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?” (ver. 14) “Offer unto God thanksgiving, and pay thy vows unto the Most High;” (ver. 23) “Whoso offereth praise glorifieth me; and to him that ordereth his conversation aright I will show the salvation of God;” (li. 16) “For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt offering;” (ver. 17) “The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise;” (lxix. 30) “I will praise the name of God with a song, and will magnify him with thanksgiving. This also shall please the Lord better than an ox or bullock that has horns and hoofs.” In the Proverbs it is written (xxiii. 26), “My son, give me



thine heart, and let thy eyes observe my ways;" (Hos. vi. 6) "For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings;" (Isai. lxi. 6) "But ye shall be named the priests of the Lord; men shall call you the ministers of our God;" (lxvi. 21) "And I will also take of them for priests and Levites, saith the Lord;" (Jer. iii. 16) "And it shall come to pass, when ye are multiplied and increased in the land, in those days, saith the Lord, they shall say no more, The ark of the covenant of the Lord; neither shall it come to mind, neither shall they remember it, neither shall they visit it, neither shall that be done any more;" (Jer. vi. 20) "Your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet unto me." (Compare vii. 21, 23; xiv. 11, 12; xxxiii. 11, 18.) Mal. i. 11, "For, from the rising of the sun, even to the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a *pure offering*; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts." And to show that this priesthood, acceptable to God, should be connected with the cleansing from sin, I will refer only to that saying of Ezekiel, xxxvi. 25-27: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean. And a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh; and I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them."

That which was thus commenced in Israel, and typified in their ordinances, especially in the priesthood and sacrifices, was realised in the true High Priest, and in His sacrifice, which is ever available for those who really believe on Him. Of these genuine believers Peter says (i. 2—9), "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye should show forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light;" and just before, in the 5th verse, "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." Just as distinctly does the Revelation of John teach that He who saved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood, has made us as kings and priests unto God and His Father, and that of those whom He has redeemed to God with His blood, from every tribe, and tongue,

and nation, He has constituted a kingdom, and made them kings and priests, &c. This is also evident from the fact that the prayers of the saints, that is, of true believers, are called incense, which they as priests must offer. (Rev. xx. 6.) They who will have part in the first resurrection will be priests of God and of Christ, and reign with Him a thousand years.

To the passages of Scripture where true believers on Jesus Christ are characterised as priests, belong further those that speak of the sacrifices which they have to offer, because priests were those who alone were authorised to offer the sacrifices of the people, and where they are also called the temple of God, in which alone sacrifices might be offered. Above all others that have already been quoted, belongs to this point Rom. xii. 1: "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." 1 Cor. iii. 16: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" 17: "If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." And again, vi. 19: "What, know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?" As our Lord and Saviour is at the same time High Priest, Sacrifice, and Temple, so does each true member resemble Him; as He devoted, presented, brought, and offered up His pure humanity, at each moment of His holy life to His Father, so must His believers also do, through the aid of the Holy Spirit; as far as the Holy Spirit works in them, guides, leads, and govern them, more and more enlightens, purifies, sanctifies, and dwells in them, they are the temple of God; or, as the Apostle says in the last passage quoted, their body is the temple. And here, too, the passages are appropriate which refer to genuine believers as a habitation of God, or where it is said of them, that the Spirit of God, or Christ, or the Father, and the Son, dwelleth in them. Thus Eph. ii. 20: "Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth into an holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit." Eph. iii. 17: "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith." Rom. viii. 10:

“If Christ be in you, the body is dead, because of sin; but the Spirit is life, because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.” And immediately before, ver. 9: “But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you.” Here, too, are applicable those texts that speak of believers as having the Holy Spirit, or that He dwells in them. The Lord himself calls us the temple of God, when He says, in John xiv. 23: “If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.” Since in that fundamental passage of the Old Testament, the peculiar people is connected with the royal priesthood—or, as it is in the original, the kingdom of priests—so, also, the passage in Titus may be here applied, where the Apostle says (ii. 14): “Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works;” also those passages where Christians are called “The Israel of God” (Gal. vi. 16), that is, destined to become a kingdom of priests. Moreover, as among the Old Testament people, not only was the high priest anointed, but also the priests (Ex. xxviii. 41, 30, 40, 15), and were thereby sanctified, and set apart for the service of the living God, in the typical sanctuary, so that the anointing was an essential memorial and token of a priest; so must we connect all those passages where the anointing of believers with the Spirit of God is mentioned with their dignity of priests, as in 1 John ii. 20, “But ye have the unction of the Holy One, and know all things.” They have the Holy Ghost; and he who has the Holy Ghost is therefore anointed, and is a priest, so that all those texts that speak of the believer as having the Holy Spirit dwelling in him, really denominate him a priest; and ver. 27, “But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.” Further, 2 Cor. i. 21, 22: “Now he which stablisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us is God; who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.” As, too, the priests, by the anointing with the consecrated oil, became sanctified, so the numerous passages where believers are

called saints, refer to their dignity as priests, as is almost always the case in all the epistles of the New Testament, especially in those of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, and in the Revelation. And to this part of our subject belong the words of our Lord (John xvii. 17), "Sanctify them by thy truth; thy word is truth;" and xv. 3, "Now ye are clean, through the word which I have spoken unto you."

It is, therefore, undoubtedly the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, that true believers are priests of God. If, in one respect, it may be truly said that priests and sacrifices have ceased in the Christian Church, yet, in another respect, it can be maintained just as correctly, that the true order of priests and sacrifices only commenced with Jesus, and that—apart from the eternally valid sacrifice of our Lord for sin, for debt, and reconciliation, which could be offered by Him alone—it still continues in His holy Church in all true believers. We go further, and say that, since it is only in his relation to Jesus Christ that a man recovers his original destination of wearing the image of God and is adopted into His family, every true Christian must, therefore, be a priest, for it is only as a priest that he fulfils his destiny. Our Lord is the High Priest of the universe—in that He has offered and sacrificed His humanity, and with that the whole world of creatures to His Father; and thus has purified and glorified it. He has reduced the entire material creation, flesh and blood, to perfect obedience to His Father, filling and penetrating it with heavenly and Divine powers. In Him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead in a bodily and sensible manner. That which took place in Him in an eternally perfect manner, is repeated in us, so far as we are priests.

II. Having thus briefly proved the scriptural nature of the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, I proceed to answer more particularly the questions, Who are the priests of the living God? and What sacrifice do they offer?

I have already called them true believers, or the saints. They are those who have recognised, acknowledged, and confessed, with fear and trembling, their sins and sinfulness, their guilt and liability to punishment and condemnation on the part of the holy God; and who in godly sorrow, wrought by the Holy Spirit, have placed all their confidence and trust in Jesus Christ, His holy life, His righteousness, which is of avail before God, His sufferings and death upon the cross, where He redeemed us



from the curse of the law, paid the penalty of our sins, and expiated and blotted them out; or, in other words, they are those who are obedient to the command of the Lord, "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." He who has not repented, has not acknowledged the wickedness, the damning, horrible, and loathsome character of sin—he who does not hate and abhor sin, and heartily and fervently wish that he might never have sinned—he who has not, with remorse, the longing after a life well-pleasing to God, such as is given to us in the life of Christ, who alone led a life such as God requires from every man, but which no one besides has led—that man is not a priest, and cannot be one till he has arrived at faith in Jesus Christ. The moment he believes in Him he is justified; he has forgiveness of sin, is sanctified, is made a saint in Christ Jesus, is born again, or born from God; he is a child of God, and therefore a priest of God. Rom. iii. 28: "Therefore, we conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law." Gal. ii. 16: "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." Eph. i. 7: "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." Acts xv. 9: "And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith." Acts xxvi. 18, the Lord commissions the Apostle Paul in sending him forth among the Gentiles: "To open their eyes and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me." Titus i. 15: "Unto the pure all things are pure; but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, nothing is pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled." Heb. ix. 14: "How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God." 1 John i. 9: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Ver. 7: "But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin." The Church of God at Corinth the Apostle calls (1 Cor. ii.) "sanctified in

Christ Jesus, called to be saints." The name of saint for true Christians is, however, so frequent that I must refrain from quoting all the passages, it being the most usual name for them in the New Testament (Eph. i. 1, Phil. i. 1, Col. i. 2). They are from above, born of God, and, as Peter says (2 Epis. i. 4), "partakers of the divine nature." Our Lord himself says, in John, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." John says, in his first Epistle (v. 1), "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is born of God; and every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him;" iii. 9, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God;" iv. 4, "Ye are of God, little children, and have overcome them, because greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world;" ver. 6, "We are of God: he that knoweth God, heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth not us;" v. 18, "We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not; but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not, and we know that we are of God, and the whole world lieth in wickedness." Gal. iii. 26: "For we are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus." Rom. viii. 14: "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God;" ver. 15, "For we have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God." And it is the Holy Spirit that enables us, as the apostle expresses it in 1 Cor. xii. 3: "No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." As children of God they are brethren, and form together one family in God, one house; so far as Christ is recognised as the sole teacher. (John xvii. 5.) We acknowledge God and Jesus as the Christ, and have become by this knowledge partakers of eternal life while still on earth. We have known the truth, but now we have known God; yea, more, we are known of God. Faith in Jesus is life; yea, eternal life. "Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath eternal life." "He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life; but he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, and the wrath of God abideth in him." He that believeth in Jesus is taught of God, and worshippeth God in spirit and in truth, is a real and genuine priest; he is reconciled to God in Christ.

2 Cor. v. 18: "And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation." The true believer has peace with God. Rom. xiv. 17: "The kingdom of God is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Rom. v. 1: "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." In a priest of God the enmity against God has ceased. Rom. viii. 7—9: "Because the carnal mind is enmity against God. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you." The priests of God have the spirit and mind of Christ. Ver. 9: "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Gal. v. 24: "And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." Priests of God are new men. 2 Cor. v. 17; Col. iii. 9, 10; Eph. iv. 24, 25: "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." (John xv. 14.) They are friends of Christ, and do that which He commands, love God more and more, and their neighbours as themselves, are freed from the tyranny and dominion of sin. Rom. vi. 12: "Let not sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof." Ver. 17: "But God be thanked that ye were the servants of sin, but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of doctrine which was delivered you. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness." Ver. 22: "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." Priests of God have overcome the world by faith. 1 John v. 4, 5: "For whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" John says repeatedly that he does not sin, and purifieth himself. 1 John iii. 3: "And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himself, even as he is pure." He bears more and more the image of the Lord. 2 Cor. iii. 18: "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." 1 Cor. xv. 49: "And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear

the image of the heavenly." As actuated by the Spirit of God, true believers are the true and the truly spiritual clergy. 1 Cor. ii. 12: "Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God." Ver. 14: "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man." Gal. vi. 1: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness." They have spiritually risen to the life which Jesus by His resurrection has made to all eternity the property of human nature. Col. iii. 1, 2: "Seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth." In the priest of God faith, which worketh by love, rules, and the fruits of the Spirit are to be seen. Gal. v. 22: "Love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." He who does not bear upon himself these marks or tokens which I have briefly given in the words of Scripture, is not a priest in the New Testament sense. The true priest, moreover, offers, unceasingly, spiritual sacrifices, which are well-pleasing to God, through Jesus Christ; he serves the living God; he offers his body as a living, holy, and acceptable sacrifice to God, in which consists his reasonable service to God; he is obedient to the exhortation of the apostle, Rom. vi. 13, "Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God." As priests of God, we place every member of our body at His service, we make every member an organ of the heavenly mind; yes, of the Holy Spirit, which gives us life. In like manner our inner spiritual life, with all its powers, properties, natural gifts, abilities, dispositions, and talents, is to be sanctified, and consecrated, and given up to the service of God; as we afterwards shall see more clearly in the gifts of grace, and as it is already spoken of in the Psalms, that we should pay unto the Lord thanksgiving, and in the New Testament is characterised as a sacrifice well-pleasing to God, the offering of praise or the confession of His name. Heb. xiii. 15: "By him, therefore, let



us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His name," by which is intended the sanctification of our whole understanding; since we are in a position rightly to praise and glorify God, and to confess His name only when we have rightly learnt to know him. And so the Gospel itself is called a sacrifice, when the Apostle says of himself as priest, Rom. xv. 16: "That I should be a minister (*λαϊτουργος*) of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost." By which expression the great Apostle of the Gentiles places himself before us as a priest whose priestly ministry has for its object, that the Gentiles should become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and be led by him to offer themselves up wholly and entirely to God, *i.e.*, to devote, resign, present themselves, and belong entirely to him. But if we have given ourselves to God, we are ready to give Him everything that we call possessions and property, or we shall endeavour to make use of that which He has put into our hands, only in a way well-pleasing to Him. To this part of our self-resignation, as a matter of sacrifice, the words of the Apostle in Hebrews xiii. 16, refer: "But to do good and communicate, forget not: for with such sacrifice God is well pleased." Also in James i. 27: "Pure religion and undefiled before God, is to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." And still more particularly in the New Testament (Rev. v. 4, comp. viii. 3, 4) is prayer regarded as a sacrifice, and where we are called upon to pray without ceasing, the whole life of the genuine Christian is regarded (as in the passages already quoted) from the point of view of uninterrupted service for a worship of God, and the true believer as priest.

This, too, is expressed in the idea which we meet so often in the epistles of the Apostle Paul, that the entire priesthood of genuine believers with Jesus Christ as their Head and High Priest, form a united whole—an organisation, a communion of members, one body—the individual members of which are individual believers as saints. 1 Cor. xii. 13: "For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." Ver. 27: "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular." 1 Cor. vi. 15: "Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?" This idea of the organised unity and connexion of all true believers is also viewed

under the image of a household, of a united Church, of a kingdom, or state; then, too, of a vine, and various other similes. The idea of the Christian Church, in her warm attachment to Christ, is according to the Apostle in 1 Cor. vi. 17, "He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit." And the most unconditional love to Him the Scriptures portray under the image of the bride in relation to Jesus Christ the Bridegroom.

III. The exalted rights and duties of true believers, as priests of God, may be understood, if we consider the rights and duties of the Old Testament priests. They alone were authorised to enter into the house of God, and to offer the sacrifice for the people; they were the mediators between the people and God. After that "the one mediator between God and man" had finished the work of redemption and reconciliation, all true believers are authorised to approach God freely. Eph. ii. 18: "For through Him we both have access by one Spirit to the Father." Heb. iv. 16: "Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." Heb. x. 19: "Having, therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say his flesh, and having an high priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water. Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering; for He is faithful that promised." This is in contrast to the times of the Old Covenant. Heb. ix. 8: "The Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing;" while for those who believe on Jesus Christ, Heb. ix. 23, 24 is applicable, "It was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these. For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us;" vii. 25, "Wherefore he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us;" xii. 22, "But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels. To the

general assembly of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel;" 2 Cor. iii. 4, "And such trust have we through Christ to Godward." And our Lord says himself, in John xiv. 6, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me." True believers, according to Eph. ii. 12, are no longer "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and strangers from the covenants of promise;" rather the words are applicable to them in Eph. ii. 19, "Now, therefore, ye are no more strangers, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the household of God."

True believers, as priests, have an immediate relation to Christ, and through Him to the Father; no believer needs another mediator; they have attained their majority, are independent, in matters of religion, and need no guardian—no one may push himself in between them and their Lord and Saviour. They have themselves known God in Christ, have the anointing of the saints, and know everything that is necessary to salvation. They offer to God, in Christ, acceptable sacrifices, particularly when they pray for the extension of His kingdom, agreeably to the three first petitions of the prayer which our Lord has taught us.

If the duties of the Old Testament priests were the burning of incense morning and evening, the offering of the morning and evening sacrifice, the cleansing of the lamps of the sacred candlesticks, and filling them with oil, the weekly serving of the sacred table with shew-bread, the pronouncing the blessing, the blowing with the sacred trumpets, the examination of the unclean (especially of the leprous), the guardianship of the inner temple, the instruction of the people in the law, and the giving judicial answers and decision when demanded of them—if, I say, these were the duties of the priests of the old covenant, they are equally the duties, in a spiritual sense, of the genuine believer, as a priest. But as it would lead us too far, were I to attempt to open these symbols in detail, I will limit myself to the one remark, that true believers, as priests, have the right and the duty to search the Scriptures, and to aid, in their own circle, in the right understanding of the Word of God; and how especially serious an obligation is this individual investigation,

appears from the Apostle's words in 1 Thess. v. 27: "I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren."

IV. Lastly, I will speak briefly upon the relation of the true believer to the clerical office, to the government of the Church and public worship, and to the gifts of the Holy Spirit. And here, first of all, appears the immeasurable importance of this fact, that the priesthood belongs exclusively to true believers, and not to all Christians, or baptized persons, whether they are believers or not. On this bears the decisive declaration of the Lord (Mark xvi. 16), "He that believeth not, shall be damned,"—that is, if he should have been baptized, but does not live and act agreeably with the faith. All true believers are, by virtue of their belief, alike, and equal in rank, for they are all born of God, and are the habitation and temple of the Holy Ghost, who makes them vessels, organs, and members, in whom and through whom He effects and reveals Divine and eternal life, sanctifying and consecrating not only their own bodies and dwellings, but also the smaller or larger circle in which God has placed them. This equality does not, however, exclude the greatest and most striking variety and diversity in the gifts of grace which they individually possess, and, especially, does not exclude the diversity of position, in activity and effort, within the limits of the Church, and for it. The great variety of the gifts of grace is discussed by the Apostle in 1 Cor. xii., where he especially instances the gift of teaching, and the gift of Church government, as peculiar gifts, which are not possessed by every one, so that he represents the clerical office in its diversity from other gifts. (Compare Rom. xii. 3—8; Eph. iv. 11—16; Heb. xiii. 7—9; James iii. 1; 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11; v. 1—5; Acts xx. 18.) Also, in reference to the clerical office, the words of the Apostle may be applied, 1 Cor. xiv. 33: "God is not a God of confusion, but of peace." And, in ver. 40: "Let all things be done decently and in order." It will not be possible to treat fully and exhaustively a subject so great and difficult, and so much discussed in the present day; I only briefly express my conviction, and shall willingly accept any emendation which is founded upon the Word of God.

The Apostle distinguishes, among the gifts of the Spirit, some as the greatest (xii. 31, "Covet earnestly the best gifts, and yet show I unto you a more excellent way;" and xiv. 7,



“Follow after charity, and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophecy”), and then, in xii. 10, says, “to another discerning of spirits,” and in the 28th verse gives prominence to governments (*διακρίσεις* and *κυβερνήσεις*, both times in the plural, and which seem to be the same gift), and immediately after the gifts of the apostolate and of prophecy, names as third that of teaching, which gift of teaching seems to be synonymous with the “word of knowledge,” in verse 8. And thus we are taught by the words of the Apostle himself, that we have to distinguish the gifts, according as they are necessary, as something firm, lasting, and regular, for the preservation and government of the Church of all times, or only for particular cases and occasions in particular relations and circumstances. The gifts of grace, for the preservation and conduct of the Church, form the idea of the clerical office, far removed, however, from every hierarchical notion, exactly by virtue of this, that all true believers are priests of God, and are with the leaders of the Church, brethren, and children of the same Father in Christ Jesus. How, in this respect, do the Apostles come before us as an eternal pattern among all the leaders of the Church, of every possible rank! How conspicuously do these holy men of God, endowed with incomparable gifts, show a humility, a modesty, a moderation (Rom. xv. 15) which we must feel in the inmost depths of our souls with shame! To none, not even to the most lowly, do they refuse the name of brother, and speak to the Churches in a manner which forms the greatest possible contrast to the manner adopted by those who, in late times, called themselves especially the successors of the apostles. More especially does it seem important to me, to hold fast the fact that the Apostle makes the offices just as positively dependent upon Christ, as the gifts upon the Spirit. “Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord.” I consider it, therefore, as thoroughly incorrect to suppose that the clerical office proceeds from the Churches. The individual Church owes its existence to the already existing office. The idea of the office always points to something higher in obedience to and service of which it must be exercised or controlled. As in every State an office is held in the name of the Sovereign, so in the Church every office is held in the name of Jesus Christ the Lord; as the office-bearer is

bound and responsible to the Sovereign, so are the office-bearers of the Church to the Head of the Church, and to none other. That there is so much, and such various opposition shown in our days to this truth, is both natural and pardonable, in consideration of the abominable abuses of clerical power and office which have actually appeared in history; yet, still abuses do not destroy or make void the truth. It only follows from this that the office-bearer in the Church is to be conscious of his Lord's commission, and allow himself to be continually guided and governed by His Spirit; he must especially keep himself free from all worldly love of power over the Church and strive to be a pattern unto them (1 Peter v. 3), "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock;" he must be free from covetousness and striving after unlawful gain; he must rule his own house well (1 Tim. iii. 5); he must never try to force a path for eternal truth with bad, external, worldly, carnal weapons, continually treating mental or spiritual things spiritually. Had this always been the case in the history of the Church, we should not have had so many divisions, so much dismembering of the holy body of Jesus Christ, of His holy Church to lament over, which have by degrees become so general with us, that most Christians scarcely lay this to heart, and do not grieve over it with godly sorrow. They regard these terrible divisions of the one holy universal Church of the Lord as a matter of fact, without a longing, without a desire, and without prayer that it might become different. On the other hand, there need be no fear of an abuse of official power, where true believers are conscious of their priestly vocation, of their priestly dignity, of their adoption to God, and of their right as children; an office-bearer who, in opposition and contrast to the children and priests of God, would exercise his office against the regulations of the Lord, would soon be recognised as one who seeks his own things. If a servant of the Lord can say with the Apostle (2 Cor. i. 24), "Not for that we have dominion of your faith, but are helpers of your joy; for, by faith ye stand;" then he will know and feel himself to be just as much a servant of the Church, yet always continue conscious that he is only responsible to the Lord, but never imagine that he is authorised to act against the opinion of his brother in the Lord.

Everything appears to show me that the presidents of the Churches of the Apostles were installed into office under the

names of presbyters (elders, bishops, overseers) or ἡγούμενοι (leaders and guides). I cannot discover a difference between πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι in the New Testament; but, that much was thought of a talent for instructing in the elders appears to me very evident, without its being absolutely necessary that they should possess it. Gradations in clerical order are, without doubt, as may be proved historically, of human origin.

Public worship was evidently differently arranged in apostolic times from what it is with us or with any of the present great divisions of the Christian Church. The stream of Divine inspiration poured itself even into the common public acts of adoration; the rich gifts of the Holy Spirit were not wanting to one member of the Churches—all were remembered and touched; in each member of the Church, the Spirit revealed himself in a positive manner for the general advantage and edification; the hallowed and consecrated spiritual life became also externally apparent—especially in the general public worship, and, indeed, in part, in such a superabundant manner that the great Apostle found it necessary to set some limits—only two, at most three, should speak in tongues, and also only two or three prophets should speak. Evidently the speakers were not merely the presidents or appointed teachers of the Church, but also the non-clerical, or the laity—which expression we Protestants do not willingly make use of; but they were all filled and illumined with the Holy Ghost, true clergy or truly spirituals. It must have been a marvellous spectacle, this youthful Church of none but anointed priests, who, each in a peculiar manner, uttered the secrets of the kingdom of God. Only too soon this fulness of spiritual life, this true heavenly inspiration, has ceased. May the glimpse into this glory of Divine inspiration and of its activity awaken in us the desire that a like spirit may be in us and abound! But instead of this the clerical office having set itself the task to form and preserve such priestly spiritual Churches by the help of the Holy Spirit, it sank only too soon from this height. Love of dominion dulled the holy enthusiasm, and instead of leading brothers as brothers, by degrees they began openly to govern them and to abuse the spiritual to worldly ends and evanescent aggrandisement. Zeal for the Lord and His kingdom died away more and more; the universal priesthood of believers ceased by degrees, until it was, in fact, scarcely mentioned, or thought of.

With the Reformation, the Church again became conscious of the universal priesthood of believers ; but so decidedly as Luther had made this felt, it yet disappeared in the coldness of the dogmatic struggle, till Spener and Franke represented it as the right of true Christians, and it became practically acted upon in England. With the help of the Lord we begin again to recognise its great significance and importance. We have begun to perceive that each believer is, through the Holy Ghost, independent in matters of religion ; that all the life of man, all his powers, must enter the service of Jesus Christ and of His Spirit ; that all abilities and talents for art and science obtain their true consecration only through the Holy Spirit, that searches the depths of the godhead, and unfolds to the understanding the secrets of the Father and of the Son, in whom lie hidden all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge. All especial powers and abilities, therefore, in so far as they are consecrated by the spirit of Christ, enlightened by Him, strengthened, sanctified, purified, and have entered into the service of God and of His kingdom, form the idea of the gift of grace, or of the *charisma* which is intended to subserve the common welfare and edification of the community. But it must fill us with sorrow, that some of these gifts are no longer available, not only the gift of healing the sick, and the gift of miracles, the gift of tongues—or, as Luther translates it, of various languages—and the explanation of them ; but also the word of wisdom, in so far as it seems to be the peculiar gift of the apostolate, and prophecy in the full sense as the Apostle intended. For although we have something resembling in the science and art of healing the sick, as far as it is consecrated by faith ; and in inspired speech, be it of the Christian believing poet, or orator and preacher, and in the service of the missionary, as well as in our investigations in different languages, as far as it is brought to maturity by the Holy Spirit ; it is still at too great a distance from that which the Apostle says of it. For the other gift mentioned, I do not know of anything amongst us resembling it ; and yet it appears as if the Apostle would represent the apostolic, as well as the office of prophet, as something lasting. (1 Cor. xii. 28, 29, and in Eph. iv. 11.) The gifts of knowledge, of the guidance of the Church, and of the helps or governments, have never been wanting in the Church, although they have too often been sadly dimmed by



the sins of men, but more especially the gift of aiding or helping in that which we call the Inner Mission, seems to have received, and still to receive, fresh life and vigour. We can be aided further only by the consciousness that we believers, without difference of rank, have to work together for the honour of our Lord, and for the prosperity of our fellow-Christians, as priests of God. We have too much accustomed ourselves to leave spiritual things to those whom *alone* we, in German, very characteristically call spiritual (*geistliche*), while, according to the express word of the Apostle, every true believer is also imbued with the Holy Spirit, *πνευματικός*, and the apostles, in their Epistles, repeatedly exhorted the members of the Church, inasmuch as they are believers, saints, spiritual, *i.e.*, imbued with the Holy Spirit, to do spiritual or priestly works. I will, however, only quote two passages to this effect: Gal. vi. 1, "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness;" and 1 John v. 16, "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death."

The idea of the universal priesthood of true believers will, then, first be an historical reality, when all believers, from sovereigns on the throne down to the lowest and poorest without distinction, treat their vocation as a priestly service. Let us look at the present circumstances of the Christian Church in the light of the Word of God, and they appear to us in many ways to resemble those of the time of King Josiah, to whom it was no longer possible, however excellent his intentions, to stay the fall of the kingdom of Judah. As at that time the lying prophets found more favour than a man of God such as Jeremiah, so in our days; as at that time the chastisement of the living God came in due season, so it appears that a like terrible chastisement is awaiting the Christian nations, certainly one all the more terrible, since they have rejected the greatest, the most glorious gift of God, the Son of His eternal love, with all eternal heavenly gifts and treasures, and are sunk in Antichrist and Atheism, according to the word of the apostle of love. 1 John ii. 23, "Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father;" and 2 John ix: "Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the

Son." May the Lord give us all, as true priests, an entrance into His eternal kingdom, as it will one day find its home upon this earth, and make us fully entitled citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, which will one day descend from heaven unto earth, that we may serve the triune God to all eternity. Amen.

[At the conclusion of this paper, the President announced that his Majesty the King would be present at the evening session.]

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## FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

1. BY THE REV. DR. SACK,

OF MAGDEBURG, MEMBER OF THE SUPERIOR CONSISTORY.

I will permit myself to offer only a single thought. It is this, that on a special account we ought to preserve alive the idea of the priestly Christian life. It is not only a beautiful expression, but a deep and beautiful idea, that to be a believer is to be a priest; that to be pious is something priestly. It supposes a real approach to God in prayer, personal communion with Him, and the self-sacrifice of the inmost being to Him in the power of love. Why is this idea attacked, disputed, not sufficiently acknowledged, since its foundation is so clear and has been so represented to-day? There are many excellent, pious men who are afraid of the idea of universal priesthood, lest what they call priesthood, in a more limited—and, according to my conviction, in an unreal—sense, might suffer injury; but this fear is really without foundation. If the spiritual priesthood is understood in a true, vivid, and simple manner, it is exactly that by which we are disposed and enabled to recognise all the other ordinances of God in His Church. For this spiritual priesthood, as it is innate in every regenerated individual, man or woman, child or hoary-headed sire, produces those sentiments of humility and love to God which make a man willing to esteem and to love the higher gifts and offices which have been instituted by the Lord, and amongst them the office of preacher. In the same degree as a man is a priest, he loves the Church, and will submit to its regulations. On the contrary, if the universal priesthood be denied, no other idea is attached to the office of the ministry but that it is a mere mechanical and external work, or it is abandoned altogether. How much greater must be the confidence of the servants of the Word, as they

ascend the pulpit, if they are filled with the thought: I stand, indeed, in a great assembly, among which there may be many who are not awakened; but I know there is a leaven among them of such as, like me, are priests of the living Word and the Spirit which is in them, be they two, three, or hundreds or thousands, who will understand me, will bear patiently with my faults for the sake of the rest, and will spread with blessed effect what they have received from me. How much more glorious is the consciousness of finding oneself in a community in which is a leaven of priests, than to speak to a crowd of people who, we believe, are still unconverted! We must, then, be always only missionary preachers, strike only with the hammer of the law, and this would make the office too difficult, too severe, and unevangelical. But if we at least know that there is a community of priests of God who will understand in love what is said of sanctification by the truth, then the office is a comforting and beneficial one; and the servant of the Word, if he himself is a spiritual priest, is certain that the multitude of spiritual priests around him are in communion with him, and spread the received Word in blessings far and wide. In this sense may you keep hold and verify in love the idea of the glorious character of the priestly rank of a converted soul.

2. BY PRELATE VON KAPFF,  
OF STUTTGART.

I concur with everything that the brethren have said upon the priesthood; but it seems to me that, on the practical side of the question, there is still something to be added, which I will only briefly touch upon. Where has the priesthood its body, as every soul has its body and every Church its representation? It is to be found in the *collegia pietatis* of Spener, at which many are alarmed, but which, from the experience of my beloved native country, Wurtemberg, I can boast of as a true blessing? They are assemblies which the preacher gathers around himself, but which, in Wurtemberg, hold their services for edification also without the preacher, without the intervention of the Church. You will be partly astonished when you hear how simple peasants, journey-men tradesmen, and officials expound the Word of God, communicate their experience, and edify one another. This, I believe, is the external appearing of the universal priesthood; and I can only beg the brethren who are pastors, to promote

such private meetings in their flocks, and strive, in such assemblies, to educate a people who shall be independent and of full age, who can exercise the glorious functions of which we have heard to-day; a people that is not dependent upon us, whom we esteem as fellow-workers in the vineyard of the Lord, and of whom we may learn. I confess here, that I have learnt in such assemblies a theology which was an essential addition to that which I had brought with me from the university. In these lower schools, as I should like to call them, we preachers must also be among the learners; and it has often very much quickened me when I have heard, from the mouth of a peasant or a journeyman, things which I have certainly known before, but which, as an experience, have warmed my heart within me, and suggested new thoughts. How often have I learned the divisions of a sermon from the mouth of a peasant, and have known what I ought to preach! I entreat you to abandon the objections which commonly exist against such assemblies. I believe it is one of the tasks of the Alliance to extirpate these prejudices, which are so injurious to the maintenance of life in our Churches. To what end should we have confessional disputations in Wurtemberg, although, from Leipzig, we were once told, in a letter, "That there was no life in us as long as we were without them?" Why cannot they spring up amongst us? These meetings are the reason. It were in contradiction to our whole nature to lay any stress on theological formularies and externals; with us, the important thing is the spiritual priest, the man born of God. May the Lord grant, that not only we may be such, but that, increasingly, from the congregation genuine priests may be formed.

3. BY PASTOR DR. BARTH,

OF CALW.

It might be supposed the subject was now exhausted; it has, at least, been long discussed, and yet I do not consider it exhausted. There is still one consideration which, as far as I comprehend, has not yet been weighed, namely, this—that we must distinguish between the passages of Scripture which treat of the priesthood of the true Christian in this life, and those which speak of the kingdom and priesthood of the disciples of Jesus in the world to come. I cannot now develop this, but I



throw it out for consideration, and to take home with you. Moreover, I wish that we all were such priests as that ; knowing they are equal in rank, they also regard each other as equals, and only acknowledge one High Priest over them ; for I fear it is with many, even among the members of the Alliance, who have as their precept to esteem others better than themselves, as it once was in America, where an orator came forward on behalf of universal suffrage and said : “ Is not one man as good as any other ? ” and an Irishman exclaimed, “ Yes, and much better, too ! ”

4. BY REV. DR. PRÉSENSE,

OF PARIS.

It is a great privilege, my dear brethren, to be permitted to speak in this Assembly, and at this moment. Permit me first to assure you of the hearty sympathy and brotherly love of the Independent Churches of my country. They are one with you in heart and in prayers on this solemn occasion. We have now before us a representation of that great Christian Church which knows no boundaries, no difference of language, and no divisions, and which does not consist simply of the clergy, but is composed of all true believers who consecrate themselves as a living sacrifice to Christ. Yes, my dear brethren, the day has arrived, when all our Churches feel the necessity of realising the great doctrine of the Reformation in the universal priesthood. Let us go to the work, for the times are grave and earnest. Great struggles await us, and I am convinced, you all feel with me, that the hour of battle is not far distant. Woe to us if, when all the powers of darkness are united against us, we are an army of officers only, and no soldiers. Every individual must present his own person and draw his own sword in this holy war. Oh, how I desire—and with this wish I will conclude—how I desire that the Spirit which now rules in this Assembly might also rule in all Churches and communities ! Would that Christianity, true and living Christianity, might at last disengage itself from all bonds and hindrances which are opposed to its free action, so that it may be steadfast and true to the great final day ! May the impressions which we have here received—for it is easy to quicken the hearts on such a day as this—not pass away as an

evanescent enthusiasm. I conclude with the words of a great man whom I heard in this city ten years ago, the venerated Neander, who said, "Our epoch is an abyss, or it is the dawn of the day; it will become what we make it." Let us make it the dawn of the morning. May the grace of our Lord and Saviour, and His peace, be with us. Amen.

## SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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### VI.

WHY, NOTWITHSTANDING THE RETURN OF GERMAN THEOLOGY TO THE CHURCH CONFESSIONS, IS THERE SO LITTLE SPIRITUAL LIFE IN THE CONGREGATION? AND WHAT ARE THE OBLIGATIONS ARISING OUT OF THIS FACT?

1. BY REV. DR. KRAFFT,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN.

2. BY REV. DR. BEYSLAG,

COURT PREACHER, CARLSRUHE.

### FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

1. MR. AUGUSTUS VON DER HEYDT,  
ELBERFELD.

2. REV. DR. BRESLER, CONSISTORIAL-  
BATH, DANZIG.

3. PASTOR LEGRAND, BASLE.

4. PASTOR PLATTHOFFE, HAMM.

5. PASTOR KRUMMACHER, DUISBURG.





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WHY, NOTWITHSTANDING THE RETURN OF GERMAN THEOLOGY TO THE CHURCH CONFESSIONS, IS THERE SO LITTLE SPIRITUAL LIFE IN THE CONGREGATION? AND WHAT ARE THE OBLIGATIONS ARISING OUT OF THIS FACT?

1. BY THE REV. DR. KRAFFT,  
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BONN.

*Monday, September 14, 1857.—10 A.M.*

President: Councillor FURBRINGER, of Berlin.

THIS is one of the most important questions that could be proposed to the Churches of Germany; may it be so discussed, from various points of view, that a lasting blessing may be the result!

The question assumes two facts—first, that the theology of Germany has returned to the Church Confessions.

The corruption of science in the last century, and more especially of theology and philosophy—which, in their human arrogance, alienated themselves from God—had entered and penetrated all ranks of the German people. This was first acknowledged, when the effect became strikingly perceptible, after the breaking out of the French Revolution, and when events in the beginning of the present century, following each other in rapid succession, developed more clearly the judgments of God. Moral courage, and the self-confidence of many, gave way, and we again began to learn, that the Lord alone is mighty.

A sense of the weakness and impotence of man, awakened by the enormous demands made on the moral powers, self-knowledge, and the perception of sin, led many to repentance. The

first principles of Christianity, as at the time of the Reformation—which had been choked up under the dominion of Romanism—were again brought to light, and so a foundation was laid for the conversion and regeneration of the German people. In a spirit of repentance, hands were raised in supplication to heaven, where alone lies the source of all the moral power of mankind. Hearts yearned believingly after the Lord, who is our righteousness, and longed to be again filled with the power of His Spirit, which is mighty in our weakness. The bonds which bind morality and religion together, and which had long been rent asunder, were once more united.

Living faith in God had not been destroyed in the conflict for the liberation of our Fatherland. Many felt their hearts raised in gratitude to God. The Word of God was again distributed among the people, and where it was boldly and purely preached by faithful witnesses, it found sincere and susceptible hearts. Theology, which was again becoming orthodox, recognised and understood the facts fundamental to our salvation in Christ, and to revealed truth. The third jubilee of the Reformation gave to theology a new impulse, recalling the principles of the Reformers; and it began to seek more seriously to the Holy Scriptures as to the fountain of truth, and to draw from them the doctrines of religion suited to the necessities of the times. The Confessions of faith were again regarded with veneration, and were looked upon as monuments of the Reformation, and witnesses of the faith of our fathers. Many orthodox theologians, however, agreeing in their essential points, did not consider that those of less moment should prevent the exhibition of brotherly love, or be a bar to Church communion.

Veneration for the ancient Confessions was especially shown by the orthodox theology, at the third jubilee of the Confession of Augsburg, as well as by many other proofs. Gratitude for the blessings of the Reformation was everywhere loudly manifested, and all the Evangelical Christians of Germany regarded this as the common symbol of their faith.

If orthodox theology had to conduct the war against Rationalism, at the commencement, with the weapons of the Divine Word, it found itself, at a later period, obliged (when Rationalism appealed to its accordance with the principles of the Reformation, and characterised the Reformers as the pre-

cursors of free thought) to prove to Rationalism, from the Reformed Confession, how much it had deformed the fundamental doctrines of Evangelical Christianity. And when the elder Rationalism, after it had been overcome, appeared in a new garb, and allied to Pantheism, and the war re-commenced with fresh vigour, then did the orthodox theologians—who, in ever-increasing numbers, occupied the chairs of almost all the German universities—not only defend the historical foundations of Christianity which their opponents had attacked, but also stepped forward to maintain the value of the Reformed Confessions, which the pretended free-thinkers laboured to annihilate. More and more decidedly did orthodox positive theology separate itself from the negative; and when the partisans of the latter attacked by their errors the basis of science itself, contested their right to occupy the public pulpits and chairs. The ideas of these negative spirits were first made evident in the momentous years that threatened to overthrow both Church and State. They publicly mocked at all order, Divine or human.

The strife with Pantheistic Rationalism served to enhance more and more the respect for the Confessions. When the formation of a German Evangelical Church Alliance took place at Wittenberg, in the year 1848, the orthodox theologians, and among them the most eminent in Germany, declared their adherence to it, because the Alliance maintained the fundamental doctrines of the Reformed Confessions—upon which basis alone they would consent to stand. The following year, at the cradle of the Reformation, this union of the German Churches protested against a union without a Confession—a union, that is, which would not found itself upon a doctrine in agreement with the Reformed Confession—and against a theological tendency which would have made the union the means of putting aside a Confession altogether. Four years ago, in this very city, the German Evangelical Alliance (the Kirchentag), in a solemn moment, rendered a unanimous testimony to the Augsburg Confession, as containing those saving truths which all Evangelical Christians in Germany have confessed from the beginning, and confess still, and from which the Evangelical system cannot draw back.

It is, therefore, a well-established fact, that German theology,

taken as a whole, after a period of infidelity, has returned within the last forty years to the Church Confessions.

The question proposed for examination assumes, as a second fact, that, notwithstanding this, there is little spiritual life in our Churches.

We can scarcely believe it, and yet it is a fact not to be contradicted. The complaints which are raised on all sides respecting it, and in which the shepherds and the superior authorities of the Church openly agree—especially such as have the spiritual welfare of their flocks at heart—but too plainly confirm it. He who needs to be convinced has only to go amongst the Churches with open eyes and a sympathising heart. I will not here speak of those parishes in which unbelief and the enmity of the world openly manifest themselves against the living God and the Lord Jesus Christ, without a decisive testimony being borne against them; nor of those where the material ideas of the age, which agree so well with the natural inclinations of men, have taken root, and are spreading further and further; where “the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life” display themselves; and where the watchers of the sanctuary are sleeping, or even partaking in these worldly manners with more or less openness or refinement. What wonder is it that where they sow to the flesh, of the flesh they reap corruption? Nor will I speak of the Churches where, in recent times, under the influence of an orthodox theology, war has been declared against the world and its lusts, and the conflict has commenced between light and darkness—a conflict, by means of which spiritual life is awakened, so that here and there already a mighty impulse is perceptible. I shall refer rather to those parishes, whether in town or country, which have continued externally Evangelical, or have become so under the influence of some of their zealous members; where, for a longer or shorter time, the Word of God has been preached in purity and in full accordance with the Evangelical Confession; where the Church is regularly attended, the sacraments are scripturally administered and received with solemnity, and yet, in spite of all this, there is no spiritual life. These external observances do not seize upon the “inner man of the heart.” This Christianity of custom leaves everything as it was before. Sin, if it does not show itself in its coarser forms, is not treated as an enemy; and because there does not naturally exist in us



any enmity to the world, they continue on friendly terms with the world, and yet they suppose they are pious and justified, for do they not observe all the forms of the Church? Men do not sigh after the light of the Holy Spirit, who illumines the hearts with His glory, exhibits sin in its true form, and kindles the flame of repentance. They do not despair of themselves, and place all their confidence in the grace of God in Christ; they do not pray daily for renewed forgiveness, washing themselves in His blood, and in this way come to the experience of peace with God. The soul thus exercised enters into a hearty covenant with the Lord, and cherishes daily communion with Him, that so it may become established in grace. Then, also, it seeks after communion with other believing souls, who, from the inmost depths of their hearts, can exclaim with Him, "To me also, is this grace given!" Believers unite themselves more closely together in a bond of love, and build themselves up into a spiritual house—a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices, which are well-pleasing to God through Jesus Christ. Such spiritual life is wanting in many parishes, notwithstanding their ecclesiastical organisation and forms; and it is this want which is loudly lamented on all sides.

We do not see the matter, we must confess, in such dark colours as many do. Here and there, in such Churches, spiritual life is not altogether wanting. How should it be that God's Word, which contains the promises, should not have kindled, though in silence, and awakened many hearts? It is only that the awakened spiritual life is hidden from our eyes the scattered spiritual seed germinates gradually, and the fruit which shall give expression of its vitality does not appear till afterwards. We must believe this for the honour of God and of His Word. But there is so little spiritual life, that it appears greatly disproportioned to the means of grace which are employed in the Churches. There is, therefore, an incongruity between our theology which has returned to the Church Confessions, and the spiritual life awakened by it in our congregations. This universal and deeply-lamented incongruity urges us to the question—What is the cause of this phenomenon? Why has not our theology been able, and is even now unable, to awaken more spiritual life?

We leave, for the present, other agents which ought, at all events, to work as preparatives in the awakening of spiritual

life among the Churches—the schools, for example, both elementary and secondary—out of the question, and restrict our inquiry to theology.

The most apparent cause is this, that German theology has kept itself too much aloof from ordinary life. How various are the reproaches that have been made in this respect. Theology is too much a science; learning has been too much its main object; it may have promoted knowledge, but it has done little for the life of faith; it may have filled the heads of its students with erudition, but it has not awakened enthusiasm in their hearts, nor formed them for the practical duties of the different relations of life. We must not deceive ourselves by supposing that these charges do not contain much truth. About the year 1840, orthodox theology had too much the character of a doctrine of the schools, as, indeed, was the case with other branches of German science; they were too much estranged from the national life. Many of our orthodox theologians, some forty years ago, had adopted too exclusive a course; they aimed to make the truth of the Gospel more acceptable to the philosophically educated, among whom Rationalism so much prevailed; and science they chose as their instrument. Entertaining the opinion, that the development of Christian life in the Churches depended upon the development of science, they gave their theology a theoretical character. A more thorough comprehension of the Christian life of the people and of its necessities was wanting. From the heights of dogmatic speculation, to which they had exalted themselves, they looked superciliously down upon every-day Christian life and conduct among the people, and did not much trouble themselves about its necessities. In contrast with the superficiality of Rationalism, they conscientiously set themselves to the investigation of the Holy Scriptures, and displayed no less acuteness of criticism and exegetical learning than philology; but they worked rather at the outer rind of the Divine Word than penetrated to the kernel, where alone they could obtain proper nourishment for the spiritual life of the people. The sermons of that period, accordingly, though elaborated according to all the rules of the homiletic art, were deficient in the qualities which awaken and edify. Added to this, the language still wore the garb of the theological school, so that its comprehension was difficult

to the people. The young theologians, when called to the pastoral office, who came from this school, did not come with that firmness of dogmatic conviction, with that decisiveness in matters of doctrine, which is necessary if the Churches are to be built up in the faith; many of them remained undecided, and others only attained to fixed views after long struggles. As, from the commencement of their course, scientific cultivation was looked upon as the highest aim of theological study, the moral occupied only the second place; and in such as these the necessary maturity of Christian character and the internal consecration to the office were wanting, as well as holy zeal and the true pastoral dignity and unction.

But, God be thanked, there is an amendment in the scientific orthodox theology of Germany. In its struggles with the infidelity of modern times, which has laboured so zealously to popularise its principles, it has more and more sought for the doctrine of salvation from the Scriptures themselves. In consequence, especially, of the events of the last forty years, it has shown greater spiritual life. Theology has done its part on firm, biblical, and reformed principles, in restraining the efforts made for openly-avowed destruction of Christian and ecclesiastical life, and in promoting reforms in the province of the State as well as in that of the Church. Its positive character has proved and developed itself as conservative and regenerating. The allegation that German theology is too far removed from the sphere of actual life (a charge which is now almost exclusively brought against it by foreigners who have not followed its recent inmost movement) can now only apply to those who have not been affected by that important renovation—those who remain standing above on their speculative heights, or who have completely secluded themselves in their critical labours on the sacred text.

Already, the effects of this renovation in German theology are to be seen here and there in the Churches where the dawn of a new spiritual life is perceptible!

The second cause why orthodox theology has produced so little internal spiritual life in the Churches, is, the tendency to seek in external means those resources which can be found only in spiritual life. Instead of starting from the

free investigation of the Holy Scriptures, in connexion with Christ as the only Mediator of salvation, theology started from certain dogmatic propositions, as they were formulated in the Church Confessions. The results of such a free investigation of the Scriptures did not appear to be positive enough to serve for the regeneration of the Church. This tendency first began to develop itself at the third centenary of the Reformation, in the year 1817, when individual voices were heard as of that theologian in North Germany,\* who would like to have seen the ancient Church restored, in the entire and concrete form of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with all its peculiarities, and expected, from such an unconditional restoration alone, an improvement in the Christian life of the people. These voices, isolated at first, found, in course of time, others that joined them. Ecclesiastical jurists, who attached themselves to this party, demanded that Rationalism should be put down wherever it still prevailed, by the sovereign authority of the State Church. An exclusive ecclesiastical system sprung up, in well-defined gradation, and spread itself over the north-eastern part of Germany, Saxony, and Bavaria. It beheld in the Church Symbols the only salvation for the future and the present. In the struggles which the openly-avowed infidelity of the years between 1840—50 kindled, reliance was not placed upon the spiritual might of Evangelical truth, which works internally and gradually, but resort was had to the external might of the State Church. Instead of striving after and following one glorious, royal word, that should fall like a ray of light upon a dark age, and raise the Evangelical Church to independence by internal, living strength, its restoration was sought by external means.

An unconditional and binding authority was attributed to the Confessions of the Church. All confession is a manifestation of a man's inmost convictions; a confession of faith is the manifestation of the faith which lives in man. The confession arises, therefore, from the faith of the heart, and is the public expression of it. Thus the Œcumenical Confessions of the ancient Church, and the Confessions of the Reformation, are the

\* *Claus Harms*, Pastor and Archdeacon of Kiel, published in that city, in 1817, ninety-five theses of Luther, interpreted in the sense of old Lutheranism, and against the union of the two Churches, which he considered as having Rationalism for its basis and its end.—EDITOR OF THE FRENCH EDITION.



common manifestations of the faith which existed in the hearts of the Fathers and of the Reformers. The ancient Church, as well as the Reformers, was driven to a Confession of faith by the errors which deformed the truth. The Reformers appealed to the Holy Scriptures, and placed their Confessions under its supreme authority, as they examined and purified the tradition of the Fathers according to them. The Roman Catholic Church, with her notion of authority, will not consent to be judged by the Word of God. Hence her traditional doctrine, as it was finally fixed at the Council of Trent, is a code of laws, by which the Holy Scriptures are superseded, and the consciences of her adherents are bound by the word of man. The Reformed Confessions, on the contrary, refer us to the Scriptures, to seek for the truth in them; and they never pretend that it is their office in any way to bring faith to us, or to produce it in us. Faith comes, as the Apostle Paul writes to the Romans, by hearing; and hearing, by the Word of God. As the true confessors of the Lord have ever given forth their testimony to the faith with a firmness and precision proportioned to the errors which have demanded this testimony from them, so will it be in future. Faith will ever be born again from the depths of the Divine Word, and truth be confessed, in opposition to error; but true believers will never consider that they are unconditionally bound to the letter of the ancient Confessions, which, while they express perfectly the faith of their age in the fundamental truths of Christianity, as they were then formulated, are no longer sufficient for the purpose of opposing, in their new form, the fearful errors of the nineteenth century.

The German Evangelical Church has already once attributed an authority to the Confessions of the Faith which the Reformers had not claimed for them, and with the Confessions established a new external law—the law of the letter, which killeth. Very soon the work, begun in the Spirit, ended in the flesh. Towards the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries, the domination of an orthodoxy displayed itself, which, in its carnal zeal, rejected all that did not accord with the letter of the Confessions and with the system of doctrine built upon that basis. The consequences were none other than Luther himself had predicted—the destruction of all spiritual life. Never would the Evangelical Church of Germany have sunk so deeply as

was the case a century after the Reformation, had not the internal true life of faith been stifled by an external orthodoxy. How have the Jesuits rejoiced at the disputes and squabbles of theologians! How has Protestantism been driven from the field, and entirely suppressed throughout wide districts of our German fatherland!

The man who was permitted to labour with the greatest blessing, a chosen instrument of the Lord in the renovation of the Evangelical Church of Germany, *Ph. J. Spener*, was viewed by the pretended orthodox party with suspicion, and was attacked and condemned by them. Time does not allow us to trace, even briefly, the inspiriting efficacy of his labours, and which were shared by this city (Berlin). Had the spiritual awakening, begun by Spener, been really furthered everywhere, and penetrated into the bosom of the Church, Northern Germany would, like Würtemberg, still discern traces of that blessing.

History is a prophecy, and by prophecy we should be warned. But in spite of all the warnings of history, a theology that presents itself in Germany, in the name of the Church, pursues the same direction and treads the same path that the more ancient has already traversed to the goal. And this circumstance is all the more observable and dangerous, since God has already, in later times, given again spiritual endowments and living powers to the Evangelical Church, which will not allow themselves to be forced into the old forms. From the North we again hear such men as Spener caluminated. They are called an exotic growth of the Lutheran Church; they are accused of troubling and rending the Church, instead of calling it to life.

In the eyes of modern orthodoxy it is of little moment whether a new form given to a doctrine can be justified by the Scriptures, or whether it answer to the necessities of the congregation. It regards the symbolical or dogmatic formulas consecrated by the traditions of the Church, as the universal rule, and maintains that the *new* and the *false* are synonymous; and thus it is reinterred in scholasticism. Those among its adherents who feel themselves forced to seek proof in Scripture, and thus transgress the law which they have helped to establish, are regarded by their former companions as heretics.\*

\* An allusion, no doubt, to the book of Dr. J. Chr. K. Hoffmann, Professor of Theology at Erlangen, *Der Schriftbeweis* (proof from Scripture). For having

It is not to be denied that from the vagueness which a believing theology had before allowed to remain in many dogmatic traditions, there is here apparently a way of escape. This theological party boasts of its decision and confessional fidelity. Its self-laudatory tone easily imposes upon its followers and communicates itself to them. The youthful generation appears complete and ready by the first half year of their academical life. They have already taken their decided course. Not by serious and independent investigation of the Scriptures, not by inward and often hard-fought battles with doubt, have they decided for the truth; but they have adopted the dogmatic formularies. The nerve of all intellectual life and effort is thus cut in two. As a sad symptom we cannot but remark, that the study of philosophy among the young theologians is in many German universities on the wane. An eminent Bavarian divine, alarmed at the consequences of this ecclesiastical leaning of theology, lately observed—"It is convenient to hold to traditional words, which may be repeated again and again without the trouble of thought." The love of ease and mental indolence are by this means pampered; hypocrisy, consciously or unconsciously, is encouraged; disdainful sentiments are awakened towards those who do not adopt the Confessions in all points, even to the smallest; and arrogance is nurtured, which looks contemptuously on those who are supposed not to be in full possession of the pure doctrine.

Evangelical truth, which has not become the inmost property of a man, which does not work vitally in his heart, cannot make an awakening impression on the hearts of others, even though it may be preached with all the aids of the homiletic art and pathetic eloquence. How, then, if this theology leads its disciples from the Source of faith and life to the brooks by the wayside? how can it turn streams of living water into the heart of the Churches?

This theology exercises also a fatal influence by the arrogant ideas which it fosters in relation to the Church, and the exag-

wished to prove from the Bible the doctrines enshrined in the Confessions, the author has encountered the most violent attacks of his party, that of the Confession-  
 alists. Professor Philippi, of Rostock, sounded the charge, and gave the first blow. Other combatants have followed on both sides. The Hoffmann-Philippi dispute, as it is called, has already produced an arsenal of pamphlets.—ED. OF FRENCH EDITION.

gerated importance it attributes to the clerical office. It has displaced the natural relation between the pastor and the flock, and has opened a gap between them—arrests and enfeebles a thorough and blessing-bringing effort for the awakening of spiritual life. In harmony with the confessional writings of the Reformers, and with the eighth article of the Evangelical Alliance, we respect the pastoral office. It is a Divine institution; Evangelical principles interdict whatever savours of a hierarchy. “Whosoever will be great among you,” says the Lord, “let him be your servant.” And, in accordance with this, the Apostle Peter says, “Neither as being lords over God’s heritage, but being ensamples to the flock;” and the Apostle Paul, “Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.”

After what we have so recently heard on the universal priesthood of believers, I need not enlarge on this topic. The pastoral office can only, then, be truly exalted in the eyes of the Churches, when its bearers are ready, in true humility, to be the servants of all; when their doctrine and their life are in accordance with each other, and the clergy made holy in Christ, are men full of the power of the Holy Spirit. It is but too intimately connected with the love of ease. Indolence and the natural love of ease are but too much disposed to build upon the authority of the office when the self-denial and sacrifice in the service are wanting. When the office follows a hierarchical tendency, it seizes upon external means to strengthen its power and to maintain or increase its authority; it concludes an alliance, wherever it is possible, with the State Church, in order to effect by Governmental ordinances what it is not able to accomplish by virtue of its own authority. Laws may settle the external organisation of a Church, but by them spiritual life can never be produced; much oftener by force an inward revolt is occasioned, which more and more alienates man from it.

In this view we ought seriously to examine the Reformed Confessions, and endeavour to avert the evils which arise from mixing the temporal power with the spiritual, to the Evangelical life of the Churches. We should hold fast the principle that the Church, conformably with her origin, is not a political institution, but an institution of grace, which has for its object the salvation of souls.



And now, having acknowledged the evil, and assigned its causes, what are the results ?

Our first concern is *positive theology*. Without denying its character as a Divine science, it ought more seriously to apply itself to its great end—the Christian life of the people, in order both to reform it and mould it afterwards in right principles. An effectually working reformatory influence is, however, only possible upon Reformed principles. The only principle from which positive theology ought to start, and to which it should be continually bound, is Jesus Christ, the only Mediator of salvation. In Him faith, which alone can justify, lays direct hold of salvation, and, by experience, becomes certain of it. Jesus Christ the Saviour, is the central light of Scripture, and ought, therefore, to be the only Source of truth, and the only authority. Theology should search deeper and deeper into this source ; recognise more clearly the Divine thought in its human envelope ; and from the lowly form in which the Word of God has clothed himself, make His glory shine forth all the more brightly. Nor should the investigation merely take hold of single parts, but should comprehend the organic connexion of the whole of the sacred writings of the Old and New Covenant, and still see, everywhere, the glorious unity in the rich variety. Every exposition of the Scripture will miss its aim that proceeds arbitrarily, or after certain dogmatic propositions, and does not expound the Scriptures in their own spirit. If the Reformers, out of care for the salvation of their own souls, found the saving principle, so the theologians of our times ought not to forget, in the pursuit of science, to seek after their own salvation and the attainment of that “holiness without which no man shall see the Lord.” As Christians they should enforce their instructions by their personal character ; and not, while teaching others, incur the danger of being themselves “castaways.” It should never be lost sight of that the end of all scientific study—the real task of all the future pastors and educators of the Churches—is to win souls to Christ.

A second consequence relates to *the ministers of the Gospel* who preach the Word of reconciliation. The principles of the Reformation place the preaching of the Gospel in the first place, as the means of awakening spiritual life. Is it, then, still necessary to insist on this point ? Certainly, when by many, in our days,

other means are preferred to preaching, and still greater effects are expected from them. A theologian of Electoral Hesse has lately started this question: "Whence shall come the awakening of life in the Churches? Is it from the preaching of the Word?" And he replies in the negative, pointing, as a far more effectual means, to *the penalty of excommunication*.

The inward awakening of the heart proceeds alone from the preaching of the Word of God and the accompanying power of the Holy Spirit; only then, when spiritual life is awakened, is the worship of God in spirit and in truth possible, and then only can discipline be of use to the sinner.

We hear in our times, besides the complaint of the want of spiritual life in the Churches, the question frequently asked—Why does the preaching of the Word, even when Evangelical, effect so little? We know no better answer than that given by a faithful and honourable witness to the truth in the *Evangelical Church Gazette* (*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*), who has put the question in this manner—"How far are the clergy themselves to blame that their preaching effects so little?" and then remarks: "The respect for the sacred ministry which is wanted in a parish is not wanted for the man himself; it arises from his acquirements, from his knowledge, which surpasses that of his hearers. The study of the Divine Word, especially in the original languages, and in the preparation of sermons, is not regarded with sufficient seriousness; sermons lose themselves in generalities, instead of being addressed to the necessities of the congregation, and pass over their heads."

Bible classes should be introduced everywhere, and a practical tendency be given to the study of the Scriptures. Public catechising should be organised for adults as well as children, after *Spencer's* example, and be closely connected with preaching. The Bible, also, must not be wanting in the house; and the father of the family should be the priest of his household—the intercessor between the Lord and the souls committed to his care. Confirmation should not be thought of before some indications of the inner living faith have shown themselves in the souls of the young. The difficulties opposed to these innovations are of an external kind, and may therefore be overcome. The speaker who is to follow me will fill up what is wanting on these points which I only hint at. I only desire further to insist on what specially concerns the care of souls, which should be more dili-

gently, more faithfully practised ; and many external hindrances to it should be removed—such, for instance, as official correspondence and other administrative functions. The congregations too large in size, both in town and country, should be divided, and aids be provided in the discharge of ministerial duties in the congregation. The existence of a superior ecclesiastical government, such as exists in Prussia, is peculiarly adapted to these ends. A more exact acquaintance with the spiritual state of the congregations would lead to the discovery, in each of them, of two or three members who might serve as assistants to the office-bearers. Were this done, a beginning would already have been made—a point of union for active Christian charity—the commencement of those Christian associations which Spener called *collegia pietatis*. If the pastors, where they discover some scattered germs of spiritual life in their parishes, would venture there and bring them together, by the formation of free associations for active charity or for mutual edification, the life would not only be preserved, but it would grow. The pastors themselves would derive a great blessing from such efforts. They would find that the sectarian spirit would not be able to establish itself, for we know, by experience, that it is the awakened members of the Churches who are most easily attracted by sectarians, not because they find amongst them a satisfactory exposition of the Divine Word, but more hearty communion. The necessity of an organisation for this new activity would soon show itself, for all spiritual life needs a body for its preservation and activity. But where a want of any kind exists, the manifestation of it must not be restrained or postponed till the congregation in greater numbers, or as a whole, is awakened. Had Paul and Barnabas thus waited and postponed election of elders in the Churches of Asia Minor, they perhaps might never have been appointed. An elder of the Church is to speak upon this subject more fully. We would make only one remark more. The organisation of the Churches, the formation of Church representation (let it be called by what name it may), preserves the large Churches from destruction, which spiritual death tends to decompose. Our latest experience testifies to this. According to Eph. iv. 12, and other passages, and according to the principles of the Reformation, a good parochial organisation is the right foundation for an Evangelical Church constitution and for Evangelical Church discipline. How deeply does *Luther* regret

having allowed the time to slip by for the introduction of such Church organisations! With what earnestness has *Spener* pointed out its importance when the time for it has arrived! And shall we not obey the call of the Lord in our days, in order that our Churches may be renewed in the spirit of their mind?

We conclude with the prayer that the Lord may have mercy upon Zion, and that He would reveal himself more and more to His Church as the Prince of Life. "I was dead, and behold, I live for evermore."

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2. BY THE REV. DR. BEYSCHLAG,

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What does the perception demand of us, that, in spite of the return of theology to the Church Confession of Faith, there is so little obvious spiritual life in the Churches? The question upon which I am called to express my opinion is the most important topic that could be discussed among friends of the Evangelical Church; it is, indeed, the really necessary Church question of the time. And who among us theologians who are all called, directly or indirectly, to awaken spiritual life in the Churches, would venture to refuse an answer to this question? But as we must not evade the answer, so it is difficult to give it in a satisfactory manner, and to indicate not only the causes of the evil we deplore, but also the means of its removal. It is a good arrangement that several should speak upon this question, for a single individual cannot do more than bring a small contribution towards its solution. In attempting this I shall limit myself to the state of things in Germany, with which alone I am sufficiently acquainted.

The question itself might, in the first place, be asked—Has theology really returned to the Church Confession of Faith? Is so little spiritual life really shown among the Churches? Those who, under the term Church Confessions, understand the Church Confessions together with their theological form, and therefore, also, the *Formula Concordiæ*, will answer the first question in the negative. We understand here, and throughout this paper, by the terms Church Confession, the substance of the confessional writings; the abstract of the truths necessary to salvation—the truths upon which the Evangelical Church is built, which pro-



duce spiritual life, and which therefore must be preached in our Church if spiritual life is to be maintained in her. It is true that to this Confession German theology has not, up to the present day, entirely returned, as, for example, the critical school of Tübingen and the party of the *Protestant Church Gazette* (*Protestantischen Kirchenzeitung*). I regard, however, both these as decaying theological factions; the first is, at bottom, not a theological party, for it has no longer a Christian tendency, but a dissolution of Christianity, and, therefore, of theology; the second is a sterile combination of different theological standpoints, the very rise of which testifies against their will, to the power of the revolution which has taken place in theology. Taken as a whole, it cannot be denied that the theology which works upon the Church, and to the influence of which the efficient clergy yield themselves (and to this theology alone our question can refer), has returned to the Church Confession of Faith. As a whole, the preaching at the present time in Evangelical Germany is what is called orthodox.

But is it, then, true that this orthodox preaching brings forth comparatively so little spiritual fruit? Have not the empty churches in hundreds of places again become filled? Have not great enterprises and unions been established by the clergy, with the active concurrence of the laity? Are not our people roused and excited by Church questions in a manner unprecedented for a long time past? We will not be ungrateful for what the Lord has done for the Evangelical people of Germany since this change has taken place in theology; but we cannot fail to observe that there is a great want of harmony between the orthodox doctrine, the clergy, and the life of the congregations. Church forms are not spiritual life, but even attachment to external Church forms is as yet the exception in Germany. The churches are, for the most part, full only because they suffice for a fraction of the population; not only here, in Berlin, but also in a town so celebrated for its religious character as Elberfeld, it is but a small minority that attend the churches. It is rather better with the country population; there are some districts that are really supplied with churches, but there are others, again, where the want is even greater than in the towns. Outside the gates of my native city, where the attendance is proportionately not bad, there is a village where, out of the 4,000 inhabitants, scarcely one in a hundred goes to church. How many services

in Mecklenburg are obliged to be relinquished, owing to the absolute want of hearers, is well known from official statements. And among the minority who do attend public worship, how small, again, is the minority who confess their faith in other ways besides going to church—who read the Bible and give themselves to prayer, who know the truth, and who aid in works of Christian charity—who, in life, in suffering, and in death, manifest anything of the power of God to sanctify and to save! May we console ourselves that perhaps we do not see the best? But yet a light gives light to all that are in the house. Shall we say that there are always many called, yet few chosen? But why should the disproportion of the called and the chosen be so much greater amongst the laity than amongst the clergy? Or shall we find repose in the thought that as theology was the precursor of infidelity, so her return to the faith will, if we have but patience, draw the people back? But this is precisely the question. Do our people follow theology as willingly and easily back to the faith as they followed it to unbelief? We have, at least, no proof of this. And thus the problem which our question proposes—viz., the disproportion between the spiritual life of the Churches and the reformation of our theology—remains unsolved, and demands from us the most serious reflection, and, above all, the most earnest self-examination.

As a matter of course, the causes of this disproportion are not to be sought after on one side only—the side of the theologians; and it is not my intention to be silent upon the peculiar hindrances to our efficiency which exist among the laity at the present time. But it is right that judgment should begin at the house of the Lord; especially here, where we speak with one another, and not with those who are without, and where we ask each other what does the recognition of this state of things demand from us? It demands from us—to say briefly what I have to say—that we should give to our confession a more thorough foundation of spiritual life in ourselves, that we should present it under forms better adapted to the spirit of the times, more intelligible, and more calculated to produce conviction; that we should enforce it as the formative principle of practical life. Or, more briefly still: let us see to it that the fault does not rest in the weakness of our faith, of our teaching, and of our conduct.

I. I say nothing new when I begin by affirming that ortho-

doxy is impotent if it does not rest on the basis of a living faith, a personal spiritual life. Yet it is necessary to recur again and again to this cardinal point, and to give prominence to the fact that life alone can produce life. The orthodox party of the seventeenth century, it is true, zealously upheld the *theologia irrogenitorum*, in opposition to Spener, because the Word of God, and the office of the ministry to which it is entrusted, remain the same; and it is true that God can bless His Word, even in the mouth of a dead orthodox preacher. But if there is force in this argument, there is no need either of office or of preaching; the distribution of the Bible would suffice, and of religious books, in which, at least, the unknown author does not dim the light of the Gospel, in which there is still his living breath from whom it comes. For if the Lord did not write books, but sent out apostles, it evidently shows that His Gospel should always be reproduced in this personal form, and so be communicated to the world; that in spreading His Word, in which is life, the lifeless form of writing should give place to living personal testimony, that it may thus go from faith to faith. Experience, moreover, confirms the fact, that the streams of living water only flow from those who truly in their hearts believe in the Lord. Where, even in our own times, a clergyman discharges the duties of his office out of the fulness of a believing heart; where we see at once that his confession is full of inward truth, that he has devoted his life, and is always devoting it afresh, to his work; that he does not grow weary in what he does and in what he avoids, in order to give to his profession a more perfect development; we see that such a minister is irresistible—he will produce spiritual life in the Churches, even if, as often happens, at the cost of his own mortal life. I do not, however, affirm that with those who produce no such effect, there is only a dead acceptance of the Gospel, and no spark of living faith. There may remain, I know, in a maimed or palsied body a spark of life, but it does not make the body its organ; and as regards its effectual working, it might as well not exist. Too easily and too often does the clergyman deceive himself, because at some period of his life he has been breathed upon by the Spirit of God, because, now and then, he experiences a movement of spiritual life within him. But what may be sufficient to keep himself from positive death, is not enough to flow forth in streams of spiritual life to others. Is the preaching dull and cold, or kindled by some strange fire ?



Is the discharge of official duties faithful only in a pharisaical sense? Is the domestic life of the pastor conformed to the world, though only in the most moderate and cultivated manner? In the same degree the inward life of faith will be a light hid under a bushel, of which it is indifferent to the people of the house whether it burns on or is extinguished. But the light ought to be conspicuous; the inner and outward man should agree and match with each other. The confession should not only be a confession of the *fides quæ creditur*, but not less of the *fides qua creditur*; it should be a living, personal, spiritual reproduction of the doctrine which is spirit and life. And to this end we must not imagine that the regeneration and renewing of the inner life is accomplished once for all, and that then we may rest upon our laurels; but remember rather that the Apostle Paul, after that day at Damascus, emphatically makes this confession, "Not as though I had already attained, but I follow after;" and "I die daily."

That the inner life of faith occupies, in any case, a secondary position to the confession of faith, is owing to the ever-existing indolence and impurity of the human heart; but it is not to be denied that it may be furthered by the especial circumstances and tendencies of our age. Where an exaggerated and independent value is given to the *fides qua creditur*, to the objective confession of faith, the subjective life of faith will necessarily suffer. No doubt the subjective Christian faith cannot be produced without the objective truth that is believed; but, on the other hand, the truth to be believed has no worth or significance, except as it is able to produce, and does actually produce, the faith of the heart. The overrating of the confession of faith, at the cost of the life of faith, manifested itself soon after the Reformation. As the new Church preoccupied with laying down her principles, was much embarrassed, and that in the midst of the troubles of a formative period, she saw that it was impossible to give herself a complete and perfectly consistent visible form, and therefore threw herself hastily upon the one-sided exhibition of the Confession, she built up a protecting wall around her, to secure the defective edifice which soon took its place. From this source have arisen all the miseries of our Church, up to the present day. Sprung from a living germ, the Evangelical faith has become a well-formed, but a withered plant, which, instead of growing and fructifying in the heart,



has served rather as an object for the subtle examination of the understanding. What wonder is it, if the understanding, estranged from all heart-interest, after having occupied itself long enough with the formation of Church doctrine, should have begun at last to destroy and demolish the edifice it had erected? Conscience, above all, made the discovery, that the morality, of which orthodoxy constituted itself the patron and protector, could be had cheaply enough, without being tormented with supernatural dogmas of belief, for it was nothing else but the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees (*justitia forensis*). Thus, by a natural process, Rationalism has grown out of a dead orthodoxy, not from Pietism, to which the evil conscience of our new orthodox party wish to ascribe it. For the subjectiveness of Pietism, as contained in, and purified by, the Spirit and Word of God, has nothing more in common with the subjectiveness of Rationalism, than the subjectiveness of the Reformation with that of the Revolution.

At the commencement of the present century, God gave us a renewing and restoration of theology from this decline which had been brought about by its own fault. This renovation was produced, not by the confessional formula, not even by theology as such, but from a concentration and new elevation of the thoughts and sentiments of the people of Germany, at a time of deep distress and wonderful deliverance. Should we not, while thinking of this origin, understand the way in which God will conduct this Christian awakening? Should we not perceive that His design in it is not a new *formula concordie*, but a Christian life in the heart of individuals and of the nation? But theology, in returning to the faith, has not been able to escape the unfavourable character of the times which followed the war of independence. Under the deleterious influence of the subsidence which so promptly followed that religious and moral spring which was made by the nation, the revived theology, instead of being supported by the revived national life, became the affair, almost exclusively, of the scientific schools. Distinct as was the device inscribed upon its banner, *Pectus est quod facit theologum*, and faithful as it was to this device, in the persons of its great representatives, and, through them, in many of their disciples, it was still not able to escape from a certain pallor of thought

which too plainly showed the impression of the study. Instead of addressing itself to a grand and practical task—instead of rebuilding the ruins of the Church—it was occupied with the speculative after-births of Rationalism. The imperfection of its scientific, and the tediousness of its practical, results, more and more disposed it to shorten the way, and, without further preamble, to put the “new wine into old bottles.” This tendency has lately become, under the influence of political revolution and reaction, a regular Church malady of the times, which attacks and carries away the great mass of the clergy, and, among them, many who, in other respects, stand far above mediocrity. A feverish endeavour to bring back the development of the Church to those paths which the Lord of the Church has already shown to be the way to death, exhibits itself especially there where Lutheranism has historically its seat. Already, they are gone so far as to see in Spener a pest of the Church. Already a professor at Erlangen cannot hazard a heterodox sentiment, though in a believing investigation of the Scripture, without being taxed with heresy. Already is infant baptism set forth as a pillow of repose to all who are alarmed by the words of our Lord to Nicodemus. Is this anything else than completing in the flesh that which was begun in the Spirit? Can that be living faith, which is gained so easily that now it argues a singular and rare energy of mind among young theologians to do battle with doubts, and, what is most surprising, which is so finished in all its details, even to the finest leaf and blade, that one can scarcely comprehend how and when it has all grown in the mind; if, indeed, it has grown, and is not a mere painting? It was not thus that the first champions of our Christian awakening attained to their faith, but under heavy woes; and they were happy if they were able really to appropriate were it only a few chief points. They began as “babes in Christ,” and therefore they grew to be “men in Christ.” Now the heroes of the faith come into the world ready formed. I cannot forget the words of a Christian well established in the faith, and who could look back upon a long life: “The greater number of our present Lutheran zealots (he said) would, fifty years ago, have become just as zealous Rationalists.” And I must ask again, Can that be a living faith which so often reminds us of the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal?—which

knows so little of love to those to whom we cannot deny the claim of membership with Christ as the one Head? How widely different was the case with the renovated theology at the first! And now the monument of the fraternal love of our fathers in the faith, the Evangelical Union, is undermined and rent in pieces by their children. How can those in whose breasts the prayer of our only High Priest finds an echo, "That they all may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me"—how can they manifest such hatred as is now the order of the day against the attempt to realise such a unity? It is said, I know that love must not make any article of the faith indifferent. But in the particular case it comes precisely to this, that it is not the immediate life, but the systematic understanding, which is the supporter of the faith. For it is the understanding only, and not the inner life, which gives play to the dissensions among the Evangelical Confessions of Germany. It is also said the Union has destroyed brotherly love between the two Confessions, and continually stands in the way. Is not this as if a married couple, who still have much in one another to approve of, should one of them propose a separation, in order to be able to live in unalterable friendship?

This much is certain—such a faith has never overcome the world—will not overcome it in our times. The first duty, therefore, which results from this incongruity between theological confessions and the spiritual life of the congregation, is that we should guard ourselves and others against making faith a mere external thing. A real living faith is not, indeed, to be created for ourselves or for others, and in making the attempt we should fall precisely into that snare which we wish to avoid. But that which we can do is, to encourage and strengthen in ourselves and others the spirit of Nathaniel, and the Lord will cause it to prosper, if we attempt it in sincerity. The fundamental moving principle in the discharge of the spiritual office should be to examine seriously and honestly whether the faith of the heart corresponds with the profession of the lips; whether, in fact, there is even a beginning of that faith which is born of God; whether each progressive movement in the profession of Christ proceeds from this faith; whether there is a determination not to appear more faithful to Church dogmas than is warranted by the spiritual life; and to be instant in prayer that the Spirit of truth should alone lead us into all truth; in one word, to "work

out our own salvation with fear and trembling, because it is God who worketh in us to will and to do of his good pleasure." And this moving principle should be made more prominent in our brotherly intercourse, and that not only after we have entered the sacred office, but also before. The study of theology, without losing anything of its scientific strictness, should not give place to the illusion so much as it does, that faith is something that can be invented and learnt by rote. The relation of master and disciple should involve a real care for souls. In the scientific lectures, especially in the exposition of the Scriptures, the power of the Divine Word should be exhibited which is now almost entirely disguised under grammatical and historical science. The theological apprehension of truth should start from the religious, and guard it from the erroneous idea that there is a system which has exhausted the Scriptures, as if we had in the formularies of the ancient Church the expression of eternal truth upon which we might repose; as if a shorter and easier way to perfect knowledge were possible than that of increasing sanctification and a continual growth in the Word of God and of truth; lastly, as if, in repulsing the old orthodoxy, dogmatic indecision and a proper want of order would be encouraged, rather than a Christian knowledge, more profound, more vital, and, on that account, more fruitful. But this brings us to the second principal division for our consideration.

II. I said, in the second place, that our confession of faith should be conceived and expressed in forms more suited to the spirit of the age; in other words, that we should have a better style of teaching. If that word, "I believe, therefore I speak," is the first thing necessary in order to the awakening of spiritual life, still it cannot be unimportant that I should speak intelligibly; for if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who would prepare himself for the battle? But I mean intelligible in the broadest and deepest sense of the word—that which lays open the meaning and import of things; and to this much more is necessary than is generally supposed. It comprehends not only an understanding of the expressions and language, but of the entire circle of ideas involved in the preaching of the Gospel—not an external and superficial knowledge, which passes Christian conceptions before the mind as the shadowy images of some ancient and curious system, but such a spiritual understanding of the Gospel as shall derive from it the solution of the inmost



problems of the heart, the illuminating ray of the inner world, so enigmatical to ourselves; in one word, an understanding founded upon conviction. I know well that this pre-supposes a hidden work of the Spirit of God in the hearts of the hearers. But the Spirit has bound himself to the Word, and the Word has its variety, its development, its history. In short, it is infinitely important that the Word of God, under the form of a sermon or any analogous method of Christian instruction, should be ever the first word—the word which is just as much related to the spirit of the hearers as to the spirit of the preacher. Every age has its own manner of thinking—its own positive spiritual world, which is the atmosphere of its inner life; he who does not understand and share in it, can effect nothing upon the age in which he lives.

It cannot be denied that in our times this circumstance opposes great difficulties to the proclamation of the Gospel. The entire character and ideal world of former times was derived from Christianity, and it was therefore an easy task to preach. This has ceased to be the case in Germany since the seventeenth century; and that it should have ceased is the fault of a lifeless orthodoxy. A living Gospel will become the free and dominant centre of all intellectual interests, and in the sixteenth century it had begun to be this centre in a higher, freer, and more essential manner than ever: the dead scholastic system is incapable of reaching this free domination; at best it can but re-echo, and even this will last but a short time. It is a fact that during the century of dead orthodoxy, universal intellectual thought, which would not be liberated by the Reformation in order to allow itself to be bound in the fetters of a new scholastic theology, emancipated itself from theology and, at the same time, from Christianity; and the pietistic after-reformation was less able to call it back to the gentle yoke of the Gospel. Thus the way was prepared for the age of *enlightenment*, which, with foolish vanity and enmity, declared war against the Gospel, taking with it, nevertheless, sufficient riches and commodities from under the despised parental roof to be able to produce the great German literature and philosophy. And this, among the higher classes, replaces Christianity, unrecognised in this disguise, and trampled under foot in contempt. An æsthetico-moral religion was diffused abroad in the room of the Gospel, which, in hours of ease, dreams of the good Father

who lives above the stars, and is certain of the eternal redemption of every man who strives after the good; but knows nothing of sin and grace, and is at a loss, therefore, what to do with the Saviour. It is true that at last the deep longings and presentiments of this poetry and philosophy, helped, under the majestic thunders and lightnings of God in the world's history, to quicken the germ of a revived believing theology. But the mass of the nation, once escaped from the momentous and conscience-awakening situation of the war of independence, and driven back too soon to its mere literary existence, did not recognise the unsatisfactory character of the culture of the eighteenth century. It was reserved for our generation to see it achieve its perfect consequences. Humanism—that is, the subjectivity which seeks its norm, not in God, but in itself—leads to the deification of self and ends in bestialism. The progress of German philosophy—from Kant to Hegel, and from Hegel to Feuerbach—is well known. Her inheritance, since the issue of the Revolution revived the Jacobin pathos of the younger school of Hegel's philosophy, is nothing better than vulgar materialism. All these forms of intellectual culture, separated from the Gospel, have been propagated among the German people: the majority of the cultivated, it is true, still belong to the older and more moderate party of æsthetic Rationalists; but it is true also that the most modern and the worst, the most materialistic, is most active, and especially amongst the masses for whom the other forms are too refined. Thus the old unity of culture, founded upon the Bible, the hymn-book, and the catechism, is rent in pieces, and an injurious dualism is substituted for it, which separates the cultivated from the lower portion of the population, which, without Christianity, is not only unreasonable, but even brutal; so that the word of the preacher can scarcely be comprehensibly diffused among all classes. And further, in almost the entire people, the tradition of Christian ideas is broken, so that, together with the greatest exterior and secular civilisation, a state of religious ignorance, and an inability to comprehend spiritual things, exists greater than could have been imagined. If we add to this that the people's schools are only just now beginning to liberate themselves from a sentimental Rationalism; that religious instruction in the gymnasium, betrayed and forsaken by the other sciences, stands solitary and alone; that in the university the secular faculties, for the most

part, no longer inquire into their relations to Christianity and the Church, nor even notice the moral side of the vocations for which they prepare; if, lastly, we glance at our literature—at the majority of our modern poets—at the entertaining reading provided for the nation—at the journals which, to hundreds of thousands, are the only source of daily intellectual nourishment; if we ask what insight into Christianity the world obtains from all these books and papers—then we shall acquire some perception of our isolation in the domain of theology, and be able to form some idea of the incredibly small number of the laity whose hearts or ears are reached by our preaching.

Perhaps no period has ever demanded so much from the preacher, and brought less to his aid, than the present. But the minister of the Word must accept this position if he will work upon the times: Paul became a Greek to the Greeks. The minister must not be a stranger to the prevailing character of the age; he must control it, if not by the extent of his attainments, yet by their solidity, and he must surpass worldly men even in those things in which they believe themselves to excel. The secular culture, also, of our time has its noble elements, and such as might be incorporated into the kingdom of God, although they should be in great part of a purely formal and external kind. The appearance of ignorance and want of cultivation which the clergy often manifest, is laid to the account of Christianity. It makes a fatal impression to hear a clergyman speak against the thinkers and poets of the nation, while he shows, at the same time, that he has not learnt from them what he might and ought to have learnt—to think with clearness and to speak with grace. At the present time one would meet the æsthetic taste of the laity by a more beautiful arrangement of public worship. Would that the greater part of the clergy would only learn to read! The most unnatural and tasteless manner, in which, for the most part, the liturgy is performed, must be offensive to a refined, not to say to a devotional, ear. But what the clergy ought also to know is the wretchedness, the anti-Christian character, and the shallowness of modern culture; how else can they work upon the minds that are led captive by it, and overcome the objections existing in the hearts of their hearers against the Gospel? Our ready-made heroes of the faith are fond enough, at the present time, of sparing themselves the trouble even of becoming acquainted with the works and

tendencies of their opposers within the range of theology itself. Would that they would reflect, at least, that the negative criticism which they thus grandly ignore has long been popularised among the laity, and that magical formularies avail nothing against arguments, even if they are bad !

But I believe that more than a general and theological culture is necessary in order to bring the Gospel nearer to the understanding of the people ; theology itself must develop its treasures in a more thorough and liberal manner. The external authority of the Church and of the dogmas of the Bible is, taken as a whole, destroyed, and no regrets will restore it. What is needed, therefore, is to replace it by an internal authority. For the Jews it is sufficient to show that Christianity is based upon the Old Testament ; to the heathen it must be offered as the response to the deep longings of the soul, as the satisfaction of its moral wants testifying itself to each conscience. It is thus that a necessary progress conducts from Peter to Paul. Our times, too, on the whole, have only retained the indestructible psychological point of connexion with the Gospel, so that Christianity can least of all come to it as an authoritatively given system which can do nothing more than put its doctrines into suitable formulas, and overlay them with texts of Scripture ; but, like the Pauline system of doctrine, it must internally develop itself to the mind according to the laws, not of a logical but of an ethical necessity. And this law must be seen even in the organism of the Scripture. Scholastic formulas of the Christian doctrine are not only incomprehensible to our age, but insufficient. And it is not altogether without reason that the ill-affected say, "Yes, certainly, where ideas are wanting, a word puts itself in at the right time." They not only require to have eternal truth proclaimed in their own language, instead of in that of a learned age that is past, but they will also have simple and clear truths, and not artistically composed obscurity. Our Church divinity has everywhere protected immutable truth, and it is not now a question of giving up any part of it to the spirit of the times ; but he who looks impartially at the Holy Scriptures must feel that all these truths can and ought to be expressed far more simply, richly, and persuasively. And Holy Writ itself ; what is it other, as regards the old divinity, than a sibylline book, of which the infallibility is demonstrated by abstract



proof, out of which it extracts oracular sentences? Do not let it be supposed that the old theory of inspiration can be again pressed upon the laity; nor would much be gained by it if it could. He who believingly makes use of the Holy Scriptures, will not only recognise them as God's Word taken as a whole, but will be able to trace the breath of the Holy Spirit, even to the most delicate parts of a text. But this Word of God has been communicated through the medium of individuals, has been historically developed, is become a literature; in a word, is altogether humanised. If we will hide its human characteristics, how can we think to honour or even to understand it? Let us open the eyes of the people to this fact; let us teach them to understand the process of revelation, which produces these writings as a monument for all times, and has recorded itself in them in a manner to be recognised in all ages as undeniably true and genuine; and then the frequent and so little sincere excuses would no longer be necessary, with which we strive to shield the salient points of the old theory of inspiration, and which serve only the more thoroughly to expose them. This new, simple, and true way of teaching and using the Scriptures we have already in the most esteemed productions of modern German theology; but only as yet in fragments, often not fully loosened from the shell, not thoroughly worked out, and with imperfect results. Would only that this German theology (which is almost ironically termed orthodox by the so-called Church party) may not become weary, and, above all, fearful in the presence of that other theology which also pervades our times—the theology of *repristination*—a theology which now beholds the salvation of the times in the doctrine of a more than juridical justification, now in the magical influence of the sacraments—a theology which rivals the rabbis in torturing the Bible, and makes the Gospel more and more hieroglyphical to the German people, who, meanwhile, pass by wagging their heads.

There is much now to be said upon the means by which this renovated theology, which is capable of satisfying the necessities and claims of the times, is to be made to penetrate the general intellectual life. First of all, the sermon. In spite of all the pains that have been taken to organise a liturgical service, which

I approve with all my heart, the sermon will remain the capital point in public worship; and that because in our times the Christian congregation has to be formed. In fact, the liturgy presupposes the Christian congregation; preaching produces it—the faithful preaching, I mean, of the Word of God; not covering, but uncovering it; not putting it aside, but reproducing it; not diluting, but expounding it; not shutting it up in dogmatical and symbolical formulas, but making it lay hold of the hearts and lives of the hearers. Too many preach God's Word with such an air that it would be better for God's Word if they did not preach it, making it appear tedious, unintellectual, monotonous; while the Holy Scripture, overflowing with the fulness of manifold life, is ready to pour itself forth as into so many vessels, to meet the most various necessities and situations. But preaching alone cannot supply the necessary Christian knowledge for our times, nor preaching and instruction for confirmation either; too many intermediate steps are wanting. It were well that the clergy should everywhere interest themselves with judicious zeal in the schools, and in the higher class of schools; and if they are allowed to supply a gymnasium with instruction in Christianity, that they should not regard it as a secondary thing or attend to it as a mere accessory.

But it is for adults, above all, that we require new forms and opportunities of instruction. And, first, Bible-classes, which are increasing more and more, should not be treated merely as meetings for familiar edification, but be employed for the purpose of bringing about a thorough knowledge and investigation of the Bible in the Church. But other bridges must be built by their side between theology and the world of the laity, as has been lately attempted in Berlin. We should have conferences of all kinds, in which not only the treasures of theology should be exhibited to the laity, but other subjects also not directly religious, but affecting the general intellectual interests of our times, which should be discussed from the standpoint of the Word of God. The means for accomplishing this are not wanting among us; shall we, then, hide the talent in a napkin—the rich talent of scientific knowledge—from the people, that is entrusted to us Germans?

III. I hasten to the third and last point of our discussion. As right teaching is the consequence of a living faith,

so must practical good conduct, flowing from love, guided by wisdom, be the consequence of right teaching. The Gospel ought not only to be the central intellectual light of our people; it ought not less to be the central force of their entire practical world—the leaven which pervades the whole of civil and social life. We do not find ourselves scarcely in a more favourable position towards this than towards the dominating culture of the age. There was a time when the whole form of society bore the signature of Christianity—when the Church had given her sanction everywhere to a firmly-ordered, well-harmonised social organisation, and by a thousand links of discipline, morals, and habits, maintained her connexion with the progress of men through life. Then, as at the present time, individual Christianity was a matter for personal decision; but the Church was able, by having recourse to traditional means, to come and to remain in close contact with the individual, and to awaken and preserve the faith in him; the general character of society bore onward the Christian individual life as a little vessel upon a quiet stream. It is far otherwise in modern times. After Christian opinions had ordered and governed the development of society for more than a century, in the seventeenth century a rupture ensued; earthly and temporal interests began to govern the world alone. To the age of enlightenment followed that of revolution, in which the old forms of society were in Germany carried to the grave, from the emperor and the empire down to the master, artisan, and lowest corporation. But what followed this dissolution was no new organic structure, but only a miserable chaos. The sad failure of this attempted social renovation, after the war of independence, has only served to bind the demon of revolution to the traces of German history. Inquietude and political dissatisfaction have, for thirty years, flowed like a fever through the veins of the people's life; and when at last the disease broke forth, more of living power was lost than of the disease itself, and an apathy followed which can only be roused into activity by a common egotism, and by the desire of gain and of enjoyment. Morality, discipline, order, and respect for natural bonds, are not only not restored, but are totally lost. Unlimited concurrence—that is, the war of all against all—is the only social principle recognised, and, as the consequence, all social differences threaten to resolve themselves into the one difference of luxury and want. Never

before was the conduct of those who live together so superficial and heartless. Master and servant, head and underling, principal and apprentice, concern each other not as man and man, but only as capital and labour. Rent from all the moral constraints of a past age, and drawn away into the tumult of a breathless pursuit after earthly good, the individual almost inevitably makes a moral shipwreck. How many, from the very commencement of their independent life, have found themselves in this vortex! In the lower classes of the people—among the masses, that is—there has, perhaps, never been a time when the want of moral principle was so great as in our own.

It is at such a time of social disorganisation that the Church shines forth in her brightest splendour; she alone has the counterpoise in herself to the world-dominating egotism; she possesses the source of a world-conquering love. But certainly her task is most difficult and complicated. Were she now to pursue the beaten tracks, she would proclaim herself to be the salt that had lost its savour. When in view of this great practical mission of Christianity we see and hear great and distinguished ecclesiastical bodies expecting the prosperity of the Church from the restoration of confessional differences, or of the Lutheran formula in the celebration of the Lord's Supper—when, above all, we see them exalting the office of the minister, as if that could and must be the column upon which the whole building shall rest, and raising a cry against the laity having any share in the care and conduct of the Church—we are inclined often to ask ourselves, whether the most crafty enemies of the Church could better counsel and drive her to destruction than these her blinded friends.

Others again, with the help of the secular arm, would place the yoke of ancient ordinances and of a worn-out discipline about the neck of the people alienated from the Church, and suppose by this means to force the spirit of the times—as if new circumstances did not demand new forms and methods; as if our times would bear from the Church what they will no longer bear from the State; as if the Church could more thoroughly estrange herself from the hearts of the people than by following in the wake of political reaction. People have begun to remark, I think, that this staff is a reed that pierces the hand; the State has no desire to create embarrassments for the sake of Church reaction.



I believe, on the contrary, that it is not to be mistaken that the Church, if she would become again a moral power—the first moral power in the life of the people—needs first of all to develop her miserable internal organisation. I will not here speak of the fact that, our German Evangelical Church bears upon her the marks of the bitter dissensions of our beloved yet divided German fatherland—that territorial are at the same time ecclesiastical limits, which, if they do not totally stop the circulation of blood in the body of the nation, painfully restrict it. I will rather proceed from smallest individual points and isolated facts. If the pastors, as a whole, are to effect anything in the Churches, they must have, above all, narrower bounds to their work, real pastorates, not larger than that one man, assisted with, perhaps, one or two dependent helps, will be able so to compass that he may know and care for each soul, and go from house to house. The scandal also must cease of those large town congregations, numbering more than ten thousand souls, with a whole college of pastors—a college of rival competitors, each of whom draws some sheep after him, but allows, and must allow, the others to stray, since he does not know whether they belong to the flock of his brother in office.

This state of things, which has extended itself over the whole of Germany under the most absurd mechanical division of labour, is the festering wound of our clerical life; and it is a sad symptom, both for the clergy and the Churches, that we do not more earnestly endeavour to heal it. But over the clergy should be placed a strict government, solely ecclesiastical, in which the laity, who may even be numerous amongst them, should govern from a religious point of view—not a government of bureaucrats, either externally or internally secular, setting shepherds over the flocks according to seniority, whether they are suitable or not—but a government penetrated with the sense of their responsibility to the Head of the Church, acting from the point of view that the shepherd is there for the sake of the flock, and not the flock for the shepherd, and that will punish with an un pitying hand the idle and faithless servant. Another cause of the little spiritual life in the Churches may be found in the fact that a clergyman may waste his flock for thirty or forty years without a possibility of his being dismissed from office; those who have the management of ecclesiastical affairs well know how true this assertion

is. The pastor should have a presbytery by his side, and the Government a synod ; and that, for this simple reason, because our Church is not a hierarchical but an Evangelical Church. It is one of the saddest signs of the times that even a word needs to be spoken on this subject. The sloth and selfishness of the clergy have brought forward every possible reason against the flock taking any part in their own affairs, even to the self-accusation involved in the avowal that there are no persons among them qualified for the task, from which it of course results that none have been trained by the pastors. In opposition to these facts, I feel myself obliged to testify the following from my own experience in the Rhenish Provinces. There, as a rule, the good pastor has a well-chosen presbytery. The office of elder itself, that offers so many opportunities for serving and so few for governing, trains his people. An upright pastor has so much and such various work, that without such assistants he could not fulfil it. Respect for the pastor is increased, he is sheltered from the suspicion of selfishness and personal ambition when the elders are seen to be acting in concert with him. A presbytery may preserve the pastor from many false steps, but will hinder him from few that are right ; rather, it will aid and support him in everything that is good, and, indeed, place him in a position to accomplish it. In a word, the presbytery is a bridge of communication between the pastor and the Churches, and such bridges are especially necessary at the present time.

The individual Churches should also be united with one another, and the expression of this communion is the synod. Not only does it serve the purpose of mutual encouragement and vivify the Christian sentiment of union, but it is the official organ of the Church with the State. How many things are ordained by the State (without consultation with the Church) which go to the very roots of the moral life of the nation, and which, therefore, fall within the proper domain of the Church, and either facilitate her mission or render it more difficult of fulfilment ! It is fit, then, that the Church should have a medium by which she may speak in the name of the moral interests of the people, even when her advice is not asked. It is difficult to comprehend how clergymen—those who, in their own eyes, are really the Church—do not wish and desire that she should have such an authorised organ as a testimony.

But, after all, the best presbyteries and the best synods, however much they may strengthen the active power of the Church, will never make the free associations superfluous which the spirit of the Church has begun to create in the time of her deepest coldness and apathy. The fear of their not being strictly Christian, arises principally from this, that the Church is made too narrow to receive them; were her boundaries a little more extended, she might receive most of them into her bosom. On the Rhine, these free associations voluntarily join themselves to the pastor and presbytery, where the Church is isolated; in the provincial Churches, to the consistory and synod. We guard against an exaggeration of the ecclesiastical principle, which would be the death of this voluntary action; we rejoice, without envy, at this manifestation of the universal priesthood, and pardon some things, since also in the ministry itself there is so much that calls for indulgence. I am firmly convinced that our Church at this time cannot fulfil her task without this free activity of all kinds. I will even say that the Inner Mission is one of the best answers to the question that now engages us. Whoever is not content, like the priest and the Levite, to pass by on the other side from our unhappy people fallen into the hands of robbers, but must also reproach the charitable Samaritan with uncalled-for meddling, let him do so. We, on the contrary, should like to exclaim to the generous helping hands: "Do not grow weary; rise up with new vigour; be always extending your work; cast out the net still farther! For it is necessary, above all things, that all should help who themselves know anything of the Eternal Helper and Comforter."

Let this complete organisation, then, from the pastor in his little Church, up to the most comprehensive offices and Churches, only sincerely desire to serve our people, and our people will, in the end, come back to it. The desire to serve, rather than to govern, is of the utmost importance, if a blessing is to be expected in the pastoral office. How many who are all called carers for souls, sit grandly at home and wait to see whether any one asks anything of them, or calls for their aid. "I ought to do something for the Church," said a layman, in the year 1848; "no pastor has been into my house for twenty-five years." This man expressed the secret thought of thousands. It is of immense importance that, as on the Rhine, both the

presbyteries and Churches should require the clergyman to visit every family again and again, without any especial inducement. In most of our families he becomes a friend and counsellor, whose kindly word weighs and works more than many sermons. But at the same time he must have a heart open to all that befalls the members of his Church, as well with relation to their temporal as to their spiritual affairs. A pastor who does not just as willingly seek customers for a poor tradesman—who does not get a good master for an apprentice, or a place in a God-fearing family for a servant-maid—as he comforts the sick, and warns the erring, does not stand in the relation to his Church which our times require. I, at least, have seen more than once, how the parsonage was the place of refuge for all grievances which happened in the congregation, and from such parsonages proceeded much spiritual blessing as well as temporal comfort. But the whole Church must try to put itself more and more in such a position towards all the people. And as a good physician not only seeks to cure the malady which, at any given time, discovers itself, but regulates the entire manner of his patient's life in order to the promotion of his health, so will the loving activity of the Church not only direct itself to that which is directly in danger, but aim to conserve, to regulate, and to watch over all the relations of social life. She will have to bring society to the consciousness of the diversities inseparable from unity, and of a unity which embraces all diversities; she will, above all, consecrate the family and family life; she will assign to children and to catechumens their peculiar position in the Church; she will restore the different ranks to their proper self-consciousness, by inciting them to those particular good works which belong to them; she will give to the people again their Sunday, engaging it not in their edification only, but also in their recreation; she will understand how to give a Christian habit to social life, as far removed from sanctimoniousness as from frivolity and the sensuality of worldly pleasures. It surpasses my ability to delineate and denote concretely in what forms the Church may be introduced into the life of the nations. I will only permit myself to make one remark. I have often asked myself why the Divine Head of the Evangelical Church permits the Romish Church still to exist by her side? Certainly, because there is still some good in her that we do not possess. This good I find principally in her power of organisation, in her undertaking the



most diversified operations, in her courageous stepping out into practical life. I know that all this is tainted with her fundamental vices, so that we can borrow nothing from her; but if the Lord himself sends the children of the light to the children of the world to learn prudence, much more may our Church learn from the Romish Church—which no doubt, in every case, must be first translated from Romish to Evangelical—to make itself the leaven which shall penetrate the great mass of human life.

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### FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

I. BY MR. AUGUSTUS VON DER HEYDT,

ELDER OF THE EVANGELICAL REFORMED CHURCH IN ELBERFELD.

Most honoured Assembly,—The question under discussion to-day enters more deeply than any other into the very bosom of the Churches. I willingly, therefore, as a layman, obey the summons to speak upon it; though I confess that I do so with some fear, when I think of the men who have just spoken, and of those who will speak after me. Do not expect from me a scientific, elaborate, and well-planned speech, but only simple thoughts, which I beg you to receive with indulgence, even if you do not altogether agree with me.

The question before us is not, “Whence comes it, that so few are faithful?” To this, the short answer would be, “Many are called, but few are chosen;” and “Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.” The question we are discussing presupposes two facts: the return of theology to scriptural truth, and the absence of scriptural life in the Churches. I shall confine my remarks to the latter. He who has come here on the articles of the Evangelical Alliance has not now to testify that he highly esteems the office of the ministry. What, therefore, I am about to say is not directed against the office, presupposing that it faithfully proclaims the Word of God, for then it has the promise that it cannot be exercised in vain; I would rather draw attention to what seems necessary to fill it up, and complete it.

Dear brethren, the expression “notwithstanding,” or “in spite of,” in the question before us seems to me to imply too much; for, from the return of theology to the Church confession alone, I do not expect the awakening of spiritual life

in the Churches. As far as the Churches themselves are concerned, "the return of theologians" is not the first, but only the second thing: the first place belongs to their own spiritual life; the maintenance of this is the high task to which all believers are called upon to lend their aid.

We must evidently distinguish between Churches of various kinds. Although brethren of different denominations and confessions are assembled here, yet from the first I have had the impression that the theme of to-day has especially in view the larger Church communities. Those Churches, which, like the Independents, Baptists, and other Independent Evangelical communities and free Churches show, by the simple fact of their formation and existence, that they have been brought into being by spiritual agitation, and will prominently represent Churches actuated by and full of spiritual life, can scarcely be intended. Let us, then, turn to the Churches which belong to larger communities—to those of which, at the present time, we can only say, in the best case, that they contain a Church within the Church; in a word, to the congregations of the National Church; and in order to take at once the most difficult, to the larger Churches of the National Church. Among them, it is unfortunately for the most part a fact that they have but little spiritual life.

This sad fact should cause us to investigate the reasons for this, and to think of some means of remedying the evil.

In bringing before you some positive points of view, that especially move me, I proceed from the presupposition and hope, that in most of the Churches there are some, at least two or three, believers to be found: whether they be of the clergy or laity, they ought to be the salt, and to let their light shine. Let us look well to it, that our salt does not lose its savour, and that we do not put our light under a bushel. Let us salt, before all else, our own hearth, and let us create a light in our own house! In the kingdom of God, care for ourselves, that is to say, the spiritual energy, which in the language of the world is called egotism, is not only justified, but necessary.

First, and especially. Man, according to the appointment of God, is directed to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling. Has he experienced in his own heart the grace of God? for whom does he next desire the same mercy, but for his wife and children, family and relations? "I and my house

will serve the Lord." After this he extends his labours to the Church in which God has placed him. Such a gradual process must always precede more extended effort.

But how is it frequently in the present day? Is any one awakened to spiritual life? We seek to draw him at once into this or that field of labour, into all societies and associations, and the sad consequences of this is a dividing of spiritual power and of external means, a subordinate use of gifts, want of organised division of labour from a firm and powerful centre. This may be partly ascribed to the fact that man wishes to help God instead of letting God help him.

In my native place I and my friends are charged with opposing Christian efforts which the voluntary associations especially have set as their task. No, my dear friends, opposers to the holy cause of the kingdom of our God, we are not, we neither dare nor will be such. We are only not entirely agreed as to the way in which this is to be furthered.

We regard all these things much more as the fruits which shall grow up out of an organised Church apostolically developed, into the higher ecclesiastical development of synods and united Churches.

We do not agree with those dear brethren who, in the building up of the kingdom of God, will at once, in the gladness of their zeal, decorate the pinnacles of the temple at the ends of the earth without looking first to see if the foundation, the living corner stone Jesus Christ, is laid in the Church at home.

We are told, "To do the one, and not leave the other." We say, "First the one, and then the other; first the nearer, and then the more distant; first to the fearful beams in our own eye, and then at the mote in our more distant brother's eye." Our conviction that we must begin among ourselves is also supported by the great responsibility which, in relation to it, the Lord has devolved upon us. Is it not a misery that in so many places the noblest spiritual powers must weary themselves out, and overwork themselves for religious objects, while the Church at home, their own households, and even their own personal state of grace, suffers under this zeal? Is it not sad that in many Churches there is much and richly given to collections for foreign objects, while nothing or little is done for the Church at home, and even this little is more forced than voluntary?

But in many hearts there is already the beginning of a change. Wherefore else, for several years past, are Inner Missions furthered and advanced? Is it not the awakening of the conscience of Christian Churches at the neglect of their own hearths? Let us not deceive ourselves! Let us not fall asleep, not even in an association for Inner Missions! The strange name does not do it; the Scripture does not know this word. Why should we shrink in unbelief from the sacred task of the office instituted by the Lord and His apostles—of the office which alone is able to drive the Churches to real Inner Missions; not only, that is, to bring to them the message of the Gospel, but also, in a regular manner, to penetrate them with the spirit of Christianity, and to stamp upon them, at least in some degree of resemblance, the mark of apostolic Church life—I mean the office of elders?

It is not my intention to break a lance for the presbyterian constitution, that costly jewel of our Christian Church, reformed according to God's Word; but I must express my conviction that a Church can neither be, nor become, nor remain truly Christian, without the carrying out of the elder's office in all its relations. Some are called to be apostles and teachers, but also some as presidents, helpers, and rulers.

Our dear friend Dr. Krummacher has rightly demanded of us, in his excellent opening speech, that we should not be doctrinists, but pursue practical aims. Such practical propositions as have arisen from my experience of six years in the vocation of elder, I will here briefly lay before you. The principles have already been fully discussed. I will, therefore, proceed at once to the possibility of their accomplishment and realisation; and in order to make their application comprehensible, you must allow me to make these propositions in the form of a condensed communication of the present state of my own Church, of the Evangelical Reformed Church at Elberfeld, one of the largest Churches of our Prussian National Church, and, perhaps, one of the largest of the Reformed Churches.

It has often occurred in such assemblies as the present, that people, so to speak, have mutually exhibited their blackest side to each other. Now we also have, perhaps, too dark a side; but to-day we will not make it conspicuous, but rather with prayer and supplication, strive to remedy the existing evils, that the blood of Jesus may wash us white as snow from all our sins and



shortcomings. Still less, on the contrary, will we indulge in vain boasting, but give God the glory, and proclaim the glorious deeds which have been done in us to the praise of His holy name.

Our Church now numbers nearly 24,000 souls. You will exclaim : " Much too large ! It ought long ago to have been divided into two, three, four, or still more Churches ! " Yes, beloved brethren, Churches which are nothing more than parishes, than dioceses with municipal rights, that can be governed very well from the green table, such can be divided at will ; but have you a suspicion of the feelings that such a separation calls up ? Where a Church, still penetrated with her confession of faith, the consciousness of her history, her unity, and the connexion of her members with each other, such a separation is very difficult, and cannot be accomplished in opposition to the will of the Church. And, on the other hand, it is not to be denied that in proportion to the size of those Churches in which the Spirit of the Lord has taken up His abode, is the impression they make by the development of their spiritual and material powers.

But how, you will ask, is it possible to govern and carry on such a colossal Church ? The preaching of the Word alone in churches and in Bible-class rooms is not sufficient, where thousands do not attend the meetings ; there must be the aid of the scriptural, healthy division of the elder's work, for edification and discipline, for the domestic care of souls—not only the care which preserves, but that also which seeks the lost.

Our Church is at the present time superintended by a presbytery of thirty members. There are amongst them six clergymen, seventeen lay elders, and seven deacons. The Church representation, which is connected with the presbytery, and subordinate to it, consists of sixty representatives, who choose the pastors and presbyters, and, in addition to this, have only to occupy themselves with the external affairs of the Church, as its property, moneys, &c. The Church possesses two places for public preaching, in which the six pastors preach alternately, in the order appointed by the presbytery. The presbytery has the control over the Church, as well as over the pastors. But the presbytery alone is not able fully to perform its office to so large a Church. The necessity of a thoroughly comprehensive

organisation is evident. For this purpose the Church is divided into six local districts, which are, first of all, only pastoral districts. A pastor is appointed over each district, who is bound, within a certain time, to visit each family of the Church in his district. Two lay elders are appointed to aid each pastor. Under this superintendence fifty faithful assistants, named by the presbytery, labour in each district, who are not invested with any office, but who serve the Church to the best of their ability. The district pastor assembles his assistants regularly for mutual edification and for conference. These 300 Church assistants, as they are called, are taken from all classes of society, and it must be said with thankfulness that, for the most part, they are sincere Christians. Four times a year these assistants collect, from house to house, the contributions of the members for the service of the Church. The property of the Church, as is the case with most of the Churches in our parts, is not sufficient to meet its necessities. The deficiency was formerly supplied by a compulsory Church-tax, which was very obnoxious to many, and induced some to separate. This compulsory tax, so unworthy of a Church, has, for the last two years, been dropped, and a voluntary contribution has taken its place, collected quarterly by the assistants. The experiment has more than succeeded, for not only has enough been given to defray all expenses, but to leave a good surplus to be funded as capital. Still the principal function of these assistants is spiritual, and consists in exhorting, consoling, and exercising a brotherly supervision, inquiring into cases of distress, and informing the pastors of the families in which their visits are especially required. Each member of the Church knows that there are, at least, two persons nominated by the presbytery to whom he may freely address himself, and who are interested in his condition.

I could communicate much more of the peculiarities of our Church arrangements, and the blessed and rich fruits which, by the help of God, they have borne. But time warns me, and I will only mention one thing more that ought not to be omitted, namely, that we have already had at home an anticipation of the Evangelical Alliance, when, at the institution of a new pastor last year in our Church, clergymen and representatives from all denominations of the Wupper Valley, Reformed Lutherans, Unionists, Netherlands Reformed Independents, and

Baptists, cordially accepted our invitation, and were partakers of our joy.\*

Let us now return to the more general facts. No doubt all arrangements and organisations will be mere empty forms, or soon become such, without the fructifying Spirit.

But we are not to fold our arms and wait for the Spirit, in contempt of the necessary form. God is a God of order. If we are directed to "pray," we are also commanded to "labour."

If the Churches are to be assisted, we must not regard apostolical forms and institutions simply as a beautiful ideal, but we must seek in faith and diligence to realise them. It does not improve the Churches if the few believers among them withdraw themselves in contemplative silence; if they are satisfied with quiet conventicles; if they fall into idle Pietism and empty sentimentalism; or if they step out from the Babel of the National Church, in order to form new and pure small communities. Many, especially among the laity, are tempted to act thus, and generally at the commencement of their spiritual life. I have myself several times been on the point of seceding in wilful indignation, and joining some smaller independent Church, that seemed to me to be purer, and to be marked by fewer abuses; but the Lord has not willed that I should, and I thank Him for His leadings.

Let every one work where the Lord has placed him, as long as he can do so with a good conscience; and let no one mistake the lusts of his own heart for conscience. Can conscience, then, be really oppressed as long as one can hear the pure Gospel of the Lord, and, when it is necessary, can also bear witness to that Gospel himself?

The Word should not be preached with harshness and severity, but with peace and love—brotherly and universal love—the love of mercy and of benevolence. And the preaching in the Church should be accompanied by Bible-classes; pastoral care should be active in seeking out and caring for the needy members; the office of elder should not be exclusively exercised, but should include all. And in all we should desire and aim at the glory of Jesus.

The consciousness of communion must be awakened—the feeling of unity and of connexion with each other. The

\* For an interesting account of these proceedings, so truly illustrative of Christian union, see *Evangelical Christendom*, Vol. XI., p. 18.—ED.

Churches must be organised, or rather, let them organise and govern themselves. And if clergymen should be here who are authorities in the ecclesiastical governments, and who have hitherto unfavourably regarded such free efforts and movements, we beg them most heartily, wherever such a necessity or wish shows itself, not to repress or limit it, but rather let such preachers and superiors further these endeavours. Let us care for a united, well-ordered effort, and apply the spiritual powers, as well as the gifts of love, with faithful care, first of all, in the service of our own Churches.

And if the Church be once firmly rooted upon the foundation of her most holy faith, then first having spiritual life in herself, she will, with the greater power and fulness, exert herself in every other direction, and aid in labour and prayer for the coming of the kingdom of God. We especially admire this in the Free Church of Scotland.

Everything is possible to him who believes, prays, and labours! The Almighty Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give us of His grace for our poor lost hearts, for our houses, and for our Churches. May we be possessed with the idea that we are not of the world, nor with the world, and that we have to fulfil His commands in the world. May He give us the spirit and the fire of love, both to pray and to labour! Amen.

2. BY COUNCILLOR OF CONSISTORY REV. DR. BRESLER,

OF DANZIG.

“When thou prayest, use not vain repetitions.” Therefore, I can only speak a few words to you; for I will speak in prayer, in prayer that the Lord of the harvest may send labourers into His harvest; for the kingdom of God does not come with outward manifestations. It may be praiseworthy and lovely, by means of various devices, to guide the stream of Divine dew to individual souls; but faith cometh by preaching, and we will not cease from this, to which we are called. It is the sacred means which the Lord has entrusted to us, for the building up of the Churches; believing preaching is the blessing of newly-awakened science, and therefore we must do homage to science. But the serious danger which, from my own experience, appears to threaten the Evangelical Church, is that scientific taste is declining. Among the servants of the Word those are to be numbered who really still have a study. Alas! the study has



with most become a room for business ; and quiet, holy meditation, the majesty of a profound study of Holy Writ, which is only possible in this solitude, is almost entirely at an end. Preaching is therefore tedious, even when it is orthodox, and tediousness is most dangerous for the congregation ; for it is repelled by it ; it has no more longing for the house of God ; and that many among the so-called educated, the learned, become strangers to public worship, arises very much from this cause. Our preachers must again become scholars ; they must do homage to science ; they must be intimately acquainted with philosophy and history, the history of their own Church—especially that of the Reformation—otherwise they will not be able to master the stream which will drive most away from the altar. But if the clergyman is to be a scholar—I take the faith as the chief thing for granted—he must really have studied at the University. Is this possible in three years ? You who, like me, have had the happiness to be able to remain a longer time at the University, can testify how, in the fourth or fifth year, the blessing becomes really apparent ; and if in this respect we do not see a change—if science does not permeate through every pore—we shall not be able to serve the Church with effect and power. A higher and mightier voice than mine speaks to you. Luther says to the lords in council, in the towns of Germany, and with them he says to our times : “ We cannot deny that, although the Gospel has come, and does daily come, by the Holy Spirit, yet still it has come by means of the languages, and has, by this means, increased, and must also be by that retained. As dear as the Gospel is to us, so earnestly let us keep hold of the languages. And let it be said to us, that we shall not hold the Gospel without the languages. The languages are the sheath in which we thrust the sword of the Spirit. They are the shrine in which this jewel is kept ; they are the vessel in which this beverage is guarded. And, as the Gospel itself shows, they are the baskets in which are kept the bread, fishes, and fragments. Yes, where we make the mistake in giving up the study of the languages (which may God preserve us from), we shall not only lose the Gospel, but it will at length come to this, that we can neither speak nor write German or Latin properly. . . . Therefore, although faith and the Gospel may be preached by simple men who are not clergymen, it is, after all,

tedious and weak, and at last it becomes wearying and tedious to ourselves, and falls to the ground. But where the knowledge of languages is, it is carried on with vigour and freshness, the Scriptures penetrate, and faith finds itself ever new by means of ever-varying words and works. It ought not to lead us astray that some boast themselves of the Spirit, and but lightly esteem the Word. Some also, like the Waldensian brethren, do not regard the languages as useful. But, dear friend, Spirit here, Spirit there, I also have been in the Spirit, and have seen spirits (if it is worth while to boast of one's own flesh) perhaps more than just those will still see this year, however such may boast. My spirit also has testified something, yet their spirit is very quiet in the corner, and does not do much more than throw out its boastings. But I know well that the Spirit does not do everything alone. Many a time has the knowledge of the languages helped me, and made the Word plain and clear to me. I might have been able to be pious, and in quietness have preached rightly, but I should have left the Pope, the sophists, with the whole anti-Christian Government, just what they are." So speaks Luther, in the precious document which he sent to the lords in council in Germany, that they should hold to the schools; thus he spoke of the languages, and thus we will highly prize the languages, so that the preaching may penetrate every heart, for the languages are the sheath in which is thrust the sword of the Spirit. If the preaching of the Word is full of holy faith, and if the clergyman bends himself in true humility before his Lord and Saviour, He will open his lips and give him the word; but he must first have prepared himself conscientiously, for none must tempt God.

And behold, another form is standing there, which has not yet been noticed in our Christian life, which is especially adapted to awaken the Spirit in the Churches—the address at the grave. Brethren, lay the greatest possible stress on this. There you have hearers who often do not come the whole year into the church. When Death has knocked at a house, hearts are broken and full of longing for consolation; that is the most living visitor of all. If the clergyman cannot approach so near at other times to the members of the Church, and the Word of God remain untouched through the various interruptions of domestic life, at such times they come of themselves. But the Word of God must flow through all the arteries of domestic

life, and it must also be kept truly sacred and holy ; and to this end may God give us His peace and blessing, and to every one of us power and understanding in his office, so that the harvest may become great, as the reaping-field that offers itself is large.

## 3. BY PASTOR LE GRAND,

OF BASLE.

Respected Friends,—I must first offer my most sincere apologies if I should offend and wound your sensitive ears with my rude Swiss-German ; and secondly, if perhaps the style of speaking to which I am accustomed may not altogether please you. I must begin with thanking my God and Saviour that He has made the way plain and straight before me to appear in your midst to-day. I was present at the Alliance at London in 1851, at Paris in 1855, and now I am in Berlin ; and it is my heart's desire that the Lord, who, with His Holy Spirit of truth and love, has been over us in London and in Paris, may still guide and guard us to the end ; for "all's well that ends well."

With respect to the question before us, I will proceed to facts. I was honoured by the undeserved grace of God to become, forty years ago, the vicar of the blessed Pastor Oberlin, in Steinthal. I think this name is familiar to every Christian German tongue. I have not belonged, at the University, to any *collegium pastorale* ; and I do not even now regret it, for in Oberlin I had a living one. His was the aspect of a man who walked with God ; who in early life had found grace and peace for his soul, and who could say, "I believe, and therefore I speak." I should like to draw attention to one point which relates to the country clergy, namely, the simplicity of the household. If there are poor people in the Church, who scarcely have their daily bread, and they come into their clergyman's room and see there soft divans, sofas, mirrors, and whatever such things may be called, and the clergyman speaks to them of trust in God and so on, the peasant will say, "The pastor may very easily talk!" The second thing to which I should like to refer, especially with a view to the young unmarried clergyman, is the pastor's wife. In every other position in life a man's office has little to do with the matter, but for the country pastor the wife is not No. 2, but No. 1 B. On this account it is inexpressibly important, especially for the younger curates, that they should beseech God that He may give them a faithful helpmeet. A woman may be

in every respect estimable, and make her husband happy; but this does not prove that she is a good pastor's wife. Such an one must enter into her husband's work body and soul. God gave me such a wife; she has now entered into the glories of eternity. How beautiful it is to see a pastor's wife surrounded by the candidates for confirmation and the married women! She can do more than we can with our black coats. Therefore I regret it so much when young collegians, before they are established in Christ, make acquaintances, and are obliged, from a sense of honour, to take a wife who is not suitable for their position.

As to preaching, it has been already taken into consideration that many preach merely upon the words. I will not speak of those who are just coming into office; they have their college papers in their hands, and it is no wonder their preaching savours much of the learning of the University; but there are some who retain this through life. We must speak to the people, see what their necessities are, and preach simply and clearly—not in long periods, but in short and simple sentences; I do not mean trivial, but thoroughly popular. Of what use is the most beautiful sermon which is extolled in the literary news, if the poor Johns and Marys do not understand it? If we have a numerous audience, possessing some healthy human feeling and understanding, the educated man has more pleasure in a clear speech than in a studied one.

The third remark I should like to make is this: My heart rejoiced within me when Professor Krafft was saying, if two or three souls in a Church are awakened from death unto life, that they must be brought into communion with each other. I am, from my heart, a Churchman; but I am also a very zealous conventicle-man. When I became pastor, I was against all conventicles and special meetings; but what happened? God blessed my preaching—people came to me and said, "We have not enough with that which you preach, may we not visit you?" Dared I say, "No?" Then God blessed my work among the candidates for confirmation. They must be cultivated and cared for: thus, assemblies formed themselves; and it has been a great blessing, for only in the assemblies can Church discipline be exercised; in the ordinary congregations it cannot possibly be carried out. If one among them walks disorderly, we can say to him, "In that you have joined these assemblies, you



have declared yourself to be a disciple of the Lord Jesus, and now you must not make us a reproach among men." It may, perhaps, be said, "If the pastor is thus placed at the head of a conventicle, he loses the esteem, the love, and the confidence of the rest." By no means! The pastor must, like Paul, "be all things to all men," and must not on any account show partiality to the members of the conventicle. I am convinced that Christian life can neither develop nor preserve itself in the villages if there are no such assemblies. They are especially necessary for the candidates for confirmation. If the instruction for confirmation is given at all in the spirit of love, they will always be more or less drawn nearer, and the feeling will arise, "I will live to the Saviour." But now they go into the world, and there attempts are made to draw them into its snares, and if, at first, they withstand, they are often led astray later. Young people have always an inclination for society. If there is such an assembly as I have described, they can join it. If, then, even for the first few days, people say, "John and Margaret have become hypocrites," it does not last long, and they let them alone. If, in judgment, God sends after a faithful shepherd, an unfaithful one, or a wolf into the Churches, the Church is sacrificed; but if there is such a centre there of God's own children, there is still something that is able to preserve life amongst them.

Now, my friends, I have come to the end, and yet I must still say something more. I regret that I was too timid to express it on Friday, when we were at Potsdam. As a boy of ten years old, when I read for the first time the "History of the Seven Years' War," by *Archenholtz*, I was enthusiastic for Prussia, and I must say that, up to this hour, I have been an enthusiastic Prussian, and that I love Prussia, and love and revere her worthy king from my heart, and pray to God for both king and country. There are nations that are burdened with a national curse, but a blessing rests upon Prussia; for thousands of Huguenots—I also belong to them—and citizens of Saltzburg, raise their voices in prayer for Prussia, and that is both a blessing and a boast. Oh! may this blessing and glory be preserved to Prussia! May God the Lord preserve Prussia's beloved Sovereign, and bless him, that he may long live to be the champion of the Evangelical Church! Amen.

## 4. BY PASTOR PLATTHOFF,

OF HANN.

Only a brief remark, my dear brethren. I am convinced that my voice will be echoed by many of you, when I say that the speech with which this Assembly was opened to-day, found a response in each heart, and I beg to add one word, not of emendation, but of completion. I feel myself all the more urged to it, as I know myself to be one with those who hold the fundamental opinion, "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." We have just heard this from the preceding speaker, who has led us into the sphere of practical action; but still we all know that we have not the Spirit, if He is not within us, as the Word says; we all know that the Spirit must have His temple. And if we all feel that the return to the mere dead confession, as it has lately been manifested, has been attended with circumstances injurious to the Church, yet we dare not forget one thing, which, indeed, has already been said in Perthes' time, who complained that orthodox theologians had so little unity of doctrine. This return to the confession has made its way in a manner that I must very much regret; but I believe, that we all silently express, that in holding the Word, we will also live in obedience to the truth, as it is expressed in the confession of the Church. We stand out as members of the Alliance. Let us remember that, after the war of liberty, an alliance existed, to which three princes belonged — of the Romish, Greek, and Protestant Churches—and that they did not change their confession, that they continued in unity upon the foundation of the confession, knowing themselves to be one in the faith and truth of the word which is given again in the confession.

## 5. BY PASTOR KRUMMACHER,

OF DUISBURG.

"They must leave the Word alone and expect no thanks from us."\* If the Church forgets this text and this melody, she is undone; and if the Evangelical Alliance forgets it, then it too will be undone. There might, perhaps, be some one or more in this Assembly who, on hearing one of the papers read to-day, may have had a fear that the majesty, infallibility,

\* From Luther's Hymn.

and perfect sufficiency of the Word of God has, perhaps, been in some degree overlooked ; and, therefore, I feel myself forced both by my conscience and heart, to direct attention to this, that if there is to be an improvement in our Churches—if more love is to be awakened—then must the Word of God, the whole Word of God, and nothing but the Word of God, be preached with the earnestness and power of the Holy Spirit. My dear brethren, there are many eyes directed to our Evangelical Alliance ; and woe to this Alliance if it would, or should, make any concessions to error, for then our Assembly will be exposed to the attacks of those enemies, whose declaration of war must be most painful to us. Let us not permit ourselves to be misguided to any Rationalistic concessions with regard to the infallibility of the Word of God ; but let us testify, in these days, that we hold fast the Word of life as it lies before us in the Old Testament, and as in the Old, so in the New, where it has received the full confirmation from the mouth of our Saviour. There are still many things in the eternal Word that, after all our investigations, we do not yet understand ; it is, therefore, worth while that we should endeavour to find out the reason why, as yet, we have not been shown the depths of these, to us, hidden things. But let us keep fast hold of the Word of God, the whole Word, and not depart from it. The verse reads further, “ He is with us upon the battle field with His Spirit and His aid.” May the Lord our God grant that we may be able to say this from the depths of our heart. I must, however, add, that certainly all that philosophy and psychology offer us ought to be faithfully made use of in preaching. The sermon ought not to be a set of passages from the Bible, but we should seek for a thorough representation of the truth, and draw from the Word of God all our powers for the strengthening and consolidation of that truth, for it is “ quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.” Amen.





# SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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## VII.

### THE ATTITUDE TO BE ASSUMED BY PROTESTANTS UNDER THE PAPAL AGGRESSIONS.

1. BY THE REV. DR. SCHENKEL,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG.

2. BY THE REV. DR. HEPPE,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG.

### FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

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| 1. DR. BRESLER, DANZIG.                      | 5. PASTOR HUYSSSEN, OF XANTEN.                |
| 2. JAMES LORD, ESQ., LONDON.                 | 6. REV. SUPERINTENDENT KARSTEN,<br>ZÜLLICHAU. |
| 3. PASTOR BLECH, DANZIG.                     | 7. PASTOR KRUMMACHER, DUISBURG.               |
| 4. REV. W. B. PHILPOT, RECTOR OF<br>WALESBY. | 8. M. SCHELER, ROYAL LIBRARIAN,<br>BRUSSELS.  |



## SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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### VII.

#### THE ATTITUDE TO BE ASSUMED BY PROTESTANTS UNDER THE PAPAL AGGRESSIONS.

1. BY THE REV. DR. SCHENKEL,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG.

*Tuesday, September 15, 1857.—Morning.*

President: The Rev. Pastor KRUMMACHER, Duisburg.

How Evangelical Christians ought to conduct themselves under the aggressive operations of the Roman Catholic Church, is the question, the discussion of which has been entrusted to me by the Committee of this important Assembly. Although I did not, for a moment, fail to estimate the difficulties of the task, yet I did not dare to shrink from it. While the power of the Roman Catholic Church is increasing every day, it is not for us to keep silence or to fold our hands. Only, we must pray to God that, together with the spirit of courage and of power, he will also give us the spirit of wisdom and of peace; so that we may neither say nor undertake anything that proceeds from carnal thoughts, but only what may serve to the glory of the great name of our Divine King.

The question proposed by the Committee requires a twofold discussion. We must *first* establish the fact of the Papal aggressions; and, *secondly*, show what is our duty in relation to them.

I. We inquire first, What is the fact in reference to the aggressive operations of the Roman Catholic Church?

1. When we speak of the aggressive operations of the Roman Catholic Church, we have to distinguish between the acts of the Church itself, and of Christians who belong to it. With Roman Catholic Christians, as such, we live in peace, and we

have reason to suppose that the large majority of them are willing also to live peaceably with us. Although we are thoroughly conscious of the profound difference between their confession and our own—between the spirit of our Church and the spirit of theirs—and although we might, with the Apostle Paul, wish to God that they might, sooner or later, become as we are; yet we look upon them as brethren, inasmuch as they acknowledge our one Lord and Saviour. We do not doubt that among them the Lord has His chosen ones, who know Him; and that many of them would rejoice in the Gospel light, if only the opportunity was given them of basking in its beams.

But it is altogether a different thing with the Roman Catholic Church. For this is no union of Christians “seeking first the kingdom of God and His righteousness,” but a powerful, historic institution, a power in and of this world; which, whether we regard its outward extent, or its internal pretensions, has, up to the present period, surpassed all other earthly kingdoms. It has its own maxims, which, in the course of centuries of war and conflict, have become indelibly fixed; its rights and privileges, constitutions and organisations, which it has handed down to posterity; its boldly developed legislation, for which, unalarmed by the extremest consequences, it claims universal authority; multitude of officials, high and low, armed with power and splendour; while, its chief claims the first throne on earth, and is invested with the attributes of supreme power. When, therefore, it conducts itself aggressively towards Evangelical Christians, they have not to encounter personal or isolated opponents, but a bold and comprehensively organised system, which embraces the entire globe, *urbem et orbem*.

From what has been said we may already appreciate the gravity of the question submitted to our examination.

2. To this first consideration a second is added.

If the Roman Catholic Church conducts itself aggressively towards us, it is not done arbitrarily or from caprice—not from the impulse of the moment, and not once from choice; but because the inmost necessities of its own existence urges it on—because it cannot, if it would, act otherwise. It is essential to the Romish Church to put herself permanently in a hostile position towards Evangelical Christians. The Roman Catholic Church does not consider itself as *one* Church among many—as one of the various nurseries in which it has pleased God, in His



inscrutable wisdom, that His chosen ones should be reared for the kingdom of heaven; nor that other Churches, as well as itself, have the right to exist. It pretends to be the Church (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*), the only Mother of the Faithful, the exclusive medium of salvation. Every other Church appears to her as an execrable usurpation. She alone is the ark of safety; and he who is not in the ark must perish in the deluge. That there may be a direct personal communion between Christ and believers—that there may be faith beyond the pale of the Church, and a Church apart from her peculiar belief—seems to her an impious assertion. Therefore, everything in the Roman Catholic Church is visible and tangible; and one of the most intelligent of its more modern apologists has ventured to represent it as the *permanent incarnation of Christ on earth*, with the unmistakable intention of making the true incarnation of Christ, which came to an end with His death on the cross, to disappear behind these phantasies.\* To him who considers the Roman Catholic Church as the incarnation of the Son of God, there can, of course, be no salvation except in her communion; to him it is rash presumption to separate from her; to him it must appear incontestably true “that Christ himself is only so far an authority for us as the Church is an authority for us; and the idea of dissolving the unity of the Church must appear as a crime, at the magnitude of which our breasts tremble and our soul shudders.”†

This overstrained Church unity was effectually dissolved by the Reformation; Evangelical Christians have renounced the outward ties that bound them to that Church, and also the duty of obedience to her government; and to-day we protest as emphatically as was done three hundred years ago against the presumption which, on that account, severs us from the body of Christ, and considers us as destined to everlasting fire, because we neither know nor acknowledge any other medium of salvation than that of faith in the precious merits of Jesus Christ alone. The Roman Catholic Church is not *the* Church for us; and we are so much the more bound to renounce her, as she overstrains and exaggerates her pretensions to be the sole medium of salvation.

But this being so, the Roman Catholic Church is forced by

\* Möhler, *Symbolik* (6th Edition), p. 331.

† Möhler, *a. a. O.*, p. 341.

an unavoidable necessity to take up an aggressive attitude against Evangelical Christians. With these ecclesiastical ideas it cannot concede to us the right to an independent Church establishment; Protestant Christians are in its eyes in a permanent state of revolt; and, indeed, not only against a human, but also against the Divine authority, we are adversaries to the Holy Ghost.

Now it is one of the notions inseparable from the idea of legitimate power, that it should endeavour, by all the means at its command, to reduce those who oppose themselves to its authority. A state of rebellion is in fact tolerated only when the means are wanting to subdue the rebels. But this accidental tolerance of an irremediable evil is no acknowledgment or confirmation of it for the future. It is in this light the Roman Catholic Church regards her relation to Evangelical Christians at the present time, in those countries where equality of civil rights exists constitutionally for both confessions. She lets that alone which she cannot change. But she refuses to Protestantism all legal acknowledgment. Nor does she neglect any opportunity which renders it possible to remind it that she regards it as a punishable usurpation. The entire ecclesiastico-political position of the Roman Catholic Church towards Protestantism is a denial and rejection on principle of its right to exist, an incessant aggression, and on principle. The position of Evangelical Christians becomes the more unfavourable, since they cannot bring into the field the same weapons. Evangelical Christians reject the Roman Catholic dogma as an error, but they do not dispute the right of the Roman Catholic Church to exist; the latter Church rejects, not only our dogma, but does not grant us the right of existing at all.

Dear brethren in Christ, it is of no use to be silent upon the threatening and exciting character of this position: it is rather our duty to become thoroughly acquainted with and to understand the matter. In the Roman Catholic Church a power is opposed to us that from its standpoint regards, on principle, Evangelical Christians as having no ecclesiastical rights. Up to the present moment the cruel and degrading punishments which the Roman Catholic Church has pronounced upon heretics, as we are legally reckoned, have not been revoked by her. It is true that in civilised States they are no longer employed; but whom must we thank for this happy result? Not the Roman Catholic

Church. The principles of humanity and religious tolerance are unfortunately neither altered nor carried into effect by bishops and priests. The secular power has accomplished this in spite of the opposition of the Church; and it is a deeply humbling fact for every Christian heart, that those who are supposed to possess a Christian spirit—servants of the religion of love, messengers of Him who, on the cross, poured out His blood for the world—should retain, up to the present day, a code of laws which breathes the spirit of cruelty, and over which our Lord himself would utter a still severer “woe” than He did over the less bloody doctrines of the scribes and Pharisees. At the present day—we must say it openly—Evangelical Christians are still threatened by the canonical laws with chains and bonds, confiscation of property, and death at the stake. The Roman Catholic Church has not once attempted to humanise these laws, even in part, to say nothing of Christianising them. In a writing of almost symbolical authority—in which more than three hundred years ago the Roman Catholic Church set forth her principles, in the *Catechismus Romanus*—she compares seceders to deserters from an army, who should be caught and punished with the degrading punishment awarded to deserters.\* Up to the present day she numbers us among her subjects, and does not regard our protests. Whoever is baptized is bound to render obedience to her; if he does not obey, she proceeds, wherever there is a possibility, to the execution of the punishment. We say it, therefore, with profound grief, but obliged by the palpable fact, that the aggressive conduct of the Roman Catholic Church is a necessary development of its character; that she must consider herself not only justified, but also bound to it, and that only the circumstances of the times hinder her from assailing us more vigorously still.

3. These circumstances have place in the relation which the State assumes to the Romish Church. Our condition depends on that. There are two possibilities—either the State may adopt the principles of the Roman Church, and, in deference to it, suppress the liberty of other forms of worship; or, acting in opposition to it, grant its protection to the rights of conscience.

With deep regret we must here call to mind the fact that there are, even at the present day, States which make themselves the humble servants of the Papacy, and the ready

\* Lib. Symb. ecl. cath. ed. Streitwolf et Klener, 1. 198.

instruments of its aggressions against Evangelical Christians. Our judgment is not too severe if we declare of every State that gives itself up to such an allegiance to Rome, that it has not yet arrived at any clear idea of itself or its own dignity. The religious and philosophical development of time has, upon this point, uttered its last word; that religion is an affair of conscience, of the free, inward, moral decision of men, and that the State has neither the right nor the power to impose a faith nor to interdict it. The Romish Church may set up the claim; but no State in the world ought to support it with its arm or its sword. The duty of tolerance towards real religious convictions is at the present time so generally acknowledged by the best and most prominent Christians, that every open violation of it is followed by a universal cry of alarm. If in any country religious convictions are violently oppressed, the true believing portion of Christendom feels itself offended and injured, the cause of the oppressed becomes the cause of all; each brother persecuted for his faith has now at least this consolation, that his cry of distress is re-echoed in thousands of hearts, and that it will not be smothered until the sacred rights of conscience are everywhere victorious.

But God be thanked, the first civilised Christian States of Europe have in general acknowledged the principle of religious toleration, and in all these the Roman Catholic Church has been obliged to organise her aggressions in a different manner from that of the middle ages. In Germany the civil equality of the two confessions has been legally confirmed since the peace of Westphalia; every citizen is free to choose his outward confession according to his inward conviction. And here the question arises, What mode of aggression has the Roman Catholic Church adopted, where she is no longer supported by the arm of the State?

4. She has, in such cases, by no means relinquished the principle of aggression, but accommodates herself to circumstances. Her aggressions, no longer violent, are sometimes indirect, and sometimes direct. The former method has for its object the isolation of Protestantism, the prevention, as much as possible, of any approach of the two confessions to each other, and the fomenting of differences and separations between them. The latter has in view the extirpation of Protestantism by weakening and destroying it by all the means that lie within her reach.



5. Let us first glance at the indirect aggression which endeavours, as much as possible, to isolate Protestantism. If the Roman Catholic idea is really acted upon seriously, Catholic Christians must avoid all intercourse with Protestants, as apostates from the truth, and rebels against the sole mother of believers—the Romish Church. This confessional hatred has, indeed, been obliged, now for more than a century, to yield to the spirit of peaceableness and moderation. One of the most noticeable efforts, therefore, of the Romish Church of our times is its opposition to the gradual approach between Catholics and Evangelical Christians, and to all friendship between them. This proceeding is indirectly aggressive. He who makes difficult or forbids my intercourse with a third party, shows himself my enemy—attacks, in fact, the most delicate point of my honour, hinders me in satisfying one of the noblest and strongest human necessities—of the necessity of an exchange of sentiment and feeling with others. What the Romish Church aims at by this isolation is not difficult of detection. Catholic Christendom shall, as much as possible, be placed beyond all contact with Protestantism; she shall not gain a good opinion of Evangelical Christians; she shall, at all times, feel that Evangelical Christians do not belong to God's chosen ones—that a fearful ban rests upon them—that an insurmountable wall of separation divides heretical Protestants from believing Catholics. With a consistency admirable, if it were in a better cause, this hostile design is just now being carried out afresh. Nothing, either ecclesiastical or civil, in common with Protestants where that is possible, and where it is not, none but business relations, is the watchword in the camp of our adversaries; as is openly expressed, even in official episcopal decrees. With deep sorrow we confirm this fact; it is thus that the seed of ever-growing mistrust is sown between the members of two Christian confessions, and an insurmountable wall of separation built up between men of the same race, belonging to the same nation and fatherland, subjects living under the sceptre of the same sovereign, between inhabitants of one and the same province, of one and the same city, of one and the same village, even between those who sleep under the same roof and eat their bread at the same table.

This effort at isolation extends to four descriptions of circumstances: 1. To the last remnant of religious communion which exists up to the present time. 2. To common culture and

education by means of schools and instruction. 3. To the unity of the household and family. 4. To the communion of both confessions within the limits of the unity of the State.

6. Notwithstanding the great differences which separate Catholics from Protestants in those countries where they live together, the sentiment still prevails that they rest on a common Christian foundation. They have never been able altogether to forget that they are both Christians, that they both confess the same Lord and Saviour, that the Apostles' Creed is not only the confessional banner of Catholic but also of Protestant Christendom. And ought we not to rejoice that the strife of confession has not broken up all the bridges of peace? It cannot be otherwise than a consolation that at the present time, when the most refined theoretical, and the rudest practical materialism raises its voice more boldly than ever—when unbelief undermines on the one side, and superstition deadens on the other—that the last remnant of common convictions and common hopes between the Christian confessions, is not yet entirely destroyed—that there are still Christian truths which all confessions are in a position to defend in serried ranks against the common enemy. We consider it, therefore, as great a misfortune as it is a wrong, to widen the existing gulf between the members of the two principal Christian confessions without necessity. It is not, however, at all our intention, in saying this, to disguise or diminish the great irreconcilable and fundamental points of difference; we do not plead for fusion and indifferentism; but we demand that, together with a serious and decided profession of faith, some place should be left for that large-hearted love, which, lifting itself above the causes of separation, does not forget that which still remains in common to both. Catholics and Protestants have assembled in peace in the same Church; the same bell has sounded for the Catholic and the Protestant marriage; at the same altar Catholic and Protestant prayers have ascended to the Father who is in heaven, and members of the one confession have been edified by the preaching of the ministers of the other. We know well the evils which are connected with such relations; but yet there have also proceeded from them some blessings. It must also be acknowledged that the fulness of Christian truth in every form of confession may still be capable of gaining from other forms, and that the image of the Redeemer still exercises a blessed efficacy, where His

features no longer shine in full historical truth. To what consequences has not this indirect Catholic aggression already led? Avoidance at any cost of all ecclesiastical and religious contact with Protestants! There is, at least, one place, where it might be supposed the confessional division would disappear—I mean the place where the Romish bishop, adorned with the triple crown, has nothing more to boast than the poorest beggar—where, with all other earthly garments, the confession itself must be laid aside—where there is only one robe in which we can with honour appear; where only—

“ Our Saviour’s blood and righteousness,  
Our beauty are, our glorious dress.”

This place, the churchyard, the place of peace, as it is so beautifully called, was in many places open, without distinction, to the dead of both confessions; Catholics and Protestants had accustomed themselves, without distress, to the thought that their bones might slumber peaceably side by side. The indirect aggression of the Roman Catholic Church now aims to separate the members of the two confessions, even in death! It shall be made public at the grave that there can be no communion between Catholics and Protestants.

7. But the aggression is not confined to the cemeteries. The Romish Church likes better to meddle with the living than with the dead. She has especially sought in modern times to meddle with affairs which do not belong to the Church alone, but rather to the nation and the State. Public instruction, the education of the rising generation—is a province in which both confessions should feel themselves to be united and to form one people and one State; but it is exactly this which the Romish Church at the present time labours to prevent. Many important reasons may no doubt be brought forward for confessional separation in the province of the primary schools. It may be said that the general popular instruction is so intimately connected with the religious and ecclesiastical fundamental views, that it might seem just as unsuitable to allow Protestant children to be educated with Catholics, as Catholics with Protestants. But the intentions of the Roman Catholic Church are directed not only to separate the confessions in the primary schools; they extend to the whole system of education, from its base to its summit. Middle-class schools, grammar-schools, lyceums, universities—

everything is to be modelled confessionally. Not only will they have Catholic history and philosophy, but also Catholic mathematics, and in the end perhaps Catholic cookery. There shall be no longer any province of human thought, knowledge, investigation, science, or action, in which the Catholic Christian is not to think, comprehend, investigate, know, and act differently to the Protestant.

8. We will not here discuss the question, which would be the losing, and which the winning party, if they should succeed in carrying out these intentions. Protestant investigation and science need not boast; but it will bear without shame a comparison with that which calls itself Catholic science. Protestant science has erred, oftentimes erred greatly, but it is something to be able to err and to venture to err. Where there is free investigation, error ceases to be dangerous. Protestantism has made the great discovery that there can be no science without free thought, nor possession of truth. It has freed mankind from numberless pretended authorities, to lead them back to the highest and the last—the authority of God himself. Protestantism will have the truth, nothing but the truth, the whole and the highest truth; and therefore it does not fear error, because, above all things, it loves truth. The Roman Catholic Church complains that Protestant science is godless. Well, it is true there is a godless pretended science. But this is neither Protestant nor Catholic; it is altogether anti-Christian, perhaps now and then even diabolical. But we should give ourselves up to a lamentable delusion were we to suppose that ecclesiastical decisions could exorcise that spirit of darkness which in our times has assumed the deceptive mask of science. He who really believes confides in the Spirit of Divine truth; that alone has power to overcome the world.

9. This negative aggression of the Roman Catholic Church penetrates still further, even into the sanctities of family life. Mixed marriages open to it an easy field. We must, on the whole, assent to the opinion that mixed marriages are to be regarded as an evil, although we must allow that lasting happiness has sometimes been found in them. But if mixed marriages are, after all, inevitable, and must be acknowledged in individual cases, by the exercise of the Christian spirit, to have resulted in domestic peace and happiness, then it is the duty of both Churches to bear with such marriage contracts, as *at least*



*Christian*, and without favouring or approving of them, not to treat them with contempt; and in relation to the education of children, equitable arrangements should be come to on the one side and the other. But the Roman Catholic Church will know nothing of such an equitable proceeding. Already the Council of Trent, in its twenty-fourth session, flung the charge at Protestants, that they, "under the pretext of the Gospel," made marriage an instrument to their fleshly lusts.\* By the Declaration of Benedict XIV., of November 4th, 1741, dispensations for mixed marriages may be granted under certain circumstances, but always with the condition that the priest should assist, not as priest, with the ecclesiastical blessing, but only as a witness (by virtue of the so-called *assistentia passiva*). Afterwards by the constitution granted by the same Pope, in the year 1748, to the Polish bishops, a threefold pledge was required in order to a dispensation: Catholic education of all the children; the secure position of the Catholic party in his or her peculiar confession of faith; and the obligation to endeavour, as much as possible, the conversion of the Protestant party. If individual bishops, under the pressure of circumstances, have mitigated these conditions, still no one will doubt that, at the present time, the more severe practice has been everywhere resumed. And can there be a more degrading position in which to place the Protestant than this—the blessing of the Church refused on principle to every mixed marriage under all circumstances? Still more, to obtain only the *assistentia passiva* of a minister of the Romish Church, the children of such marriages are to be educated in the Catholic faith; the Protestant party, declared to have no religion, is placed under the perpetual missionary efforts of the Catholic party, and the latter must regard his conscience as burdened with a debt so long as he has not succeeded in drawing over the former to his faith.

10. Still one more point remains, to which the indirect aggression of the Roman Catholic Church is turned with determined perseverance. The point referred to is the confessional neutrality of the State—not its indifference to religion, but the modern idea that the State is free as regards confessions. This evidently excites the hostility of the Romish Church; while we, on the other hand, hold that all attempts to restore the

\* Libri symb. Eccl. Cath. edit. Streitwolf et Klener, 89: "Sub prætextu Evangelii libertatem carnis introducentes."

state of the middle ages, by identifying it with the confessions, are indirect attacks on Protestantism.

We do not approve of the fact that Protestantism has transferred the superior episcopal direction of the Church to the power of the State. At the commencement it was a necessity; it is now become an evil. But we do approve, when the State opposes itself to every attempt which is made to bring it again under ecclesiastical domination, when it guards against everything that might make it the tool of the Church, the passive executor of ecclesiastical decrees and sentences. Protestant sovereigns will know how to protect their Protestant subjects against the pretentious demands of the Roman Catholic Church. But what must be the position of the Protestant population of those countries where the sovereign belongs to the Roman Catholic confession, if the State gives itself up again to the service of the Church? According to the law of the Roman Catholic Church, the State is bound to extirpate heresy with fire and sword. These violent measures will not be adopted at once. But will a State, which holds itself as bound by principle to lend its arm to the Church, where she acts in the spirit of her constitution and laws, have long either the will or the power to protect its Protestant subjects against the overt and covert attacks of the hierarchy? Will it have the disposition or the ability to hinder the system of gradual damage and oppression, of that perpetual fretting and teasing, those tedious and chronic, and therefore all the more cruel, torturings, by which Protestantism may be destroyed as by a lingering death?

11. We pass on to the direct aggressions of the Catholic Church. We bring again four of its methods prominently forward:—

- 1st. The discipline applied to converts.
- 2nd. Freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press.
- 3rd. The associations.
- 4th. Missions.

In regard to the first point, we must especially deplore the sad lot of Roman Catholic priests and monks who secede to Protestantism. These persons are subjected to the most severe and rigorous measures of their superiors without protection; and even, unfortunately, in countries where, in other respects, the spirit of toleration is acknowledged. How many damp cloisters and prisons have stifled the cry of these unfortunates

in everlasting night! Has, then, the Catholic priest and the Catholic monk no conscience? If it would be deemed an insufferable thing that a man should be forcibly hindered from exchanging his erroneous scientific views for those clearer convictions which have been acquired by liberal investigation, is it less intolerable that the voice of conscience, and the infinitely graver responsibilities of religious conviction, should be suppressed by severe penalties and cruel torments?

12. But the employment of discipline no longer suffices; the Roman Catholic Church is compelled to the use of weapons with which, fortunately, we also can defend ourselves. Hostile as the Romish Church has always shown itself to freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, at the present time she does not disdain to employ both to the fullest extent against Protestantism. It is surely a peculiar fatality that the Church which so thoroughly hates all freedom of thought, and has so artistically built up its system by the suppression of all free action of mind, now sees itself obliged to raise the banner of freedom with her own hand, and to set up an ensign which she has so often persecuted even to blood, when it has been the rallying point of her adversaries. "Freedom of the Church!" Such is the cry which now sounds on all sides, wherever Roman Catholic life shows itself. But we are not to be deceived by the sound of the word. For a freedom which only recognises its own rights, and not the rights of others, is nothing but a mask for despotism. But perchance the Romish Church means to claim for us also this ecclesiastical freedom which she so energetically strives after, and so loudly demands for herself. Unfortunately the tone of her organs, both in speaking and writing, proves the contrary. In speaking and writing the Reformation, the Evangelical Church is attacked with the utmost violence. The bitterest slanders are directed against the Reformers; their weaknesses and faults are painted with the most malicious acuteness; neither exaggerations nor calumnies are spared to render them contemptible and to exhibit them in caricatures which shall inspire disgust. Loudly and impetuously do the organs of the Roman Catholic Church, both in speech and from the press, represent the Reformation as the mother of all revolutions, although it is well known that the flames of European anarchy glow brightest in Roman Catholic countries. The Reformation is charged with having destroyed all faith; while

it has really restored the true and living faith. It is accused of having undermined morality ; while it has planted the spirit of morality in the place of dead ceremonies. They are not afraid of tracing back its origin to a wretched monkish quarrel, or even to a sensual gratification ; while it took its origin in the deepest and most powerful awakening of conscience which the world's history knows. Its doctrine of justification by faith is calumniated, as if it provided the indolent carnal man with a pillow of repose ; while, on the contrary, it is as goads in the flesh, and leads to regeneration by the Holy Spirit.

13. This aggression, by speech and from the press, is supported by a comprehensive organisation of associations, brotherhoods, wandering orders, and so on, which are all ingeniously inwoven into the widely-extending body of the Church. All Roman Catholic orders are, more or less, aggressive. But none of them all is so active in its aggression as the order of the Jesuits. Whether this order be dangerous to the State or not, in its entire institution, is a question we do not here discuss ; there can, however, be but one opinion as to its being the most terrible and most irreconcilable enemy of Protestantism. And it is a secret order, therefore a secret enemy—an enemy, at the same time, which meets, with open arms, the tendency of the times to thoughtless unbelief, and to seek after unbridled enjoyment. Jesuitism is the active ally of the natural man ; it never attacks him ; it takes him as he is, seduces him by the dazzling ceremonies of the Church, and brings him into its temple decorated with gold, resounding with thrilling Church music, and redolent with fragrant incense as to the gay fair of life, and retains him there by the help of a morality that allows much and chastises softly. At the present time, its aim is principally directed to the mixed portions of the population. Wily and clever as it is, it has understood how to make itself valuable and indispensable as the pretended saviour of princes and States from the deluge of revolution ; although, in the days of danger, it has effected their rescue in a very imperceptible manner. It glides, nevertheless, into courts and schools, into universities and the higher circles, and its power is already much greater than is generally supposed.

14. It is this order, especially, that carries on the Roman Catholic missions. These missions, it is pretended, are sent principally to the Catholics ; but, in fact, they are conducted principally



—and with an intention sufficiently evident—in those parts of the country where Protestants form the larger, or, at least, a large proportion of the population. Should any one doubt that Protestants are really the objects of the Catholic missions, he can satisfy himself by the testimony of an able and impartial witness in Dr. Meyer's pamphlet: "*The Propaganda, its Provinces and its Rules, described with especial relation to Germany.*" Even here in Berlin, the metropolis of German Protestantism, many missions are maintained for the conversion of its Evangelical inhabitants. Every Protestant country is considered as *terra missionis, ubi impune grassantur hæreses ubi Sanctum officium non exercetur*. Under the *Sanctum officium* the office of the mass is not to be understood, but that of the Inquisition. The missionary activity of the Propagandists pursues various ends; sometimes the conversion of distinguished personages; sometimes the consolidation of the Papal influence, and the changing of the apostolic vicariats into episcopal sees. The making of proselytes is carried on in the most diversified ways. The more Protestants who are scattered among a Roman Catholic population are destitute of an orderly pastoral system, and the regular religious instruction of schools belonging to them exclusively, and of sufficient means of spiritual consolation, the more are they exposed to the proselytising zeal of the Romanists. The greater the ignorance of Protestants in the fundamental truths of their faith, the greater is the danger of their falling into the snares of the Propaganda. Mixed marriages, also, offer easy access to missionary activity. Is the Protestant (as is unfortunately too often the case) the less zealous party of the two? then the Propaganda is sure of success; and it is not seldom the case that the unbelieving husband (baptized in the Protestant Church, who, from indifference, allows his children to be educated as Roman Catholics because religion is nothing more than a form to him) perceives, with alarm, too late, that it is no longer he but the priest who is master in his house. The Catholic mission turns its activity also to the poorer Protestant population. The Propaganda possesses money, and the Protestants, even when they have more than the Catholics, apply it rather to other objects than to the protection and aid of their poorer companions in the faith. But with almost open arms missionary Roman Catholic influences are received by that part of the Protestant Church which clings anxiously to the external

expression of traditional forms and formularies. To those who connect salvation with a passive submission to the yoke of ecclesiastical authority, and the observance of traditional forms and institutions, the Romish Church offers, undeniably, the best guarantees and the greatest security; and men of energetic character will, as a rule, prefer entire error to half the truth. Lastly, the fear of revolution drives weak minds, from time to time, into the net of the Catholic Propaganda. They do not suspect that the unnatural strengthening of Church power must become the source of the most dreadful State disorder, and that to overthrow the Reformation would be permanently to inflict a revolution.

II.—15. Let us pass on to the second part of our subject, and examine by what means and ways we may best place ourselves in a position to meet this aggression effectually.

As we have seen, the aggressive conduct of the Roman Catholic Church is the necessary result of a principle. If our defensive conduct towards it is to have any positive effect, it must also rest upon a principle. Consistency alone is of use against consistency, and perseverance is only to be overcome in the end, by a like perseverance. But if the principles of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism measure their powers with one another, we may venture to pronounce one thing for our comfort. However powerful the principle of Roman Catholicism may once have been, it no longer roots itself in the spirit and necessities of our age, nor does it bear in itself any fresh germ for the future. The views upon which Roman Catholicism rests belong to a past period in the world's history. She might be needed, at a time when it was of the utmost importance to Christianise heathenish multitudes as well as they could, and as quickly as they could, to plant the first foundations of Christian civilisation, and to bring Christianity before the people in a legal form. Then the State was as yet unorganised, then barbarism still reigned at rude courts and among savage knights, and the clerical order were the exclusive possessors of the elements of national cultivation. No one would venture now to maintain that the Roman Catholic clergy stand at the head of the intellectual movements of the age, and that the mightiest impulses proceed from the monastic orders and brotherhoods, which enable Christian nations to fulfil their appointed task in the world. We only confirm a fact when we say, Rome is at

present the strongest in those countries where the intellectual and moral development is the weakest, and she is the weakest where the intellectual and moral development has advanced the most. On the other hand, the progress of Protestantism keeps pace with progressive civilisation, with the ever-increasing general extension of cultivation and knowledge. Only let Protestantism hold firmly to its principles, only let it continue true to itself, and it will soon be seen that the victory will not be to the representatives of the obsolete views of the past, but rather to those who represent the present and the future.

16. But what is the principle of Protestantism, which it should be our especial task to bring to bear upon the aggressive conduct of the Romish Church in its complete form and value? Upon this point there is great division of opinion. This in itself is no misfortune. Where there is discussion, there is movement; where there is movement, there is life. But we dare not stop at this; we must at last be able to give a positive answer to this question. The principle of Protestantism is certainly in its nature essentially religious; not, however, that those are wrong who extend its influence in all directions and over all the provinces of human thought. The principle of Protestantism is a religious one in the most comprehensive sense of the word. As religion, if it is genuine, comprehends the entire man, so also the principle of Protestantism exercises its renewing power upon human life in all directions. Science and art, the state and national life, manners and tradition, commerce and navigation, agriculture and manufactures, have all been included and transformed in the reforming movement of the sixteenth century. But to the question, What may be the original moving agent from which all this impulse has proceeded? I answer with a full conviction: It is conscience. To be freed from the fetters of absolute errors, senseless traditions, minute formalism, empty ceremonies, destitute of all life and heart—to return to that which is externally true—this was the moving spring of the Reformation, and was itself the consequence of a deep internal awakening of the conscience wonderfully effected by the Spirit of God. Conscience is the key which alone can open the enigma of the Reformation—the invisible and yet all-pervading lever which moved the old world three hundred years ago from its bearings, and called a new world into life. It is the representative of that profound and indestructible sense of truth which finds no rest till it applies

itself to solve the highest problems of knowledge and faith—which presses forward to the origin of all existence—which never satisfies itself with a half result, and never sacrifices the interests of salvation to those of selfishness.

This sense of truth is the most faithful companion of Protestantism in all the paths of thought and action; where it disappears, there Protestantism is at an end for ever. From this deep source has also proceeded that grand principle of justification by faith which is the determining principle as well of the inward as of the outward life of Protestants. No point is there in which the contrast between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Church has been so distinctly expressed as in this. In the Roman Catholic Church the only measure of the Christian identity of the individual is the exactness of his submission to the laws of the Church—to the most complete neutralisation of all religious, subjective emotions and sentiments which are opposed to ecclesiastical requirements, traditions, and forms. The Roman Catholic does not obey because he is convinced of the truth of that which is commanded, but because he is convinced of the absolute authority of those who command. In the Evangelical Church, on the contrary, the only measure of the Christianity of the individual is his faith, the power and energy of the subjective apprehension by which he is personally united to Christ as the Divine source and element of life—the depth of his feeling of personal responsibility before the thrice holy God. The Protestant never obeys the Church simply because she commands; he examines; it is not only his right, it is his duty to examine what she commands; and he only obeys her under the condition that her precepts are in accordance with the highest authority of the Divine Word, as the *Augustana* declares: “Verum cum (Episcopi) aliquid contra evangelium docent aut statuunt, tunc habent Ecclesiæ mandatum Dei, quod obedientiam prohibet!”\*

Unfortunately, Evangelical Christians have not always (since the days of the Reformation) been in the right state of mind to contend against the aggression of the Roman Catholic Church with power and success; we have to tell of defeats, damages, losses, limitations of all sorts. What are the chief causes of this? Openly confessed, we find them in our partial unfaithfulness to our principle; we have often hesitated and often been inconsequent in our doctrine, in our worship, in our institutions.

\* Conf. Aug. II., 7, 23.



In attacking us, the Roman Catholic Church does what her principle demands of her; when we defend ourselves, let us do what our principle expects from us. The greatest error into which at the present time Protestants can fall, in relation to the Roman Catholic Church, is that of supposing that our weakness lies in the want of that which superabounds in the Roman Catholic Church, and our strength in that which we still have in common with it; and that we cannot do better than assimilate ourselves as much as possible to her image. We confess freely that many Protestants have begun to be ashamed of the lowly form of their Church, and would like to cover its supposed nakedness with the borrowed purple of ecclesiastical splendour and hierarchical fulness of power. In such borrowed tinsel we should, however, make but a poor figure. And although we should deck ourselves out never so gorgeously, after the Popish fashion, the Roman Catholic Church would still exclaim to us, with perfect justice, "Come over to us altogether; we have all that and a vast deal more both finer and better."

Not, therefore, by weakening and denying our principle—not by apeing the Roman Catholic Church—shall we be able to resist it, but by being really in earnest in the maintenance of one principle and making it a positive truth. The Protestant conscience must be revived first of all in the Evangelical clergy, whose business it is to represent and to defend the truths of the Gospel with power, courage, and perseverance, not only within the limits of the Church, but beyond them; and then in the bosom of our flocks, who, according to the principles of the Reformation, are not destined to be dumb witnesses of spiritual activity, but are called to be living stones in the building of the Church, "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people to show forth the virtues of him who has called us out of darkness into his marvellous light."

17. As a principal means of withstanding the Roman Catholic aggressions, I look, then, to the renewing and rekindling of the spirit of Protestantism amongst the clergy. And by this I mean not simply a thorough scientific knowledge of the distinctive doctrines of the confession, which, however, was wanting not long ago among many of the Evangelical clergy, but above all a deep insight into, and living conviction of, the fact, that our Church is founded altogether upon the prin-

ciple of a conscience divinely illumined and awakened; and that faith itself is an affair of conscience, which requires a holy inward earnestness and unwearied spiritual activity. The Evangelical clergy must, first of all, be men of conscience, in order to become men of faith. The spirit of Protestantism must be planted in the heart of the young theologians by the University education. But for this there is no other way than that of serious and free scientific investigation. The Protestant principle is the child of the free Christian conscience, and only while the spirit of freedom lives in its supporters and leaders can it be preserved. We do not conceal from ourselves that there are great dangers connected with free investigation; but we know, too, that the greatest danger of the Evangelical Church lies in the abandonment of her principle, and this principle is that of a free, conscious, and conscientious adoption of Divine truth by faith. The Roman Catholic Church suppressed free investigation under the pretence that it may be injurious; and pretends that if the sale of poison is controlled, much more are they under obligation to control the use of the more injurious spiritual poison in the Universities. But, happily, our Universities are not apothecaries' shops; and, besides, there are no better means to render the sale of poison harmless than by giving correct information as to the nature and effects of poisonous plants, and by preparing powerful antidotes. Let truth be heard and felt in her full power, and error will then least of all attempt anything against her; and error is always less dangerous when she no longer lurks in the shade but comes to the light of day, and, with her visor up, measures her lance with truth. Do not save for the Evangelical clergy of the future the war for the truth which is only possible in the atmosphere of freedom. The apostolic declaration is especially applicable to this conflict: "If a man also strive for the mastery, yet is he not crowned except he strive lawfully."

18. But the spirit of Protestantism needs to be revived also in the bosom of the flocks. What has yet been done to effect this? In the Protestant population—especially among the country and agricultural districts—there is still, I should say, a predominating Protestant instinct; positive Evangelical convictions are not yet undermined or made light of; there are still many who adhere without sophistry to their biblical faith, and hold it as a precious jewel in life and in death. Appearances

are less hopeful among the town population, among the professional and industrial classes, and among those who are devoted to arts and literature. There reigns that minimum of religious and moral views to which vulgar Rationalism delights to reduce Christianity, and which is now revived under the grander title of speculative Rationalism; there the weed of theoretical and practical Rationalism grows most luxuriantly; there, as a rule, not much more is known of Protestantism than that it is to protest; there often men protest, in the name of Protestantism, against that for which our fathers, at the time of the Reformation, risked their property and shed their blood—against the Gospel itself. And when a religious reaction takes place, as at the present time, it not unfrequently happens in a direction unfavourable to the true principle of Protestantism. From the frivolity of worldliness the way too often leads to mere Church formalism, in which little is to be found either of Evangelical truth or of Evangelical liberty.

Here, most respected brethren, here is the point where, above all, help is required. Evangelical Christianity must again be revived, both in the clergy and in the congregation. The Reformation, commenced in the sixteenth century, but not yet finished, must be continued both in the pastors and the flocks. The Reformation created new ideas and new sentiments in relation to the Bible, in relation to faith, and in relation to the Church; and I comprehend all in one when I say that Protestants, at the present time, can withstand Catholic aggression with success only when they become true Bible Christians, true believing Christians, and true congregational Christians.

19. Protestants must be true Bible Christians. Are our clergy in general such as they should be above all others? How many, while at the University, read the whole Bible, and in the original languages? How many thoroughly understand it? How many devote the daily diligence of prayer and labour to comprehend it? How many are filled with holy love and veneration for the Book of books? Protestant theologians at the University must study the Bible much more thoroughly and comprehensively than has been hitherto done; they must be far more imbued with the spirit of the Bible than seems now generally to be the case. In our theological faculties we learn to explain passages of Scripture by the aid of excellent expositors, and to interpret the separate books of the Bible; but how is it with the Bible as a

whole—as a grand and harmonious proclamation of the Divine facts of salvation? And if we ask further, What is the Bible to our Protestant Churches, what is the answer? It is distributed with praiseworthy zeal amongst them by the Bible societies. But is it rightly read, understood, and prized? Is it not to many a mere casket of texts, from which single passages are taken out and often applied in a manner that is at variance with the connexion? Is it not to others a dead collection of archives, which is just as mechanically worked through as a Catholic tells his beads, and laid down just as indifferently after reading as the breviary is? Where can we find what I may call the Bible life? where a living view and judgment of the world and its events derived from the Bible? What could the Roman Catholic aggression do to our Churches if they were armed to the teeth with the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God? Our opponents form Marian brotherhoods and Severinus associations. Why do we not form Bible unions? We have no saints; to us there is only one thing *holy*—the *Holy* Scriptures. Why do not companies unite together in town and country, whose members bind themselves daily to read and meditate upon a passage of Scripture? Why is the institution of Bible-classes still so rare, and stigmatised with the name of Pietism by so many clergymen? Why has the genuine design of the Reformation to explain the entire Scriptures to the congregation been so soon abandoned? and why in its stead have they been satisfied in many country Churches with the deficient Perikossian collection, which, in its present form, owes its rise in a great measure to a time in which the Bible was withheld from the people? Bible unions should encircle all Protestant countries like an electric chain, and in Bible classes, held at least every month, the brethren should remind each other everywhere that

“Das Wort sie sollen lessan stahn  
Und kein 'n Dank dazu haben.”

20. Further, Protestants must be truly believing Christians. We have already seen that a central importance belongs to faith in the system of Protestantism. But has it attained to this importance in the life of Protestants? Are they really in earnest with the truth, that faith alone has justifying power? that it is that alone which places us again in the blessed relation of children to God?

It is only to be hoped that the divisions and strifes which make



the aggressions of the adversary so very easy, will gradually cease when Protestants show themselves truly in earnest with the central doctrine of the faith which alone saves. I do not mean to say, that the time will or ought to come so soon in which there shall be no more differences of doctrine. Not a dead uniformity in theological ideas, but a rich variety of knowledge upon the foundation of the unity of the faith, is the end to be aimed at by the Evangelical Church. Notions divide; faith unites. The more living faith, the less strife of words and rabbinical zeal; the less idolatry of the letter, the more of that love which "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." (1 Cor. xiii.) Is it not a most significant fact that the Apostle Paul, precisely in that epistle in which he most boldly rejects all righteousness by works, gives this testimony to faith, that it "worketh by love?" (Gal. v. 6.) And is there, then, a more powerful weapon to repulse the aggressions of Rome than the coalition of Protestants around their only Master in the faith that worketh by love? Is there a more effectual, and at the same time a more noble, means by which to resist these hostile attacks than such an Assembly as I see here before me, springing from Evangelical faith and begotten of Gospel love? The tendon of Achilles of Protestantism is its want of centralising faith and its excess of dogmatising opinions. The Evangelical Church is a community of faith and of love, not of theological ideas and instituted rites. Let us leave alone the differences in these things as far as they do not interfere with the unity of the faith. Let us guard the latter faithfully and in a brotherly manner, bearing one another's burdens; with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; and let us all be diligent in keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Our Churches long after faith, love, and peace; our adversaries rejoice over our divisions. Peace among the faithful! that is the watchword of victory over opposing aggressions.

21. Protestants, lastly, must become true and living members of the Church. The Roman Catholic Church is pre-eminently a Church of priests: the congregation is, of course, excluded from all participation in the conduct of the Church. The Protestant Church, on the contrary, is pre-eminently a congregational Church; the clergy form no order distinct from the congregation by an indelible sacramental character, but they are an

order proceeding from the congregation and intimately connected with it by the spirit of Christ. This is the theory of Evangelical Protestantism. How is it in respect to this in the actual reality? The Reformers, not excepting the Lutheran, manifested, in the beginning, an honest desire to organise the Churches, to give them a suitable representation, to have Church discipline, care of the poor and sick, and watchfulness over the erring and destitute, within the limits of the congregation, attended to by special Church assistants. But the Reformed Church only, by the help of God, has succeeded in carrying this organisation into effect, although, under the unfavourable influences of modern irreligion and abstract State-Churchism, the work has been sadly damaged. One look at the present circumstances of the Protestant Churches, for the most part so defective and contrary to principle, fills the soul with profoundest sorrow. The enemy at the gates; where is the mighty host that is to defend the city of our God? Heavy sufferings, terrible evils, burden the entire social organisation of the day: senseless dreamers dream wild dreams of the violent overturning of all social regulations; the evil spreads daily, and the peril is imminent. If there is a means of escape from the threatening evils of the materialistic systems, it can be found alone in the living re-organisation of society upon the principle of Protestantism; but the Evangelical Church sleeps on and dreams, too—sweet dreams of official power and priestly dignity, while the defection in the flocks extends more and more frightfully, and the social hurts that Christianity ought to heal become from day to day more incurable. The participation of the people in great ecclesiastical affairs is made difficult, and they withdraw themselves, dispirited and indifferent about them. The Christian community resembles a body where the veins in which the fresh blood ought to flow are tightly bound, and, in consequence, a state of *hypertrophy* ensues, which threatens the Church with paralysis. We are surprised and justly saddened at the resistance with which almost all, even the most well-meant regulations of the Church authorities, are met. This ungrounded mistrust is the most dangerous symptom of the unsoundness of our Church relations. And who reaps the fruit of this pestiferous seed? Is it not our adversary who, seeing the increasing disaffection in the Evangelical Churches, increases his influence and extends his power? There can be no doubt

that many Protestants have become strangers to the Evangelical Church, because they have been treated by her as strangers—because no post for active co-operation was appointed them in the community, where they would have been able to employ their own Christian activity. Organisation of the Churches—free movement of the Evangelical constitutional life—is an urgent necessity, in order to repel Roman Catholic aggression. And the more our adversaries say that the Evangelical Church exists only by the grace of the State, the more is it necessary that she should show how she stands upon her own foundation by the grace and power of God and the gifts of His Spirit, and that she will have no other protection than that which lies in her natural rights and in the Word of her Lord and the Holy Spirit.

I do not hesitate to declare, respected brethren, that this recurrence of the Protestant Church to her peculiar principle—this renovation of herself from the depth and fulness of her own being—appears to be the most indispensable and first condition of the effectual resistance of Roman Catholic aggressions; and, should this condition be wanting, then I must regard all attempts at defence, however well-meant, as insufficient, and in the end ineffectual.

22. But in proportion as this condition is fulfilled, in the same degree shall we be able to ascertain what are our best precautions against the aggressive conduct of the Roman Catholic Church as described in the first part of this address. Allow me still to give you briefly some hints upon this subject. First: How are we to act with regard to their attempts to isolate us? The easiest way were to requite like with like, evil with evil. To some this may appear fair in war, but would it be wise in us as Christians? As long as Roman Catholicism hems in itself within its own ecclesiastical exclusiveness, and restrains its efforts within the limits of its legal rights, we have no means of hindering it; and we could only express our sincere regret to Catholic Christians, if even the last bond of Christian humanity between us and them were to be rent asunder. But when, on the contrary, it oversteps its legal rights and threatens to oppress the rights and consciences of others, it becomes a duty to defend Protestant liberty to the utmost.

The question of public instruction devolves upon the State for decision, and it is for the State to reflect whether the national unity would not sustain a deadly stroke by the absolute

separation which the Romish Church demands. But it is the incumbent duty of Protestants, where they are living with Catholics, under the present circumstances, to secure to their children thorough Evangelical religious instruction; and where Roman Catholics have attained their object in the establishment of Catholic religious schools, Protestant children cannot go to them with a good conscience; and in such places, though it should be at the cost of great sacrifices, Protestant schools ought to be established and maintained.

One of the most difficult points is that of mixed marriages. It is easy, indeed, to point out to Protestants what they ought to do. Under existing circumstances they should avoid such marriages as much as possible, or, at any rate, only enter into them when the Protestant education of the children is secured. But, in how many cases will this good Protestant advice fall resultless to the ground? And what, then, has the Evangelical Church to do? Shall it bless the vows which have been made by the Protestant with indifference, or, at least, with a careless infringement of the obligations due to his own confession? We think it ought not; and we should wish that everywhere decisions might be made by the Church authorities (as has, indeed, already been done from time to time) to protect the honour of our Church from the charge that, out of a mistaken tolerance, they are ready to make any sacrifice of self-depreciation to the other party. Where, lastly, the Roman Catholic Church is striving to undermine the freedom and independence of the State, and to make it a ready instrument in its own service, there Protestants will place themselves on the side of the State, in the consciousness that by this means they are defending their own principles.

23. But, where the Romish Church is violently opposing us, we are not to ask whether we are justified or bound to resist. There ought to be a perfect union of interests among all Protestants. It is God's will, according to the testimony of the Apostle, that there should be "no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another; and whether one member suffer, all the members should suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." The great consciousness must abide in us, that we are everywhere the body of Christ and members in particular. We have no visible, universal, ecclesiastical head, who represents our rights



and interests before emperors and kings when they are violently assailed ; but we have an invisible Lord and King—a glorified Head in heaven—who has richly poured forth His Holy Spirit upon us ; and the Holy Spirit, who is also a Spirit of holy courage and fortitude, must urge us on wherever even the hair of the head of a Protestant is injured by the violent aggression of the Roman Catholic Church, to rise and risk all in protection of the invaded rights. With this view it is of great importance that such cases of injustice and violence should be generally known ; and it were very desirable that for this purpose a committee should be organised, composed of distinguished Protestants from different countries, who would collect facts, examine and sift them, and then make them public, and consult what would be the best means of protecting oppressed and persecuted brethren. It has always been the distinguished privilege of the two great Protestant States—Great Britain and Prussia, and of their august Royal Houses—to protect our persecuted brethren in the faith ; and we are not only convinced, with regard to the future, that the noble-hearted Princes and powerful Governments of both of these kingdoms will be ready at all times when their help is needed to afford aid to the oppressed, but with feelings of warmest gratitude we look back at the aid already given, which even in recent times has opened the prisons and loosed the bonds of faithful witnesses.

Wherever the Roman Catholic Church meets us on the arena of argument, either by speech or writing, we will take up the gauntlet with quiet determination, inspired only with one wish, that the battle on both sides may be fought with the weapons of the Spirit—of earnest science and sincere love of truth—not with the weapons of the flesh, bitterness, rancour, and calumny. Unhappily, the time seems more and more to be passing away in which a thorough and proper discussion could be carried on between the two Churches ; and the call for a violent suppression of Protestant literature becomes stronger and stronger in the hostile camp. Protestants have the task of maintaining and preserving the principle of free discussion. When minds honestly attack each other, Gospel truth can but be the winner. Where the Protestant population is a powerful counterbalance to the Catholic, freedom of speech and of the press is not endangered ; but it is all the more threatened where the Catholic Church is in the majority, and is supported by

treaties and concordats. The efforts of the hierarchy are unmistakably aiming to establish an ecclesiastical censorship in the place of a State censorship; and in such a case could the Protestant Church hope for justice or even mercy from the priests? But should the Romanists succeed in isolating our brethren in the faith, in any one part of the Protestant world, from Protestant literature, they would by this means cut them off from the great current of Protestant life and mind, and so they would be abandoned to religious ruin. The Protestant press is nowhere simply local; its productions belong to all Protestants, and it is the sacred duty of all Protestants to protect the free trade of the Protestant book and pamphlet market, especially in neighbourhoods where the Roman Catholic confession preponderates, as it is also our duty not to oppose the free circulation of Roman Catholic books and pamphlets where the Protestant population preponderates.

The Roman Catholic associations, strongly encouraged by the Church, spread in an ever-extending degree among the nations. We will not, however, deny the principle of freedom here. As regards the order of the Jesuits, it certainly needs that a strict watch be kept over it on the part of the State. It is secret; its past is burdened with crimes; it has disturbed the confessional peace numberless times; it has undermined with its morality the foundations of moral purity, and with its maxims the foundations of monarchy. We ought always to be ready to counteract its attacks, both secret and open. Many of its ways are not accessible to us; for its efforts are hidden in the mystery of the confessional and the secrecy of priestly silence. But we can and we ought to give warning—to point from soft and flattering speeches to the still more eloquent facts of history. There is, after all, but one effectual means of resistance against the activity of the Catholic associations which press upon us on all sides; and that is, by the development of a like activity upon our own part and proceeding from our Evangelical principle. The impulse given to the formation of associations is one of the most refreshing symptoms of our reviving Evangelical life. This Assembly itself is one of the finest and most important signs of the life of associated activity. Our Bible societies, foreign and home missions, institutions for the rescue of destitute children, for Christianising the depraved masses, for the counteraction of a godless literature and the spread of Christian

tracts, for the formation of a new Christian industrial and professional class, for the care of the poor, the sick, and the destitute, and of prisoners—are all germs of better times, forerunners of a transition full of promise—from the Church period of the middle ages, the legal discipline of Peter, into the future period of Paul and John, of the spirit of faith and the abundance of love, till the prayer of our eternal High Priest be fulfilled, “That they may be one, as we also are one; I in them, and they in me; that they may be made perfect in one.” The more we show our faith by our works, the less will the Romish proselytising zeal be able to draw nobler minds to itself from our Church, by the pretext that Protestantism is like the fig-tree in the Gospel, which certainly had leaves, but brought forth no fruit, and which was therefore cursed by the Lord.

These, then, are the right means by which we should oppose the missionary activity of the Popish propaganda. Our task can never be one of proselytising. We know, too, the woe pronounced by the Lord upon those who compass sea and land to make one proselyte. We rejoice heartily over every one that is led to us by living Evangelical conviction; but simple incorporation into our external Church connexion has never been our highest aim. All the more, therefore, is it important that we should protect those companions in the faith from the dangers of Roman Catholic aggression, who are scattered in the midst of Catholic populations—the Protestant *Diaspora*, who are in want of pastors and teachers, of Churches and schools, and above all, of money and other assistance. I cannot help in this place thinking, with heartfelt gratitude to God, of all the efforts which are made on many sides, but most effectually by the Gustavus-Adolphus Institution, to spread out a great net of Protestant charitable activity over the entire province of Evangelical Protestantism.

24. Arrived at the conclusion of our subject, let me be permitted to sum up the result in seven theses, which I commend to your brotherly consideration:—

1st. It is not to be doubted that an aggressive policy actuates the Roman Catholic Church towards the Protestant Church, that it is deeply rooted in the character of Roman Catholicism, favoured by the circumstances of the age, and not without danger to Protestantism at the present day.

2nd. It is as little to be doubted that Protestants ought not to

remain indifferent to this aggressive conduct. It is a challenge to Christian honour as well as to Christian duty to defend their faith by all proper and Christian means, and to protect the well-earned rights of their confession.

3rd. As regards the ways and means of the resistance to be offered, it is, above all things, necessary that Protestantism should be faithful to the fundamental principles of the Reformation—the Bible, justification by faith, the participation of all believers in the active affairs of the Church, and in labouring for its sanctification. Protestants must become more and more true Bible Christians, believing Christians, Church Christians.

4th. In the defensive conduct which Protestants are compelled to adopt under Roman Catholic aggressions, it should be their earnest endeavour to preserve the universal bond of Christian love with Roman Catholic fellow-Christians, and, as far as possible, to avoid the use of carnal weapons.

5th. Every violent attack upon the rights of conscience experienced by our brethren in any place, or at any time, should be regarded with a feeling of common interest by Protestants in all parts of the world; and this Assembly should originate a committee to consider what steps should be taken in every such case.

6th. The Assembly expresses the most earnest desire that in all Protestant countries organised and connected associations may be formed, to minister to the wants of Protestants living in the *Diaspora*; and that, where it is possible, they should be connected with, and formed upon, the model of the Gustavus-Adolphus Society.

7th. Lastly, the Assembly considers that for the more effectual resistance to the Roman Catholic aggressions, it is of the highest importance that all the Protestants in the world should enter into as close a union as possible with one another on the common foundation, besides which none other can be laid, and which is Jesus Christ, and the faith which works by love.

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2 BY THE REV. DR. HEPPE,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MARBURG.

Protestant Brethren,—After the address which we have just heard on the manner in which Protestants should meet the aggressive movements of the Roman Catholic Church, one side of this important subject only remains to be considered, and that



relates to the conduct which every Protestant should individually adopt when his personal faith is menaced by this formidable propaganda.

We answer in general: In order to oppose the propagandistic tendency of Romanism, Protestants ought to be strongly and firmly grounded in Evangelical Protestantism. For the Protestant is only then armed with an invincible armour when he has so laid hold of the spirit of Evangelical Protestantism as to have become the true instrument of the Spirit. From the moment that the Roman Catholic Church takes up an aggressive position, it is the duty of each individual Protestant to strengthen within himself the spirit of Protestantism, and the duty of the Church government to employ all proper means by which to strengthen that. Taking as his model those men of God who, in the sixteenth and preceding centuries, raised the voice of Evangelical testimony against the false Church, the Evangelical Christian ought diligently to search the Holy Scriptures as the only source of Divine revelation, continuing instant in prayer, that he may ever become more steadfast and joyful in the knowledge of the Lord and of His salvation. He should make himself acquainted with the confession of his Church and with those fundamental truths by the aid of which the Reformers recognised the falsehood of Romanism and saw themselves forced, by the Spirit of God, to attempt the purification of the Church. He should read the monuments of history, that he may see how the demonstration of the Spirit and of power was with the Reformers and with the Church, especially where God had laid the cross upon them. And, as it is the duty of individual Christians to be heartily one with each other in order to strengthen and arm themselves by the mutual intercommunication of their knowledge, anxieties, and hopes, by the general discussion of the fundamental truths and interests of Protestantism; so is it the duty of the pastors of the Church, and of the Church government, to further such efforts by the establishing of reformatory apologetic sermons, by the recommending and distributing works of a similar kind, and by promoting the formation of associations designed to uphold Protestant interests.

It is, however, easy to perceive that, with all this, the help is very little which can be rendered to isolated persons exposed, without support, to the attacks of Catholicism, who must, nevertheless, rise victorious over the attack, or experience the

depressing feeling of a defeat which abandons him to the mercy of the enemy. And yet, such a case is all the more important, as one of the most characteristic peculiarities of the Protestant spirit is, that it has not to do with the number of souls, but at all times with the single soul, which, in its eyes, has all the value of the kingdom of God.

According to a widely-extended opinion, which is also often to be heard in theological circles, we will suppose that the Protestant in such cases should do two things for the confutation of the Romish, and for the defence of the Protestant, doctrine. First, it is said he should appeal to the Holy Scriptures; and next, he should repel the assertion that the Catholic Church alone is able, by the mouth of the priest, to grant a certain and palpable absolution of sins, by showing that in the Protestant Church there is also to be found the comfort of an efficacious absolution, pronounced by the pastor in the name and by the authority of God. But of these two arguments the last is specious only, and the first is without practical utility; because, while the clearness and certainty of the scriptural sense appears in all its force to the Protestant who lives in the free and pure atmosphere of the Gospel—to him whose mind is preoccupied with prejudice it can never be made apparent. It is necessary, therefore, to abandon this method.

Last year, I was sitting in a solitary spot in my native place, and was surprised by the question from two Catholic priests, whether I really believed what the Protestant Church teaches, adding the remark that, in certain passages of Scripture, the truth of the Catholic dogma could not be doubted by Protestants who really submitted to the authority of the Bible. I was not a moment in doubt what I had to do. I did not allow myself to be drawn into a fruitless discussion as to the true sense of this or that passage of Scripture, but I did three things: 1. I insisted on the fact, so simple and yet so conclusive, that although the Catholic Church does not consider it possible that out of her pale there can be any communion with Christ, I did not on that account the less feel myself to be a true Christian, and that, therefore, I did not need to go to Rome in order to become a Christian. 2. I proved how the Catholic Church, by her dogma that the efficacy of the sacrament depends on the intention of the priest, and by making it impossible to the believer ever to be assured of salvation, substitutes the pernicious influ-

ence of doubt for the blessed power of faith, and thus, far from satisfying the anxious spirit, fills it with disquietude, and produces just the contrary effect from what the Gospel proposes; while the Protestant doctrine, really leading to the object of Christianity, responds to the sighs of the broken heart, and by faith gives the assurance of a certain salvation. And 3. I let the two priests feel that, so far as concerned themselves personally, apart from the system of Catholicism, I considered them not the less as brothers in the holy love of the faith. The two priests left me, seeking no controversy, while pressing my hand.

Dear brethren, the experience which I then made confirmed me in the opinion I have long held, that there is no better defence against the attacks of the propaganda than a powerful and simple profession of the spirit of Evangelical Protestantism. If, therefore, we will gain the surest standpoint for an answer to our question, we shall find it in the Protestant Christian who is established in the living faith. And let no one imagine that it is an idle thing to put the question thus, because the Protestant who is a living Christian knows how he should repel the assaults of Romanism, while it is the weak Protestant who is in need of help and counsel. For, by representing how the former, by virtue of the Spirit abounding in him, overcomes such attacks, we show the weak brethren who are less advanced in Christian experience what they have to do—how they must arm themselves, and struggle if they would conquer.

By true Protestant Christians we do not mean those who belong to this or that particular confession—not a Lutheran as such, nor a Reformed, nor one who claims to belong to the Church of the future, which, in the language of the present day, means *the Union*. Rather, we intend by this designation the Christian who can adopt the language in which the Apostle says of himself, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." But to express it still more positively, we call by this name not the man who, in some partial measure, has come under the influence of Christian thought and life, to whom a fluctuation of the heart, like the waving to and fro of a reed, were possible; but the Christian who, because the promise of God in Christ stands for him firmer than the rocks, is immovably certain of his righteousness in Christ, and of his regeneration by the Holy Spirit. Our question therefore is: How the Protestant Christian who is

born again ought, in virtue of the Spirit of Christ ruling in him, and of his undoubting consciousness of his communion with the Lord, to conduct himself against the aggressions of the propaganda of the Roman Catholic Church?

After what has been already said, we recommend the Evangelical Christian, when he is attacked in a proselytising way by the Roman Catholic Church, to do three things. First, without going into exegetical discussions, let the power of the fact speak—that, without Rome, he is really a Christian; next, let him show the Catholic that the dogma of his Church is opposed to the Gospel, while the Protestant faith gives in full measure what the soul thirsting after salvation needs and seeks; and, lastly, let him bring the whole power of the holy love of the Spirit of Christ to bear against the intolerance of the Romish spirit. Thus, the first weapon that the Protestant seizes is this, that he proves himself joyfully to be a living Christian man. He should show to those who speak and work in favour of Catholicism that it can give him nothing, because he already possesses, in his faith in the Word of God, what Rome is unable to procure through its hierarchical mediation. Thou, therefore, my Protestant brother, testify—when they try to deceive you and make you believe that the only way to Golgotha is Rome—with all the firmness of your faith, that you believe on the word of promise which your Lord has given, that you believe, and, therefore, have laid hold of the righteousness of your Lord and the holy peace of adoption into God's family through Christ Jesus. And in testifying of your faith, and giving a reason of the hope that is in you, always do it in such a manner that the testimony of the Holy Spirit may be with you, sealing your confession of faith. As a light which carries the clear brightness of eternal life in itself, shall you then stand before all those who deny that Evangelical faith is able to produce a true Christian man; let them feel in their own hearts that the God and Father of Jesus Christ is really the Lord whom you serve, and who is all your hope and consolation. As the Lord made the servants of the high priest who were sent to apprehend him tremble at the sight of His majesty, so that they fell to the ground, so will it be with your testimony for Him. The whole brightness and truth of the Spirit of Jesus Christ must be so apparent in you, that it will produce a trembling in the hearts of those who contradict this testimony,



and lay them prostrate and dumb in the dust before you as a true member of the body of Christ.

Certainly the Protestant Christian must not flatter himself that he will persuade the Catholic by simply appealing to the words of the Saviour, "that whosoever believeth in Him shall have everlasting life;" that he possesses the faith that saves the soul. His adversary will not be stopped in his efforts by such a declaration. For if the Catholic Church admits the truth of that promise, she must, in order to maintain her principles, affirm that he alone believes the Word of Christ in a way well-pleasing to God, and may take to himself the consolation of the promise, who submits his faith implicitly to the authority of the Church. This intimate connexion with the hierarchical unity and spirit with the principle and authority of the Church, is precisely that which, according to Catholic doctrine, gives to faith its saving character, and is the condition of communion with Christ, and of a participation in the riches of grace and of the kingdom of God.

No exegetical reasoning, therefore, is of any use to the Protestant nor any appeal to the Scriptures and the promise of the Lord. One thing only remains to him, which the Catholic cannot gainsay, namely, the simple statement of the fact that he is really a disciple of Christ and a member of His body; that he really possesses the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which the Romanist contends can be received only from the hands of the priest, and by submission to the authority of the Church. Let the Protestant state this fact simply as a fact, and leave it to find its way to the heart of the Catholic. Let every utterance of his mind, every word of his lips, show that, if there is any virtue or any praise, he earnestly seeks after it, and in such a way as to prove that it is the Spirit of Christ that worketh in him. Thus, when his communion with the Lord is represented as a patent fact by his life—and when the Catholic, who can only explain such communion as being the fruit of faith in the Church, is unable to deny because he sees it, and feels its truth, power, and joy—it is impossible that he should not discern in it a Divine power which shuts his mouth; it is impossible that he should not, like the centurion at the cross—who, although not a believer on the Lord, was constrained by his virtue, to cry out, "truly this is the Son of God"—be compelled by what he witnesses to make a similar acknowledg-

ment, and in his innermost soul to say, "this is indeed a child of God."

Protestant brother, thou who art still weak in the faith, strive to become strong in knowledge and in the power of life, so that the fact of thy communion with the Lord may thus be proved, and then thou wilt have the victory that overcometh the world.

Such is the first weapon which the Evangelical Christian should use to defend himself from propagandist attacks. But the same Spirit of Christ which puts this weapon into his hands furnishes him with a second weapon, to be employed not more in defending himself than in taking the offensive against Catholicism, by showing to his Catholic brother the evils which the Catholic faith brings with it.

Faith ought to raise the poor human heart above the miseries of this mortal and sinful existence, by the certain and joyful hope of immortality. The human heart demands the consolations of faith; it needs a rock to which it can cling in its struggles with sin and death and the miseries of this mortal life, and by means of which it may become steadfast. For that is the end and aim of all the wisdom of this world—to teach man to know how precious a thing is a steadfast heart, and to be thus a prophecy of Him who alone can satisfy its boundless desires. But Catholicism gives a man just the contrary of that which he seeks for in religion and faith; for it ordains that the Christian never shall be certain of his being in a state of grace, but rather that he shall eternally doubt if he is righteous before God. The doctrine of doubt is the fatal thought which runs through all the dogmas of the Catholic system, and like a funeral shadow, throws a horrible gloom over the entire system of Catholicism. Without it Catholicism would lose itself and its spirit.

Remember this, my Evangelical brother, when Romanism raises itself before you in proud self-complacency, in order to entrap you. Show your Catholic brother the abyss which this doctrine of his Church opens under the foot of the man who is seeking for salvation; show him that by this doctrine he almost entirely robs himself of a joyful faith in the redeeming work of Jesus Christ; that it steals from him the consolation of reposing on Christ's promise of mercy; and that in the place of confidence in God it puts an unstable confidence in men, and changes faith itself into its contrary—namely, into the desolating power of doubt, that gnaws the heart and murders the soul. Above all,

Speak seriously to him, and make him see that the sacrifice upon which, according to Roman Catholic doctrine, his confidence is to be reposed, is not the sacrifice of the Son of God on Golgotha, but the work of the priest at the altar. For, to the Romanist, the sufferings and death of Christ have no value *in themselves*; they are only capable of effecting His salvation, because the hierarchy has taken hold of the sacrifice, and continues it at the altar. With joy, therefore, you can testify how rich and blessed you are, that you may go with the disciple whom Jesus loved and with the pious women to Calvary itself—may gaze into the sacred eye of the Lord—may fall adoring before the Son of God, and thank Him for the agonies He suffered for you, for the pangs He endured, and the accursed death by which He has once for all paid the penalty of your sins. You can look at this deed of the Lord as it was perfected by himself, by His own personal suffering, and see in it the Rock of your salvation; and in this contemplation your heart can be satisfied. But of this joy the Romanist cannot partake. For the sacrifice of Christ, in itself considered, is to him only a shadow without a body, which can only be clothed with flesh and bone, and become spirit, and life, and power under the hand of the priest at the altar. Your faith is founded upon the work of the Lord, so far as what He accomplished with inexpressible yet divinely-endured agony is to you a living and personal work: the faith of the Romanist, on the contrary, is founded upon the work of the Lord, only in as far as it is separated from the living person of the Son of God, and placed in the hand of the priest, and is, therefore, essentially the work of the priest—a human work. Therefore, you are rich; for your faith is really faith in God: but the Roman Catholic is poor; for his faith is, for the most part, faith in the works of men.

But as Catholicism, for the sake of its hierarchical principle, undermines the faith of Christians, by placing the importance of the personal work of Christ in the shade; so does it also destroy the certainty of faith, by not referring the faith of the Christian absolutely to the promise of mercy in Christ, but to his own pretended works of merit, which, however, the Catholic does on the sole responsibility of the hierarchy that they are done in a Catholic and suitable manner. This, too, must be kept in view by the Evangelical Christian. He must show the Catholic that Evangelical faith establishes a firm and sure confidence, because it looks only to God's promise of grace in Christ,

wherefore it neither hopes for anything from, nor builds upon works. The Catholic, on the contrary, who teaches that justification is not promised to faith alone, but to faith with works (that it is not given solely by grace, and of necessity therefore received only by faith, but must also be earned by works), can never know whether his works are perfect and well-pleasing to God, and can therefore never get rid of the sting of doubt; much rather must the thoughts of his heart, alternately excusing and accusing, remind him incessantly that, as there is no perfect sanctification in him, so he cannot be really justified before God. Tell, then, the Catholic who wishes to seduce you from your faith, that what he regards as Catholic glory is all a vain illusion, because the Catholic faith, when really penetrated with the spirit of Catholicism, can never give to the heart true consolation and real peace.

But there is another point in which the pernicious influence of Popery should be still more emphatically insisted upon; and that is, the Catholic doctrine that the reception of the sacramental blessings is dependent upon the intention of the priest. The force of this dogma is more important than is generally believed; for Catholicism, which knows no other medium of salvation than that which is hierarchically organised and ordained, knows no greater grace than that which is dispensed and received through the sacraments hierarchically administered. But Catholicism does not allow, and cannot allow, that any one should say: "I certainly know that in the sacrament I have received the grace of the Lord, because I trust in His promise, and am sure that He will fulfil His word." For if Catholicism were to allow the Christian this consolation, he would be delivered from the guardianship of the hierarchy, and thereby be entitled to a free enjoyment of the blessings of grace. This would be to acknowledge the possibility of true Christian life without the pale of Catholic Christianity—the essential character of which is precisely this, that it abandons itself to the conscience and power of the hierarchy. As an inevitable consequence of its own spirit, Catholicism has therefore set up the doctrine, that the Christian, in the use of the sacraments, really receives the blessings of grace only when the dispensing priest has the intention, in the sense of the Church, to communicate them. This dogma is one of the most important and weighty in the entire circle of Catholic doctrine, and establishes once for all the rela-



tion of the Romanist to the New Testament plan of salvation. If he desires to solace himself with the consolation that he really receives the grace of the sacraments, he may not build upon the faithfulness of God in the promise, but upon the fidelity and conscience of the priest. Faith in God has, therefore, become faith in man.

Let us, then, hold firmly and ever in hand the weapons which this knowledge affords us, when the Catholic boasts of the splendour of his Church, the majesty of her public worship, the pretended certainty of her absolution from the mouth of the confessor, the fancied assurance resulting from the reception of the visible body of Christ from the hand of the priest, and when this glory of the Romish Church is compared with the humbler exterior of the Protestant Church and with the apparent poverty of our public worship. Propose to him seriously and courageously this question, Whether he can be certain that he has ever really received the grace of a single sacrament? And if he says, "Yes," ask him further, how he has known, in particular cases, that the priest who administered the sacrament really had the intention to dispense to him its grace? Should he then answer that he presupposes of his priest, as an appointed servant of God, that he would act in fidelity to his oath, and what is imposed upon him by his office, and, therefore, he believes that he has received from him the forgiveness of sins and the body of Christ; then reply to him out of his own words, by referring to the acknowledged fact, that his faith is not faith in God's gracious promise, but faith in the goodwill and fidelity of the priest, and therefore not faith in God, but faith in men. But the Apostle says, in Rom. iii. 4, "Let God be true, but every man a liar." Since, then, faith in God's Word can be the only foundation of a lofty certainty and confidence rising above every doubt, and since confidence in men necessarily implies the possibility of being deceived, and must also from its very nature be uncertain and doubtful; it follows that, of the many millions of Catholics who have lived, live at present, and will live in the future, not one can say with absolute confidence, that he has really received, in one single instance, the forgiveness of his sins or the body of Christ. For no Catholic can say with positive certainty of any case, when he has received the sacrament, that his priest has had the intention to do that which the Church required him to do.

This, then, is the glory of the Catholic Church and of her priestly mediation, that her members never dare build their confidence upon the word and promise of the living God, because they are absolutely bound to the authority and goodwill of the priest; that they can never rejoice in a certain reception of salvation resting on the Divine promise, but must always doubt of their being in a state of grace; that the hierarchy may possess and keep its power over their souls.

Protestant brother, remember that it was precisely at this point that Luther and the other Reformers perceived, when they had obtained a glimpse of the promises of the Gospel, the grand antagonism of Rome to true Christianity. The impious doctrine of the uncertainty of the state of grace and the obligation of an eternal doubt in what concerns individual salvation, astounded Luther, who, with the whole earnestness of a conscience roused in its inmost depths, longed for the certainty of that great blessing, and plunged him into an abyss of despair, where no other hope was left but that which springs from faith in the promise of the living God, who, for the sake of Christ, will pardon sins out of His mere mercy. And then Luther threw himself, in perfect renunciation of every other comfort, on the heart of Jesus Christ, laid hold of it as his own property in firm faith, and said, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." In this firm, immovable, and certain laying hold of salvation, as given by the true and faithful Father of our Lord Jesus Christ to faith as an act of free grace, Protestantism became an accomplished fact, and the glory of the Gospel was restored.

As, therefore, the first weapon with which the Protestant will defend himself is the simple, but certain, affirmation of the fact that the Spirit of Christ really dwells in him; so the second consists in exposing the fundamental error which lies in the hierarchical principle of Romanism, and, above all, in the Catholic doctrine of the dependence of salvation upon the intention of the priest, and the uncertainty of being in a state of grace; in all which Catholicism gives to the penitent heart longing for salvation the very contrary to that which it needs and seeks, and which the Gospel really bestows.

But to these two weapons the Evangelical Christian must add a third, if he will conduct the battle aright as a servant of God, and will aim at a result in the soul of his Catholic brother which shall be to the honour of God, and the building up of

the kingdom of Christ. We have hitherto had before us the gulf which separates Catholic and Protestant Christians in their confessional systems; but the point of union must also be kept in view, which connects them with each other at the root of Christian life. For the contrast we have been considering is a contrast in creed and in the appropriation of faith in Christ; but in the adoration of the name of Christ, Catholics and Protestants are one. In the inmost centre of the real substance of faith there is—from the Protestant point of view at least—a community of possession and of interest. But the moment this community exists, what the Apostle says becomes applicable to us: “Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.” Let us not forget that men are often much better than their systems; especially let us not forget that, when we have to equip ourselves with shield and sword against Catholic Christians in defence of our Evangelical faith, it is not an affair of systems only, but we have also to do with persons. Thus, together with the sharp two-edged weapon of testimony in defence of the Evangelical and against the Catholic faith, the Protestant ought at all times to summon to his aid the overcoming power of that holy love which is born of faith in Jesus Christ, by which he may make his Catholic brother feel that, in spite of the deep gulf which exists between the two confessions, he yet recognises in the pious Catholic the communion of the spirit and body of Jesus Christ, and that he greets him, without any reserve, as a fellow-worker to eternal life. No doubt we see the prayers, the devotions, and, above all, the faith of Catholics often directed to other persons than to Christ; we see their confidence founded upon ordinances and promises which have not been given by Christ; but this veil of Moses drawn over the face of the Catholic brother ought not to hinder Protestants from acknowledging that, in the Romish Church, which possesses the confession of faith in the Trinity, and in the redemption of the world through the blood of the Son of God and Christian baptism, the way to righteousness and eternal life is still open, and that the Lord of glory can here too, in individual souls, stamp His image and glorify himself in them. For the Spirit of the Lord bloweth where it listeth, and the body of the Son of God, which is the Church of the faithful, extends its arms beyond the bounds which separate the confessions from one

another, and that among all nations God's own redeemed people are scattered and yet united. The perception of the deep, and, in itself, unfathomable gulf of separation which divides the two Protestant confessions from that of Rome, ought to be to the Evangelical Christian all the more a reason for his advancing to meet the Catholic, in whom he sees true love for the name of the Lord with the most sincere and sacred brotherly love. The Spirit of Christ must urge him on to express deep sorrow that peace and joy in believing are so secluded in the experience of his Catholic brother, by his inward dependence upon the all-powerful authority of his Church. He should make him perceive and feel that the joy of which he himself is conscious as a member of the kingdom of God, would be still greater and more perfect but for the dark shadow that has settled over the whole faith of the Catholic, and which despoils him of the radiant beauty of the Christian life. The Catholic may turn his back upon him and think it strange that any one who does not belong to his Church should greet him as a brother—no matter; but the Evangelical Christian must not, on that account, deny the Spirit of Christ. He must leave this impression on the heart of his Catholic brother, that he folds him in the arms of his charity, and rejoices sincerely in the grace which is bestowed upon him. This holy love of the Spirit of Christ must be the living water streaming from the heart of the Protestant Christian; it must be the adamantine harness which so encompasses his breast that no attack of the adversary can wound him; it must be that power of the Spirit by which he so lays hold of and lifts up his Catholic brother, that the latter, forgetting his intended assault upon the Protestant faith, feels himself forced to unite in praise and thanksgiving for the grace of God in Christ bestowed upon them both. Yes, this holy love, which is long-suffering and kind, envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, which never faileth even if all prophecies should fail and all tongues of varying confessions should cease. This holy love of the Spirit of Jesus Christ is the strongest, the most sublime, and, lastly, at all times the most surely victorious weapon which the soldier of Christ should use, so that he may,



in the conflict itself, build up the kingdom of God, making the souls of others free, and guarding his own crown. Amen.

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FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

I. BY COUNCILLOR OF CONSISTORY DR. BRESLER,  
OF DANZIG.

“Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away.” That is the promise of the Lord which makes us rest in peace and be glad, even if all the powers of the earth should rise up against us. And that power which has been spoken of to-day is not so great as it appears at first; for it carries in its own bosom its most dangerous enemy. Many among the priests of the Romish Church do not really belong to her. Whoever has had the opportunity, especially in Italy, of speaking with priests, has often been astonished to find how little they really hold to the Pope, and how ready they are to receive the Gospel message, which falls like heavenly dew on their poor oppressed souls. And just so is it with the members of their Churches. I was standing once in Rome before Trajan’s pillar; a young man came up timidly to me and asked, whether I was a priest. “Yes,” said I, “a Lutheran minister.” “Therefore a priest,” said he, and begged me to be so good as to accompany him to his mother and father who were in the last agony; the *Special* would not come. I did not understand the word, and thought it meant one commissioned with especial pastoral care. I followed up six flights of stairs, and there found an old man with his wife in the last agony of death. He told me he was an *archibusiero di Papa*. I prayed with them, for I told them I was a Lutheran. They thanked me in a manner which I shall never forget. They both of them gave me their hands, and said, “We belong to one Church, for you have done us good.” There shall be one flock and one shepherd. This promise is eternal, and not only will it be fulfilled, but is fulfilled already; there is one flock and one shepherd! Therefore let us go to battle against the assaults of the Roman Catholic Church quietly and not fanatically, not returning evil for evil, and not following those who act upon the principle that we may do evil that good may come. Let us hold fast to the Gospel faith, to our hope and to our love, and to Gospel knowledge. We are thankful to those who have addressed

us in the name of theological science. Let none speak lightly of the learning of our academical chairs, or contemptuously of the study. The study is a sanctuary of the Lord when a noble and pious mind is wedded to science. We acknowledge thankfully what those brethren have taught us, and pray God that He may long preserve them to the peace and blessing of the Church; and when He calls them home, may He revive these spiritual lights in younger brethren, that they may become witnesses of Evangelical science.

2. BY JAMES LORD, Esq.,  
OF LONDON.

Dear Brethren and Friends,—I have followed the proceedings of this Conference with deep sympathy, to which I looked forward with great hope, yet not without real anxiety lest it should either go too far or not far enough. It was entered upon in a spirit which no human power could control, and its result no human acuteness could foresee. In answer to the question before us to-day, I should like to make some remarks, as I have stood for several years in the closest relation to the Protestant movements in my own country and elsewhere.

The conflict between Popery and Protestantism has increased and deepened daily, and the best means of meeting this Romish aggression is by carrying the war into the enemy's camp. In some places colporteurs are employed. For England and Ireland, we have established missions to the Roman Catholics which have been greatly blessed. Judging from this, that the same causes produce the same results, would it be presumptuous to take the same steps in Germany, Italy, and in other countries where the population is Roman Catholic? We send missionaries to the East for the conversion of heathen idolators, why should we not send them to the West to the victims of Popish superstition?

In all such undertakings, we must take the Bible as the foundation. It was so formerly. With the Bible in their hand, our forefathers accomplished the Reformation; with it we shall, through the help of God, maintain it. The Bible is the only source of the faith of Protestants. That is the spirit and the language of the English Church. While she teaches her children to depend solely on the "one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus," the only, but all sufficient

Saviour of Sinners, she says expressly, in her 6th Article, "The Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." In England the opinion has long prevailed, that the Bible, without the addition of traditions, is our only guide, and that the King without the Pope is our only sovereign. Further, in everything we must hold fast our liberty; this is an essential point, with which all our hopes are closely united. The Almighty God has given us His Word; what human power has the right to forbid its propagation?

Many among Roman Catholic Christians would shake off the yoke of Rome at once if they could but do it without detriment to themselves. Is it not a Christian and brotherly act to help them? They scarcely know what to do, and find themselves in a sort of transition state; they have too much light to remain Roman Catholics, and too little knowledge to become fully Evangelical. Cannot something be done for them? Could not any place of refuge be founded, and the means of livelihood be provided for them suitable to their necessities, with an opportunity for obtaining the knowledge of the whole truth? Not that we would induce them to turn from the Church of Rome<sup>a</sup> by the promise of temporal advantage, but to guard them against starvation.

The tendency of the Romish Church, like that of most human systems, is, for the most part, to diminish personal responsibility. But, in fact, man is only what he is in the eyes of God. No State edict, no Act of Parliament, no Church doctrines, can free man from personal responsibility; no clergyman, no priest, no bishop, no pope, can do it; each one must answer for himself, and each must stand at the judgment-seat of Christ.

At this time we have to fight, on the one side, with superstition; on the other, with infidelity. We are not, however, afraid of either, for the final issue cannot be doubtful.

No, beloved friends; nothing must shake our confidence in the Bible. In our political, in our social life, its influence must be felt. The thrones of earthly rulers are never more firm than when they are rooted in the hearts of their subjects, and are supported by a true knowledge of the Gospel. No people is so secure as those whose laws have their origin in the Scriptures,

and where high and low take the Bible as their rule and government. The consequences of it are not to be calculated; it is like a stone cast into the water—first, it forms a small circle, but it then extends further and further until it reaches the most distant shore. So what we have commenced to-day will operate first in small circles, but it will finally spread the true blessedness of the Gospel to the remotest regions. I thank you heartily for the attention you have granted me, and pray God to vouchsafe His richest blessing on all that may be said and done in this Assembly.

3. BY PASTOR BLECH,

OF DANZIG.

A saying well-known to most runs thus: *In dubiis, prudentur; in certis, fortiter*; or, "In doubtful matters, prudence; while in matters that are certain, intrepidity, strength, and firmness." At this moment I do not speak in reference to the first part of this proverb, but rather to the second, as referring to the subject now lying before us for discussion. It refers to what we have to do in reference to the aggressive movements of the Roman Catholic Church against Protestant Christians; and, in my opinion, we cannot for one moment be in doubt about it; for, if the question is to oppose principle to principle, then our principle is the most ancient.

"In the beginning was the Word;" not popes, not councils, not canons, but the Word! And this Word means not only the expression of Divine thoughts, but the Word became flesh in the person of Jesus Christ our Lord. In lifting up out of the dust, where it had fallen, this personal Jesus—this Word which saves, and is immortal—Luther has for ever condemned the whole system of Rome. That which has historically proved itself to be the best means of counterbalancing the power of the Romish Church, is still, and will always continue to be, the one only means to be used against them. Therefore, it becomes us to confess Christ, and, emphatically, the crucified Christ; that with regard to Catholics, we may never know anything but that which Paul knew, or cared to know, namely, "Christ, and him crucified." Let us hold fast to this confession, and nothing shall rob us of our confidence, and in the face of all those means and efforts which Rome employs to re-establish and aggrandise its ancient greatness, we may repeat in perfect charity towards



those with whom we may be personally brought into connexion,  
*Ignoro, ignoravi et ignoraturus sum.*

4. BY THE REV. W. B. PHILPOT,  
RECTOR OF WALESBY.

I cannot return to my own country without expressing how much we are indebted to you for the friendly reception you have given us. England not only desires to be united with you in political, but still more in spiritual relations. The political is consummated already. But we now celebrate an alliance between English and German theology. For a long time the theology of Germany inspired us only with alarm. We have received the science of your great teachers; we wish now to learn Christian theology from your Christian theologians. We can learn nothing from those who are strangers to what is taught of God, for from nothing, nothing comes; but it is from men to whom we have listened in this Assembly, and those who resemble them, that we desire to receive instruction. The time is past when ignorance was the mother of devotion. The men whom we have here learned to know, are those who can provide us with the armour we want, and help us to keep it bright. Truth is the first weapon of the Spirit. We fight not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers; a conflict as severe as Annibal's. We must walk as children of the light. Reason and faith are both of them God's gifts. Faith receives what God reveals; reason listens to what He says.

5. BY PASTOR HUYSSSEN,  
OF XANTEN.

Only a few minutes ago I begged permission to address you; not that I come before you with the lustre of a celebrated name, or with that authority which position gives, but that I wished to draw your attention to a real battle-field, for I may well designate by that name the Prussian provinces of the Lower Rhine.

It may appear incredible to many, that a few years ago, when I was contending for the rights of my congregation, I found myself, one Lord's-day morning, hung in effigy, in gown and bands, at the door of my parsonage. It may sound incredible that, when we were assembled at the command of the King, to choose a deputy for political affairs, the commissioner, who conducted the elections, said that it was impossible to elect a

burgomaster to whom the preference was shown, and whom he himself esteemed very highly, because he was a Protestant. The district, he said, must be represented by a Catholic. And yet two Catholics were already on the list, and there were but three representatives to be elected. It may appear incredible that, in a town in the neighbourhood of my residence, a Protestant boy, in the service of a Catholic master, was exposed to violence to make him become Catholic; and when it came to the knowledge of the Protestant pastor, the young man all at once disappeared, and was shut up in a convent in Belgium; and it was only by the interference of the Government authorities that he was released, but not until he had become a Catholic. With such efforts opposed to us, we can only stand our ground in the strength and courage of faith, and through this alone can we gain the victory. I have repeatedly found that, under such circumstances, the greatest energy is necessary to obtain for the Protestant Church that respect which is indispensable. Such courage Protestants do not always manifest, and, unfortunately, there are in our neighbourhood municipal authorities who have not the courage to prevent Roman Catholic processions from interrupting Protestant services, although they have the law on their side. We must, therefore, strive to animate each other with fresh courage. We will not depend upon an arm of flesh, but, at the same time, we must maintain our legal rights in their fullest sense. Thank God, we still find protection from our Prussian governors. We know by experience that conflict leads to victory, and we must be animated to continue the contest courageously. Aggressions multiply, and a courageous faith alone will win the day. Therefore we rejoice in this Alliance, because we see in it a union of Christians for repelling these attacks. May the blessing of God rest on this Alliance! May it be a union increasingly sanctified by the power of the Spirit and of the truth in its plenitude!

6. BY SUPERINTENDENT KARSTEN,

OF ZULLICHAU.

During the last seven days which the Lord has vouchsafed to us, we have heard many striking words. You all sympathise in the hearty wish that each of these words may be as fruitful seed in the fresh and good soil of our hearts. To this wish I must add a request for the love of Him in whom we all believe. It is

that we who are here assembled should unanimously propose to the managers of the Gustavus-Adolphus Society, to provide the necessary means for the appointment and support of an itinerant preacher in Upper and Middle Italy; and also for such a missionary to our Protestant brethren in the South of France. Our beloved brother Kind, from Milan, has already told us, and our dear brother Meyer, from Lyons, will do so, of the destitute condition of our brethren in those parts, and that they are not yet dead to their faith, but hunger and thirst after the bread of life, and look with tears and sighs for help to the Protestant Church of Germany. Those who have heard these sighs and tears can but wish that help may be granted them, and here the opportunity offers itself. Therefore, I entreat you, let us unanimously make this proposition. Those who are heartily of this opinion, please to hold up the hand. [General assent.]

## 7. THE PRESIDENT.

Professor Schenkel has brought forward, among the theses with which his address closes, one which is certainly suitable for present discussion. It is the sixth, and is as follows:—

“This Assembly expresses the earnest wish that in all the countries inhabited by a Protestant population, auxiliary societies may be established, where possible, in connexion with or upon the model of the Gustavus-Adolphus Society, for helping the spiritual necessities of the Christians who are to be found in the *Diaspora*.”

To this I must remark, that in our Prussian Rhine provinces a Protestant union has already been formed, which has been joined already by several in this neighbourhood; and which has for its object the assistance of the brethren in the *Diaspora* in all lands, particularly in the Prussian fatherland. It has existed several years. Pastor Fliedner is the President, and there are besides men of note who belong to it, and they will certainly take upon themselves the mature consideration of the proposal made by the speaker, and will do all that is possible to aid the success of his object.

## 8. BY DR. SCHELER.

ROYAL LIBRARIAN, BRUSSELS.

I dare scarcely venture to speak or to make further demands upon your attention after so much has been already said. But I should like to bring before you some instances of the aggressive

way in which the Roman Catholic Church acts. The Catholic Church understands particularly how to work upon females, who, living in Catholic countries and belonging to her communion, have married Protestants, so that they give themselves no rest until they have succeeded in making their husbands Catholics too. Twenty years ago, when I first went to Belgium, I made the acquaintance of the Catholic wife of a friend of mine from Frankfort, who was himself a Protestant; she was determined that I should become Catholic, and therefore, as opportunity offered, arranged that I should meet a Jesuit. He asked me if I believed on Christ, and when I answered, "Yes, I believe on Him from my heart," he spread out his arms, and said, "Now then, indeed you are one of us." I refuted him, and my faith remains as it was then. The wife, however, so worked upon her husband latterly, that I learned two years ago that he had become a Roman Catholic. When I asked him, "How is it possible that you have gone over to the Roman Catholic Church? is it, then, really from conviction?" he answered me, "How can you suppose that I believe such nonsense? I am obliged to do it if I would have peace in my house."

Another way of converting, or making Catholics, is practised in the hospitals. When I went to Mons, I was sent for to the hospital to visit a Protestant. He had been entreated on all sides to become a Catholic, but he told me he should remain staunch. Eight days later, when I went to him to administer the communion, he was dead. I then demanded the corpse, that it might be buried; but the Sister of Mercy said, "You have nothing more to do with it, for he became a Catholic." I inquired of eye-witnesses, and discovered that, up to the last moment, he had only shaken his head at all their entreaties; but that then the priest dismissed all that were present, as he must be alone with the sick man; and when the people were afterwards admitted into the room, the priest announced that the man had become a Catholic, but in the meantime he had died.

I must allow myself to bring forward a third instance, to show that, with us, even the dead in their graves are made Catholics. While at Mons, I performed the clerical offices at the interment of a Protestant lady who had been married to a Roman Catholic officer. The husband thanked me for my addresses at the house and at the grave, and expressed his



sense of the consolation they had afforded him. Later, the husband, who had been devotedly attached to his wife, was distressed with the idea that he could not be buried by her side, as he could not become a Protestant. A Catholic priest told him, however, that his wife could be pronounced Catholic, if he paid 300 francs for it. The husband consented, the wife was pronounced Catholic, and the body was conveyed from the Protestant to the Catholic burial-ground.

Dear friends, we ought not to work in a similar spirit, nor to return evil for evil. But I grieve for the people, for they have not for years eaten of the bread of life; and, urged by this destitution, we are constrained to go and preach the Gospel among the Catholic population. In my position, I have suffered much on this account; but I cannot do otherwise when I see the condition of the people—when I see that the people have nothing but the Catholic Church, and she has forsaken them—when I see that no priest even enters their houses during their whole lifetime, except for the last unction; then, indeed, I cannot do otherwise than labour, that there also the bread of life may be dispensed. O, if you could but hear the poor colliers, when they say that they would not give up the faith of the Gospel for all the gold of California, then you would see the recompense that there is in the work. I therefore entreat you to lend a helping hand to the Evangelical Society in Belgium, which has taken upon itself the task of causing the Gospel to be preached there. We have not the means for appointing and supporting preachers, yet there are already twenty teachers, and the converted Catholics are the most zealous missionaries. May God grant that the Evangelical Church may increase, and that hearts may be opened to good works, so that Protestantism may be spread through the whole world.

The PRESIDENT: When I communicated to you the existence of the Protestant Union, I forgot to ask whether this union is prepared to take up the matter, which has been the subject of to-day's discussion. Whoever is of this opinion, please signify it by holding up the hand. [Adopted.]



# SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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VIII.

## R E L I G I O U S   L I B E R T Y .

BY THE REV. TH. PLITT,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG.

### FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

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|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. DR. PRÉSENSÉ, PARIS.           | 8. REV. G. W. LEHMAN, BERLIN.  |
| 2. DR. SCHENKEL, HEIDELBERG.      | 9. REV. T. E. BROOKE, AVENING. |
| 3. DR. BLACKWOOD, MIDDLETON TYAS. | 10. DR. SIEFFERT, KÖNIGSBERG.  |
| 4. DR. SCHLOTTMAN, ZÜRICH.        | 11. REV. J. KÖBNER, BARMEN.    |
| 5. DR. BARTH, CALW.               | 12. REV. E. KUNTZE, BERLIN.    |
| 6. JAMES LORD, ESQ., LONDON.      | 13. DR. KRUMMACHER, POTSDAM.   |
| 7. REV. MR. KRUMACHER, DUISBURG.  |                                |





# SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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## VIII.

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

BY THE REV. TH. PLITT,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HEIDELBERG.

*Wednesday, September 16, 1857.—Morning.*

President: REV. F. ARNDT, Berlin.

1. *The Apostles and the Jewish Sanhedrim.*—If I am to speak to you on “the right of Evangelical Confession,” *i.e.*, to maintain that the right of confessing his Evangelical belief should be limited to or withheld from none, permit me, first of all, to take a glance at the earliest Evangelical confessors, the Apostles of the Lord.

The Sanhedrim is assembled at Jerusalem in solemn conclave. Two homely men, fishermen of Galilee, stand before this venerable assembly as defendants. They are the Apostles of our Lord, Simon Peter and John. Full of the Holy Ghost, they had proclaimed the Gospel of the crucified and risen One. The Sanhedrim wished to prevent the propagation of this new doctrine amongst the people. It forbade public preaching to the Apostles. The employment of harsher preventive and repressive measures was for a time deferred through the counsel of Gamaliel. It does not appear that the Sanhedrim threatened and punished the Apostles *on account of their conviction*; rather, it is evident they were punishable only because they believed themselves bound *to impart to others* that conviction. *Was, now, the Sanhedrim formally in the right* if it sought to prevent the prevalence of a new doctrine—the propagation of a new sect amongst the people? To answer this question we must bear in mind that the theocratic state, according to its true idea, could not and might not distinguish between religious and civil

offences. Every religious offence (*e.g.*, apostacy) was at the same time rebellion against the order of the State. Every civil offence was in like manner regarded as a religious offence against the majesty of Jehovah. The theocratic state could never speak of *utrumque jus*; the *jus civile* and the *jus canonicum* were for it one and the same. If, then, the Apostles were chargeable with a religious offence, they were, *ipso facto*, liable also to civil penalties. It is true, indeed, that the statutes of Lev. xxiv. and Deut. xiii., which placed the penalty of death on apostacy, or enticement to apostacy, as well as on blasphemy, did not apply to the Apostles; at least the Sanhedrim, in its judicial capacity, was not necessitated to proceed against them for their confession of Jesus. But still it was by no means a harmless matter if the Apostles should now glorify as the Son of God a man whom the Sanhedrim had, a very few weeks before, condemned to death as a blasphemer. Therefore the Sanhedrim, in its administrative capacity, was certainly authorised to interfere in a proceeding which probably might result in the most momentous consequences. Thus, then, the question which we just now threw out, whether the Sanhedrim was formally in the right with respect to the Apostles, must necessarily be answered in the affirmative.

Our second inquiry is this, "Were the Apostles *substantially* in the right when they disobeyed the order of the Sanhedrim and claimed for themselves liberty of Evangelical Confession? This can be denied, I think, only by a Hobbes. He, indeed ("Leviathan," iii. 42), expressly asserts, that one may quite easily believe in the true God, and yet, at the command of the sovereign, bow to idols, since this latter action is only an external thing, a posture, through which one shows his obedience to the sovereign; if any one should, by such means, deny Christ, this would not be his *own* act, but the act of his ruler, and the responsibility would fall back on the law which demanded it of him.

But there is no need to defend the right of the Apostles against such an assertion. Their right was founded on their duty. *God* had commanded them to witness; therefore, they could not forbear. Their right was a *Divine* right, and, standing on this right, Peter uttered the courageous words, "We must obey God rather than man"—words which remain for ever true, although they may often have been misused by those who have not yet learnt what "obeying God" means.

Thus, then, we see already a case in which the formal human right of the Sanhedrim came into utterly irreconcilable conflict with the Divine right of free Christian Confession, of which the Apostles could not allow themselves to be deprived.

2. *The Christian Martyrs and the Heathen Magistracy.*—After a far rougher fashion this conflict sprung up when Christianity had spread so widely that the heathen magistracy could no longer ignore this movement. In fact, its relation to the Jewish and heathen magistracy is the same. The heathen magistracy was formally in the right, when it condemned the Christians to death for their confession, since it was a constant fundamental law of the Roman State, that those who introduced new and unrecognised religions through which the minds of men were disturbed, should be banished, if they belonged to the higher ranks, but if they were of the lower class, should be punished with death. Hence, it is not strange, if even the noble younger Pliny, who in other respects judged so favourably of the Christians, yet punished with death those who would not renounce their faith—and this entirely in unison with the Emperor Trajan. The celebrated Edict of Toleration of Gallienus, about the middle of the third century, procured for the Christians no other rest than the calm which usually precedes the outburst of the storm, since, not long after, appeared Diocletian's Edict of Persecution, according to which the assemblies of Christians for Divine worship were to be forbidden, the churches razed to the ground, and the manuscripts of the Bible destroyed. Those Christians who held offices and posts of honour were to lose the same if they did not apostatise. To all, without exception, the torture was to be applied. Christians of the lower class were to lose their civil rights, even their freedom; and Christian slaves were never to be allowed to become free. If, then, the laws of the State stamped the confession of Christ as a crime, and demanded the denial of the Lord; on the other hand, the Church placed those who yielded obedience to such commands of the heathen magistracy, as *lapsi*, under more or less stringent discipline, when not entirely excluded, but held those, who, in spite of the commands of the magistracy, confessed Christ, as confessors and martyrs, worthy of the highest honour. The Church is unanimous in the conviction that every one, who in the case in question obeyed the heathen magistracy, committed a grievous, a mortal sin. The Church recognises that the Divine

right of free confession could be taken away from Christians by no human laws. It recognises that the right of free confession of Christ is one absolutely inalienable.

3. *The Romish Church of the German Nation.*—But it will be objected that the instances adduced have nothing in common with the question on which I am to deliberate, since they refer to the relation of recognised Christians to an unchristian magistracy, whilst our theme has chiefly, if not solely, in view the relation of recognised Christians to Christian powers. Nevertheless, it is easy to see that the case with respect to Christian powers remains essentially the same. Let us now call to mind the condition of things in *the Romish Church of the German nation*. It was nothing new that also here two powers asserted themselves as joint rulers of general public life—the *imperium* and the *sacerdotium*—since, already in the time of Constantine, the former of these powers had left its sanction to the decisions of the latter; so that there already heresy was placed in the rank of civil crimes threatened with heavy punishment. The further idea, that the Romish Church had the power of *both* swords, easily enough made its way in Germany; and thus it was quite natural, that every separation from this Church should be regarded as a civil crime. The Romish Church must, in fact, as sole channel of saving power, deny any ecclesiastical life beyond its pale. Since, then, with this supposition, it had, in the middle ages, become a part of public life, the rejection of its doctrine and of its constitution was, at the same time, an opposition to the order of public life itself; consequently, every such rejection was amenable, not only to ecclesiastical, but also to temporal punishment. The penalties which were to follow such ecclesiastical errors were, indeed, originally determined by judicial decisions brought forward by the Church, so that thus far they were not, without further ceremony, a part of the civil legislation. But, as from the fourteenth century onwards, along with the Roman civil law, the canonical law also was gradually introduced into temporal jurisdiction; so it became customary to regard the Papal legislation as including the whole civil law. If now the matter stood thus, of course every *non-Catholicus* in the Romish kingdom was, with respect to the law, in the same evil condition in which Christians had been in the heathen Roman kingdom—nay, properly speaking, in a still worse condition—since, in fact,



the Pope made his legislative enactments as the representative of God, and must vindicate for the same, even by an act of crying injustice, the same Divine authority which, of full right, belonged to the laws of the Old Testament theocracy. The whole condition of things, before it underwent an alteration through the Treaty of Passau, bears the impress, on the one side, of heathenism, on the other, of Judaism, which in so remarkable a manner characterises the Roman Church.

4. *The Protestants and the Laws of the German Empire.*—If the Emperor, at the Diet of Worms, on the 25th of May, 1521, put Luther under the ban of the empire, he acted entirely in harmony with the imperial laws still in force. Nay, had he acted otherwise, he would not have fulfilled his duty as “first magistrate in Christendom”—at least, in the sense in which the Church demanded its fulfilment. If, further, the Emperor threatened, even by force of arms, to hold to the observance of the existing imperial laws, those princes who professed the new doctrines, and allowed the propagation of them in their territories, still this was no illegal measure. The Emperor *was bound* to interfere with every one who apostatised from the Romish Church. Consequently, the Protestants could exist in the kingdom only as they were able to effect a change in the imperial laws by which they were threatened. At first, such alteration was not to be obtained, but only a suspension. This took place by means of the Treaty of Passau, and the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Germany must bleed by a thirty-years’ war, before that alteration could be obtained, at the Peace of Osnabruck.

5. *The Decisions of the Peace of Osnabruck.*—Like the Treaty of Passau, and the Religious Peace of Augsburg, so the Peace of Osnabruck was a compromise—a treaty between the Emperor and the Catholic States on the one side, and the Protestant States on the other. The stipulations of this treaty are too well known, as to what they determine in reference both to the States of the Empire and to the Freeholders (*Landsassen*), to need here to be repeated. The question which exclusively concerns us here is this: *On what right* did the Protestant States stand, in 1529, at Spiers; in 1552, at Passau; in 1555, at Augsburg, as well as in 1648, at Osnabruck? This becomes as clear as possible, from their own declarations. It is *the right of conscience*, in religious matters, to which they appeal. This

already, in 1521, Luther had done at Worms, when bound by his conscience, he said, "I cannot do otherwise." This already, in 1529, at Spiers, the Saxon delegate, Minkwitz, had done, when, in full Imperial Assembly, he declared that, in matters of conscience, no one ought to yield to the majority. To this principle, the Evangelical States were steadfast in their protest; to this they were steadfast throughout. They defended the *right*—they demanded *liberty of conscience*. What they demanded and obtained was liberty of conscience for those who accepted the Augsburg Confession, including those who were called "the Reformed." This requires no proof. It is universally acknowledged that the Protestant States demanded "freedom of conscience." What did they understand by it? I think it is quite clear that they understood nothing less than the right of every one who acknowledged the Augsburg Confession to worship God according to his conscience, since it is clear that the phrase "liberty of conscience," in the sense in which our forefathers used it for two or three hundred years, involved not only the right to be allowed to *think* of God, according to his conscience, but always, as well, the right to be allowed to *worship* God according to his conscientious conviction. Yes, the confederates of the Augsburg Confession understood by the liberty of worship, comprehended in the liberty of conscience, no mere *jus devotionis domestica*, whether *simplicis* or *qualificata*, but quite decidedly the *jus exercitii religionis publici*. To this they laid claim on the ground of their conscience. The principle, therefore, which lay at the foundation of all their demands is this: "We are bound by our conscience to worship God according to our officially-expressed principles. Because we think we are beholden to God, no human power can be allowed to withhold the right to fulfil this our duty." If, now, the J.P.O.V.S.I. says, "*Sit equalitas exacta mutique—ita ut quod uni parti justum est, alteri quoque sit justum,*" then it might seem that both parties had come to an understanding on this principle, and had said, "Since the confederate of the Augsburg Confession, as well as the Roman Catholic, has the right to worship God according to his conscience, therefore from this time both religious parties shall be equally authorised in the State." But this would be historically incorrect, since never, and nowhere, is it so much as expressed. Further, with this principle the sovereign right of reformation, in the sense of the

Treaty of Osnabruck, would be absolutely irreconcilable; and lastly, in that case the application of the same principle to other religious confederates could not be avoided. Since, if the confederate of the Augsburg Confession and the Roman Catholic have the right to worship God after their conscience, why, then, not the Zwinglist, the Greek Catholic, the Anabaptist? In such case it would, perhaps, be said: The two stipulating parties had recognised that, in fundamental truths, they were one; that their differences related only to things on which, without prejudice to the salvation of souls, men may be of various opinions; and, on the ground of this fundamental union, they granted reciprocal toleration. But this supposition is also shown to be historically untrue, since nowhere is mention ever made of such recognition; further, the polemics of that time indicate that each party was too far separated to pay any such recognition to the other; and, lastly, the Lutherans could not, in fact, have escaped granting, from this principle, the same recognition, in much fuller measure, to Calvinists, which it is notorious did not take place, either during the transactions at Osnabruck, or on any other occasion.

We are consequently compelled to say, that the Protestants of that time laid claim indeed to the principle of liberty of conscience for themselves, but were decidedly averse to grant that liberty to others. Must we, then, charge them with a conscious and designed inconsistency? I think we have no right to do this; rather, it appears to me that the Protestants of that time indeed claimed that principle practically, but were not thoroughly conscious of it as a principle. And in fact this is a reproach, which touches not merely the confederates of the Augsburg Confession, whether Lutherans or German-Reformed; rather, it touches the Reformed beyond the limits of Germany, who were not included amongst the confederates of the Augsburg Confession, and certainly not less the Roman Catholics. What is the fundamental reason that not one of the then existing parties was clearly conscious of the principle which each claimed for itself, this is not the place to inquire. The time had not yet arrived when the great principle of liberty of conscience was to be brought into the light. This was, in the economical plan of God, reserved for a later day.

But our task, undoubtedly, is to develop into greatest possible

clearness the principle on which our fathers unconsciously rested, and to see what the consequences necessarily resulting from it are.

6. *The principle of Liberty of Conscience.*—The principle here treated of is throughout no abstract philosophical one, but one distinctly and exclusively religious. It is concerned solely and exclusively about religion; that is, about the relationship between individual men and God. Since we say, every human individual stands in an absolute moral dependence on God, and becomes conscious of this so soon as his consciousness of God discovers it to him. My conscience tells me how I am to worship this God on whom I know I am dependent; and I shall sooner die, if I am a conscientious man, than do anything against my conscience, in my relationship to God. There is, therefore, absolutely no room for the intermeddling of man. I have to do with God, and just because I have to do with God, can I here recognise no human authority. The principle of liberty of conscience declares that we, in our religious relations, are absolutely free from every human authority but are singly and alone, because absolutely dependent on God.

According to what has just been said, it is self-evident that we treat here of quite another thing from that freedom which the unbelieving mass so constantly claims for itself, under the name of freedom of conscience or of religious liberty. The reasoning of such, namely, of the infidel mass, always runs more or less in the following course: "Since the religious convictions of men are much less the result of their own free examination and decision than of education and custom; since, further, different men are not organised for one and the self-same belief; and since, after all, it is most likely of no account what sort of religious convictions a man embraces; it is as inhuman as needless in anywise to disturb a man about his convictions. God himself (they add) will not judge a man according to his faith, but according to his deeds. How, then, is man to judge what God does not?" Infidels, therefore, ground the authorisation of what they call religious liberty on this, that man, in matters of his religious or irreligious opinions, is not accountable even to God. But we ground the authority of freedom of conscience on this, that man in his conscience knows himself absolutely dependent on God; and, therefore, in matters of his religious conviction, is throughout accountable



to Him. *They* deny this absolute dependence on God, and deduce from such independency on God the freedom from human authority. *We* are compelled to say: Whenever man departs from his moral dependency on God, then he, by his own act, becomes dependent on human authority. He who is the servant of God need not be the servant of men. He who will not be the servant of God, he, whoever he may be, becomes the servant of men. In fine, is it the question, "Is unbelief sin? nay, the primal sin; the fountain and root of all sin?" *We* affirm this question—*they* deny it. Is it the question, "Does the liberty of a Christian man consist in this, that he is *allowed to serve God*; or in this, that he has also the right, according to pleasure, *not to serve God*?" *We* maintain the first—they the second. *We* have, then, brought into light, as clear as we can, the principle on which the apostles, the martyrs, and our strongly-believing forefathers stood; and, indeed, in such a way we hope, as to deserve no applause from the camp of unbelief. It now remains for us to show what are the consequences which result from this principle.

7. *The Consequences necessarily resulting from the principle of Liberty of Conscience.*—*We* may use very few words in the exhibition of *one* class of consequences, namely, those I draw from the principle of liberty of conscience, in application to my own self and fellow-believers, since these consequences were deduced with perfect clearness, and in full force made good by the Protestants of the time of the Reformation. If, for instance, I live in a land in which there exists an *ecclesia dominans*—nay, in which all religions except the ruling Church are *religiones illicitæ et reprobatae*—but my religious conviction is not that which the *ecclesia dominans* demands of its members—I shall by no means be entitled to require that the *ecclesia dominans* should treat me as a fully-recognised member; but I shall be entitled to demand that neither the Church nor the State prevent me from serving my God in the manner which I have regarded right. I can by no means be satisfied if it is said to me, "Your dissenting confession shall do you no harm in respect to your civil and political rights;" but I shall be obliged to claim definite religious or ecclesiastical rights. I shall in this relation not only demand that within wider or narrower restrictions I may be tolerated, but I shall demand that I be allowed an entirely unrestricted *exercitium religionis*.

Here, then, we find ourselves at variance with the older defenders of freedom of conscience in our Church, *e.g.*, with the still illustrious J. H. Bahmen, who, in his treatise on the "Liberty of Conscience," is content to say it is enough if in such case the *devotio domestica* is permitted, although with this, in fact, the Protestants themselves would not be content to allow themselves to be satisfied. No, I cannot find myself completely satisfied with concessions of this sort; I must demand that I may be as freely permitted to serve my God according to my convictions as a member of the ruling Church is permitted to serve Him. This is, however, so clear—these consequences are in the Treaty of Osnabruck so distinctly expressed—that to discourse on them further would be quite superfluous. We turn ourselves, therefore, at once to the *second* order of consequences, *viz.*, to those which I draw from our principle in application to other persons, and, indeed, to such as do not share my religious convictions; who, therefore, in my view, are in error. Here, now, our highest rule is unquestionably the Word of the Lord: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." (Matt. vii. 12.) If I wish that I should not be persecuted on account of my worship, I must also wish that another should not be persecuted on account of his worship. If I wish that I should be permitted to profess my religious convictions free and unimpeded, I must also wish others to be permitted in like manner to profess theirs. If I wish that to me an unlimited religious liberty should be granted, I must wish the same to be granted to others.

I can show we have arrived, in our inquiry, at a point where opinions usually separate. If I might perhaps reckon on a pretty general agreement as to the positions already advanced, I know that henceforward this can hardly be the case. I wish neither to conceal nor avoid the difficulties which now present themselves; but I would endeavour to exhibit, as clearly as possible, the consequences just named, let the result be what it will. I maintain, therefore, that from the principle of liberty of conscience, in the sense in which it has been above developed, it follows that no one ought to be persecuted on account of his worship; that every one ought to profess his religious conviction free and unrestricted; that to all should be granted an untrammelled religious liberty. Of course these consequences may be understood and carried out in so abstract a manner that there

would scarcely room be left to think of the existence of an organically united society, but that in the place of an organised society, a multitude of atoms would enter, and in fact a *bellum omnium contra omnes*. We shall, consequently, have to lay down a canon by which such error is provided against. This canon is no other than the following: "The liberty of the individual in the sphere of religious relations does not involve a liberty in the sphere of civil and social relations, through which the existence and the welfare of the community is endangered." If, then, I recognise as religious any conviction by the propagation of which the well-being of the community of which I am a member becomes imperilled; it is no invasion of my religious freedom, but an act of self-defence, if society restrains me in the propagation of my pernicious principles. The society of which we now treat is not the Church, but the State, since, although the Church is not compelled to extend the rights of its fellowship to one who can no longer accept its adopted religious convictions, yet not it, but the State, is defender of public civil welfare. The State, therefore, will have the duty and right, through its regular organs, that is, through its executive, to hinder the propagation of such convictions, the exercise of such worship, through which the *salus publica* becomes endangered, and the laws violated. This is moreover so generally recognised, that on it there is no need longer to delay. The *jus inspectionis* cannot be refused to the State. But the question is about the extension of this right. There is such an extension of it, through which every safeguard of religious liberty would become illusory. This would be the case, if the State should say, "I conceded the fullest liberty to all those religions which recognise no principles dangerous to the State;" but should then add, "I am of the conviction, that Protestantism is dangerous to the State;" or, in another case, "I am of the conviction that Roman Catholicism is dangerous to the State;"—since the State would then, if it should seem best to use its right of inspection, not by repression, but by prevention, be obliged to deny all toleration within its territory, of the religion held to be inimical to the State. In the one case, Protestants, in the other, Catholics, must be persecuted, not as such, but as people dangerous to the State. We easily see, then, that it is one and the same, whether a Protestant is persecuted because he is a Protestant, or because he is a man dangerous to the State. Consequently,



we must lay down a canon, also, for the extension of this right of inspection. This is the following: "The solicitude of the State for the general *civil* welfare can *never authorise* it; just as in the sphere entrusted to its care, in making any encroachment on the *religious* relations of an individual, a religious conviction, as such, can never be dangerous to the State, nor even the religious exercises which naturally proceed from such conviction." A religious conviction first became dangerous, when, stepping beyond its sphere, it leads to such conduct as opposes, either public morals in general, or the laws of the State in particular. If, therefore, the doctrines which a religious community propagates, induce its members to murder in general, or regicide in particular, or to adultery, or to theft, or to perjury, then will the State say, "Here are crimes which ought not to remain unpunished." But the punishment will strike, not only men who actually perpetrated the crime, but also the moral author of the crime. To an order which defends regicide and perjury, will the State deny toleration. Any religious society which encourages polygamy, or another which declares property a theft, will the State not allow to flourish. The State, therefore, does not, by virtue of its right of inspection, interfere with the religious conviction of its subjects; it does not try the heart; it is not the judge of intentions and thoughts, but it examines what is before the eye—it judges the *deeds* of its subjects according to the law. With this view, the Belgian Constitution—to adduce one example, instead of many—is entirely in harmony, and completely agrees, when it says (Sect. 7): "The liberty of worship, its public exercise, as well as the free liberty to express opinion on all subjects, is guaranteed, conditional on the repression of such public offences as by the exercise of such liberties may be occasioned."

If, now, we briefly sum up the consequences thus determined, we shall say: "From the principle of liberty of conscience, from all human authority, founded on our absolute dependence on God, it follows that to every one the most unrestricted religious liberty is to be granted, in so far and so long as, through one's use of this freedom on the part of individuals, the civil welfare of the community is not endangered, nor the public morality destroyed." But should we thus have reduced to the just measure, the right, on one side, of the individual against the community, and, on the other, the right of the community



against the freedom of the individual—that is, the right of inspection belonging to the State—still we have not obviated all difficulties. We are met by several applications of the principle which are partly of a more theoretical, partly of a more practical nature. To enter on all these—especially those which are taken from practical difficulties, ending in a particular case—would be foreign to the object of this discourse, and far exceed its limits. I shall content myself by noticing briefly three of the principal of such applications, where it is said : 1. This kind of religious liberty mistakes the duty of the State ; 2, is incompatible with the well-being of the Church ; and, 3, is unscriptural.

8. *Religious Liberty in regard to the Duty of the State.*—In the first place, then, there is the assertion, often repeated, well known to us all, that, by the demand for religious freedom, in the sense above developed, the State is robbed of its Christian character—that the State, from being Christian, becomes an atheistical one.

In reference to this, it is obvious to remark, that the expression “atheistical State,” to indicate the notion which it is said to indicate, is not most happily chosen, since, when Royer Collard first used this expression, he wished by no means to say that the State, as such, should recognise Atheism, should be irreligious, or inimical to religion. But he wished only to say that the relation of man to God belongs to a higher sphere than that of the State ; consequently, the State should not encroach on this sphere. It has been very aptly remarked, that the State which does not encroach on the sphere of the conscience of its subjects can be called anti-religious just as correctly as it can be called anti-industrial, anti-musical, and anti-medicinal, if it manufactures no tobacco, composes no opera, and dispenses no medicine. At all events we, who from the standpoint of faith defend religious liberty, we want no irreligious, but as earnestly as any one, a truly religious State. We desire no un-Christian or anti-Christian, but as earnestly as any one, a Christian—nay, an Evangelical State. But, that we may not play with words, or seem to hide ourselves behind words, we declare what we mean by the word, “Christian Evangelical State.” I understand by a religious State, of course not one which says, “This one religious community has the truth ; all the others are in error—consequently, are not to be tolerated.” I

understand, therefore, by an Evangelical, or more definitely, by an Evangelical Lutheran State, not one which says : "The Evangelical, or more definitely, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, has the truth, all other Churches are in error—consequently, are not to be tolerated." I understand by an Evangelical State, not one which shapes its legislation, and all its regulations, so that a man not belonging to the Evangelical National Church cannot stay within the boundaries of that State. The State ought not to be a confessional. The confessional State belongs to a by-gone age. But by a Christian—by an Evangelical State—I understand one where, first and foremost, the Heaven-anointed head of the State, the prince ruling by the grace of God, sincerely believes on our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and is not ashamed to confess before all his people that there is salvation in none other than in the name of Jesus Christ; that he also bows his knee before Him to whom is given a name which is above every other name. I understand by a Christian State, one in which the bearers of magisterial power—the servants of the State, are faithful Christians, who fulfil their office in the fear of the Lord; in which the subjects stand in the faith of Christ, and according to this faith carry on their business in all godliness and honesty. Is now the Christian character of the State, in the sense just given, furthered more by oppression of conscience than by freedom of conscience; more by religious intolerance than by religious liberty? I think, decidedly by the latter.

With the first assertion which we have hitherto been examining, that through the establishment of religious liberty the State loses its Christian character, a second is closely connected, that, "The magistracy, ordained by God, is bound to care for, not only the temporal, but also the eternal welfare of its subjects. But that is no longer possible with the kind of religious liberty for which we ask." Is it certain that is not possible? Of course not in the sense of the badly interpreted *coge intrare*; of course not in the sense that the State can say to a subject, "See, thou canst be saved only if thou belongest to this particular visible Church. Hence, in order that thou mayest be saved, I tell thee, if thou forsakest this Church thou shalt be hunted down by all sorts of police vexations until, like a wearied stag, thou returnest to this Church;" or still more severely, "In order that thou mayest not be for ever lost, I tell thee that

if thou forsakest this Church thou shalt be punished with death." But I suppose that, on behalf of this kind of care for the salvation of subjects, no one in this Assembly at least will speak. There is another kind of such care, which not only can consist with religious freedom, but even is demanded by it. A pious prince is a blessing to the whole people; pious servants of the State are a blessing to the whole people. Through the illustrious example of piety on the throne is piety in the land promoted. We all look up with reverence to the noble-hearted and pious king under whose protection we are here assembled. The liberty of Evangelical confession has in him its defender; and who would like to say that this prevents him from bearing on his faithful heart the eternal welfare of his subjects?

We have, finally, to consider a third assertion, made very frequently by our older theologians and canonists, viz., that the Christian magistracy is not only guardian of the second table of the law, but also of the first; whence it follows that the magistracy is bound to punish sins against the first table as well as those against the second. Here two things are to be noticed. First, the assertion that the temporal magistracy is guardian also of the second table, must first of all be proved. It seems, at least, to rest on the confounding of two distinct spheres. There are at one and the same time, "two kingdoms and two kings." The heavenly King surely needs not the *brachimo seculare* to maintain His honour. But, in the second place, properly speaking, the question here is about quite a different subject from that which we have now to determine. We are treating only of this, that from the absolute responsibility of the conscience towards God follows the freedom of the conscience towards man. Now it will be impossible for us to say that any such absolute responsibility of conscience is to be found with a blasphemer or an Atheist. On the contrary, these crimes are the fruit of the absence of conscience (*gewissenloosijkeit*). If, then, the temporal magistracy denies toleration to an Atheist who takes pains to spread his principles, this is still far from being any oppression of conscience. If it occurred to our recollection that, apparently religious strugglings for liberty were only a cloak for political assaults—if first one and then another attached himself to such movements, that only blockheads could believe him acting for religion; it is still far from being any religious persecution if to the magistracy it should seem at all advisable to banish such a

one from the country, or to interfere with him in some other way answering the purpose. I must, in the most explicit manner possible, declare that those principles, resting on which I ask for complete freedom of conscience, do not by any means serve those who think they must demand liberty for infidelity, liberty for Atheism. At the same time, it may to this be added that history clearly enough teaches how godliness has never yet been successfully assailed by temporal punitive measures. Not to the sword that the magistrate bears, but to the sword of the Spirit is the victory over godliness promised.

9. *Religious Liberty and the Welfare of the Church.*—If, now, we turn from the State to the Church, it is objected against us, that religious liberty, to the extent we demand, is incompatible with the well-being of the Church; since that protection on the part of the State which the Church has hitherto enjoyed must, in that case, be given up. This last statement we unconditionally admit. So soon as full religious liberty is granted in a State; no *ecclesia dominans*, in the sense of our Canon Law, no privileged Church, can any longer exist. But we deny that the Church needs State protection; we deny that by it the welfare of the Church is promoted. The Christian Church of the first three centuries certainly enjoyed no State protection; on the contrary, the State persecuted it with all the means at its command. Was not the Church at that time most vigorous, most healthful? Is he so very far wrong, when an illustrious scholar supposes the Church, when State protection begun, to have experienced a grievous fall? Or would any say that the first three centuries are not to the point, since the Church had at that time a wealth of gifts of the Holy Spirit, which it has not possessed in later times? But, without referring to what no one would wish to assert, that what the Holy Spirit, the heavenly Paraclete, the Divine *Advocatus* has been to the Church, that now an earthly *advocatus ecclesie* must be—we need only remind ourselves, not to speak of foreign lands, of the Christian communities of the Netherlands. O, how they flourished under oppression and persecution from the State! No, the Church of Christ needs no protection from the kingdoms of this world. It may, like its Head, once humbled unto death, appear in the form of a servant; yet, as it is the body of the Lord, no human power shall utterly cast it down. On the contrary, it will, like its Head, rise from humiliation to glory. When Luther sang



in his hymn exultingly, that if the world were filled with devils, and it were wishing utterly to destroy us, we need not fear, since we must be safe, he certainly was thinking of no State protection, but of quite another thing—the protection of Him who fights our battles, Jesus Christ, the Lord of Sabaoth, beside whom there is no God.

Still, it will be said, we must, at least, admit it as a thing possible, that some one visible part of the Church may become so enfeebled, that, in fact, without the protection of the State, it would fall to pieces. Whether such a Church actually exists, I know not; let experiment be made. But this I say, If a Church is so feeble, internally so incoherent, that only the protection of the State holds it together, then let it fall. This will do no harm. The Church, of which the Lord says the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, will be far from falling in consequence.

But perhaps we appear to have understood this State protection in a too external, and—if we may so say—in too coarse a sense, since, according to the customary conception in the present day of the protective right essential to the State, its only duty is the preservation of the peace between the different confessions. Here, then, comes the question, Will there not, through our religious freedom, arise the most wretched strife in the place of the tranquillity which we have enjoyed in our German fatherland since the Westphalian Peace? The answer is close enough at hand. A peace compelled by the State is, properly speaking, no true peace. It is, on the other side, to be feared that the same promotes indifferentism. Mixed marriages, for example, may, from the standpoint of the Church, not appear at all desirable. We should hardly have so many of these if the indifferentism amongst us were less. And of this there would probably be less if the Church were obliged to defend itself against external attacks, instead of saying, “State, help us, we perish!” The Church is strengthened by conflict. If it is spared from conflict, it is withdrawn from the school of suffering and patience, of life and hope. Besides, is there no other way to maintain the peace between different confessions? The Evangelical Alliance has, first and foremost, the object to preserve and promote this peace. Its members do not conceal from themselves that, so far as they belong to different ecclesiastical communities, they are of different opinions on not

unimportant points. But notwithstanding this, they will endeavour, in the faith common to them all, to foster love and lessen all hatred and all bitterness. And why—if we should regard a system as erroneous, foreign to the truth—can we not and ought we not, in spite of this, with pitying love, to receive the persons? Let us only learn to separate the system from the persons, then will the danger of a repeated thirty years' war as surely—nay, more surely—be guarded against than by the protective right of the State.

Of course, we do not wish to conceal that if every one has the right to serve God according to his conscience, he has undeniably also the right to spread his belief by all those means which do not oppose public order and the obedience enjoined by God towards the magistracy. This is a consequence it is impossible for us to evade, if we are in earnest about the major proposition. But from this principle, that I have thought, by all lawful means, to propagate my faith, there may arise, at all events to a few individuals, some considerable inconveniences. I suppose the following case: I am minister of a united community; all the Protestants of the place belong to this community. There now comes a (separated) Lutheran minister, and wishes to draw a number of my communicants away from our union, and include them in this (separated) Lutheranism. This is not at all pleasant, but deeply painful to me. But shall I, in order to spare myself this unpleasantness and this pain, get this Lutheran minister banished by the police, because he is a Lutheran minister? Very far from this; I will, on the contrary, through the weapons of the Spirit, contend with him who seems to me to be in error. If, then, those police vexations, with which the (separated) Lutheran minister had formerly to contend, are, in many districts of the State of to-day, most distinctly censured, one ought to be so far just as not to praise, if, in other lands, the like vexations still impend over ministers or colporteurs of other religious communities. And this may we certainly declare, that if such free movement on religious territory may be unpleasant and painful to individuals—for instance, to the servants of the State Church—yet it is not injurious to the truth. The truth has nothing to fear from free discussion. The truth can only gain by it, even if any visible Church should lose. The truth will prevail.

Thus, then, the Church would suffer no damage to its real

welfare if it should determine never to invoke the *brachium seculare* for its protection against those who hold a different belief. But if it should on this point be agreed that the Church ought not thus to determine—or, at least, before doing so, should bethink itself many times—no prejudice is done at all to the question whether the Christian State ought, unasked, to lend its power for the protection of the Church. Therefore, we will on this question also express our opinion. And it will appear that it is equally befitting whether the Church says to the State, “State, help me!” and then the State lays temporal penalties on sectarians and separatists; or whether the Church says nothing at all, but still is gratified if these poor people are treated in a similar manner. In my view, the Church, when it sees that the State raises its arm to strike more or less heavily a sectarian or separatist, ought quite distinctly to say, “I pray you, kind State, meddle not in this matter; it belongs to me, not to you; spare me your protection.” And this entirely from the very principles which we have already advanced. It is unworthy of the Church, it is injurious to the Church, to allow itself to be protected by the State.

10. *Religious Liberty and the Holy Scripture.*—Only one thing now remains—viz., to examine the assertion that the notion of religious liberty which we defend, is unscriptural. If it were so, it would be, at the same time, false, and we would be the last to commend it; since, far be it from us to deny the judicial authority of the sacred Scriptures. It is self-evident that in our examination we are not restricted to the New Testament, but that we must include—nay, begin—with the Old Testament, since this is also God’s Word. That the law of the ancient covenant proclaimed no religious liberty is clear. It is perfectly just to say that, under the Old Testament economy, religious liberty was at a stand-still. The revelation given to the chosen people was intended for them exclusively, not for other nations as well. The law was a fence by which Israel was enclosed—all other people excluded. Within this enclosure was the truth; without it, falsehood. But already from what has been said, it follows that the relations of the Old Testament economy are inapplicable to the question now under consideration; since as to both the points to which it is here customary to appeal—namely, as to the destruction of the Canaanites enjoined on the Israelites, and as to the capital punishment

attached to the apostacy of an Israelite—the question is not about the opposition between religious liberty and religious constraint, but about quite another thing. The destruction of the Canaanites was enjoined on the Israelites by no means because they would not embrace the Israelitish religion. The command did not run: Ye shall destroy them if they will not embrace your faith. The command was not at all conditional, but positive and absolute: “Ye shall utterly destroy them.” If we ask after the wherefore, we could be allowed, in order not to confuse our subject, only, as in the preceding instances, to indicate the answer. There might be two causes which led to the destruction of these races. The first, that heathenism can give life to no people—in all heathenism a death-blast blows. But still there are heathen races, originally energetic, which are for that end determined, to become the recipients of Divine life. As such the Germanic nations have shown themselves. But, on the contrary, there are also heathen races which develop themselves, not unto life, but unto death. They grow in corruption, and fade away from the world’s history. To these belong the primitive inhabitants of North America, and apparently also those nations which the Europeans found there at the discovery of America. To these also the Canaanites belong. They were ripe for the Divine judgment; therefore the Divine judgment came; for where the carcase is there will the eagles be gathered together. We may with probability suppose that the Canaanites, even if they had not been extirpated by the sword of Israel, yet would soon have vanished from the theatre of history. We see, then, in the destruction of these races, nothing more than a catastrophe in the world’s history, which, moreover, in comparison with others, is comparatively small. The Scriptures, passing by intermediate causes, point out only the fundamental cause of this catastrophe, viz., the will of the holy and righteous God. If we knew those secondary causes, the whole matter would not be regarded by many as so inconceivable or very difficult. The second reason appears to be this: Israel was the channel of the Divine purpose of the redemption of the world. Only as Israel’s development was so shaped that out of it the Redeemer could rise, only thus could *all* nations be saved. We shall therefore, probably, not go too far if we say, Had Israel intermingled with the Canaanites, the Redeemer could never have sprung out of it. In order that all nations might be



saved, one must be destroyed. But, perhaps, this is not the place to determine how far the redemption that is in Christ Jesus might act retrospectively on a race thus destroyed. Still, however, it is clear that the question here depends on a judicial act of God, which scarcely affects the question of liberty of conscience and religion. It would, therefore, be perfectly inapposite if the destruction of the Canaanites should be cited as an instance against such liberty.

We turn to the capital punishment inflicted on apostacy. We have above said, that in respect to the exercise of religion we are absolutely free from all human authority, only because we are, in our conscience, absolutely dependent on God. We have expressly declared that this principle affords no ground whatever for liberty to Atheism, while at the same time penalties against Atheists are by no means advisable. Is it now conceivable that a member of the old covenant was forced by his conscience to apostatise from the only true God and turn to idols? Must not such external apostacy have been preceded by a more fearful inner apostacy? Before that could come to pass, on account of which the penalty of death was inflicted, must not the conscience itself have been severed from the living God, and have become dead? It is clear, therefore, that our question is not in the least prejudiced by the law which ordained capital punishment on the Israelites who apostatised from Jehovah. Although, then, we willingly concede that the idea of religious liberty, in the sense we understand it, is presented by no means clearly in the Old Testament, yet we must, once for all, maintain this, that from the two ordinances cited from the Old Testament, no argument can be produced *against* that idea. The idea of religious liberty is something which entered not as yet into the circle of Old Testament revelation, which at the most floated now and then as an anticipation before the prophetic spirit, but whose clear representation must be reserved for a later economy. If now we find that in the New Testament, at all events, this idea is clearly expressed, still we shall be far from saying here an opposition between the Old and New Testaments presents itself. Nothing more presents itself than a perfectly normal and necessary advance in the revelation.

We turn, then, to the New Testament. A few remarks will suffice. That the Saviour himself knew He was the Redeemer

of all which were lost—that also those who yet had no fold were still His sheep—this is clear. (Luke xix. 10; John x. 16.) Salvation, and the revelation of salvation, were not to remain confined within the bounds of one nation. The national character of the Old Testament economy was to give place to the universal character of the New Testament economy; therefore the Lord could not permit His disciples John and James, after the example of Elias, which they had entirely misunderstood, to command fire to rain from heaven on the Samaritans, but He reproved them, and said, “Ye know not what spirit ye are of: for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men’s lives, but to save them.” (Luke ix. 55.) And so it came to pass that this same John, who in anger wished to call down fire on the Samaritans, not long after prayed in love that the Holy Ghost might descend on those same Samaritans. (Acts viii. 14, 15.) Our Lord wished for His protection neither the sword of Peter nor the legions of angels of His Father. (Matt. xxvi. 52, 53.) And a highly-gifted theologian of our time justly asks whether we can believe that He can now need for the defence of the truth other legions—policemen and gendarmes? That His kingdom is not of this world our Lord argues before His heathen judge from this, that His servants did not defend Him with temporal weapons (John xviii. 36.); an argument which was not only obvious to Pilate, but is by and for itself indisputably just. To the major proposition—“A kingdom which is defended by earthly weapons is of this world, is a worldly kingdom”—each one may, in application to our subject, himself add the minor and the conclusion. Ah, were our hearts pervaded by that Spirit which breathes from all the words of pity and love which the Saviour uttered, it would be impossible for us any more to wish to persecute the heterodox, or to rejoice if, without our assistance, they were persecuted by others! Let us not permit to rule in us that old spirit of the sons of Zebedee—which, indeed, John also so entirely renounced—but let the spirit of our merciful Redeemer reign in us; then shall we no more wish to destroy but only to save our brethren who, in our opinion, are in error. Therefore, also, the Apostle Paul so distinctly forbids our judging the conscience of another. He writes, that every one who judges is inexcusable, “for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest, doest the same things.”

(Rom. ii. 1, 2.) And with distinct reference to religious differences he says, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ. For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God. So, then, every one of us shall give account of himself to God." (Rom. xiv. 4, 10—12.) "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts, and then shall every man receive his due praise from God." (1 Cor. iv. 5.) If, then, these and similar apostolical expressions make it distinctly the duty of Christians to respect the conscience of their brethren, *i.e.*, to regard their religious liberty, we have others which entirely forbid us to judge unbelievers, for, as Paul says, "What have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within? Therefore, put away from among yourselves that wicked person." (1 Cor. v. 12, 13.)

And, therefore, it will not be said that what is forbidden in these expressions to individual Christians is made the duty of the Christian magistracy, for such an idea is not once intimated in the whole New Testament. When Paul forbids the Christian to judge his brother, he by no means adds, that the supposed erring brother has to give account to the magistrate; but, on the contrary, that he has to give account to God. The Scripture wills that the Church should keep itself pure and unspotted from the world—that it should put away from itself the wicked person—but wills not that the Church should call in the secular power to oppress and force consciences. The Scripture wills that the magistracy should use the sword against those that transgress the laws of the State; but it wills that the magistracy should lay down the sword, if the matter depends on religious questions, or even evident errors, in which the conscience is concerned. "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh: for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."



(2 Cor. x. 3—5.) To this remarkable passage, Luther, as is well-known, especially appeals in his celebrated paper addressed to John of Saxony, in the year 1523, entitled, “Of the Temporal Magistracy and the Obedience which is Owed to It.” There he expresses it clearly and decidedly that human authority cannot extend to heaven and over the soul, but only to earth and over the outward conduct of men with each other, where men can see, understand, judge, pronounce, punish, and save. “If, then,” he continues, “thy prince or temporal lord commands thee to hold to the Pope, thus and thus to believe, or demands the Bible from you, thou must then say, It is not fit for Lucifer to act by the side of God. My lord, I am bound to serve you with body and goods; order me according to your power, and I will obey. But if you command me to believe, and to resign the Bible, I will not obey you; for you then reach too high, and command where you have neither right nor power. Does he, therefore, take thy goods, and punish such disobedience? blessed art thou; and thank God that thou art counted worthy to suffer for God’s Word. Thou sayest, The secular power does not really compel to believe, but only takes external measures that the people are not deceived by false doctrine; how otherwise are heretics to be checked? Answer, That the bishops ought to do, to whom such office is entrusted, and not to princes. For heresy can never be prevented by force; for this another treatment is required; and here there is a conflict and work different from that of the sword. Here God’s Word must fight. If that does nothing, certainly nothing will be done by temporal power, even if it fills the world with blood. Heresy is a spiritual thing that no iron can cut in pieces, no fire consume, no water drown. . . . Wilt thou banish heresy, then? Thou must first of all root it out of the heart and completely alienate it from the will. By force thou wilt not destroy it, but wilt only strengthen it. What gain, then, is it to thee if thou strengthenest heresy in the heart, and only lessenest its expressions by the tongue, and forcest to falsehood? But God’s Word enlightens the heart, and from this enlightenment all heresies and errors fall of themselves out of the heart. God’s Word alone does this, as St. Paul says (2 Cor. x 4, 5), ‘Our weapons are not carnal, but mighty through God,’” &c.

11. *Religious Liberty, and Public Opinion in Germany.*—If thus, then, not only the great Reformer of Germany, but also



the Scripture, is on our side, ought we longer to hesitate to declare ourselves for the great principle of religious liberty? If even public judgment in our fatherland should oppose, still we should not give up our principle. But, in reality, is common opinion entirely unfavourable to us? We wish by no means to conceal that there still exist among us very considerable and generally diffused prejudices against the principle of religious liberty; we wish especially not to conceal that on this point we differ from men with whom we know, however, we are one on the ground of positive Evangelical belief, to whom, as to fellow-pilgrims to the free Jerusalem which is above, we would most heartily give our hands, whilst we could not do this so truly in reference to all those who, respecting the question now discussed, are apparently at least in unison with us. Here, now, we have touched on a chief cause of the disinclination to the kind of religious freedom we have defended. It is usual to regard as leaders in the defence of religious liberty those whose religious standpoint is defined as rationalistic, and whose political standpoint is recognised as that of Radicalism. If, then, any one speaks on behalf of religious liberty, it is at once supposed by very many that he would not do so were he not a Rationalist or a Radical. At the foundation of this prejudice—for other than a prejudice we cannot yet name it—there is a semblance of truth. We have already spoken of it above; and nine years ago we saw what that something was, called “religious liberty,” which was demanded and defended by certain parties. But the religious liberty which we defend is related to that just as positive living Christianity is related to pure, abstract Deism, or even to Atheism. Therefore, we do not at all doubt but that this prejudice, by which our endeavour to promote religious liberty is regarded as connected with irreligiousness and indifferentism, with wild Liberalism and Radicalism, will more and more give place to a correcter view. We are, then, if not in very hasty, yet in surer progress. Let one only represent to himself what a revolution in public opinion has taken place during the three hundred years since the Augsburg religious Peace—nay, during the last two centuries since the Westphalian Peace. Would, then, the decisive definitions of Sect. 63 of the chief resolution of the Imperial deputation in 1803 have been at all possible in the year 1648, or even the decision of Sect. 16 of the Act of

German Confederation, which so narrowly limited the princely right of reformation? And have we, then, been at a standstill since the year 1816? Have not they even who pretend to be horrified at everything new, who are most pleased with reinstatements, at once and for ever, of bygone conditions—have not even they become quite other persons? The ranks of the defenders of oppression of conscience and religious compulsion are constantly thinning, and scarcely any one longer ventures openly to defend the same. The right of conscience is becoming more and more recognised. And if now, also, this Assembly recognises it—recognises it in view of the Apostles, in view of the martyrs also of our Church, in view of our protesting forefathers—recognises it in the humble consciousness of the obligation of conscience towards God—ought not this to cause many a one afresh to study this so momentous a subject? And will not such renewed consideration lead many a one to say with us, “Yes, no man ought to rule over the conscience of another man; God only, God’s Word only, ought to be a judge of the thoughts and intents of the heart?”

In conclusion, I now compress the chief contents of my discourse into three propositions, to which, I think, I may be allowed to bespeak the assent of the Assembly :—

I. We are convinced that every man who, in his religious relationships, feels himself to be, through his conscience, absolutely dependent on God, ought, simply on this account, to be absolutely free from all human authority.

II. Therefore, we believe that every man ought to have the right to worship God alone or in company with others, according to his conscience, even if this is in error, and to propagate his belief, conditionally that neither through the one nor the other the well-being of the State is endangered, nor public morality violated.

III. Convinced that the Word of God is not against, but for this religious liberty—convinced, further, that through the right use of the same, the welfare neither of the Church nor of the State receives harm—we have the hearty wish and the humble prayer to God that the great principle of religious liberty may obtain full recognition speedily and everywhere.

## FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

1. BY THE REV. DR. PRÉSENSE,<sup>É</sup>

OF PARIS.

No question is weightier than that of to-day ; in my opinion, it concerns the honour, the safety of the Evangelical Church. Dr. Schenkel, in his ardent speech yesterday, showed us that in the great conflict between the Evangelical Church and Roman Catholicism, the worst means of victory was when it permitted itself to borrow the weapons of its opponent. In a battle, nothing is to be kept before the eye more than the banner under which we fight. A precious word is inscribed on the banner of the Evangelical Church. What is this word ? It is—religious liberty. So soon as this word no longer finds a welcome amongst her sons, all is lost. Whoever loves it not has denied his principle ; has denied Protestantism. Its object is not only to restore the doctrine, but to nourish the faith on that which the doctrine expresses. Such restoration comes through faith ; not only through objective, but also through subjective law. Without personal light, faith assimilates nothing. The true Christian faith is a colloquy between the immortal soul and God—a conversation, in which the poor sinner utters only one word—Mercy ! mercy ! And the heavenly answer is : Forgiveness through the blood of the Saviour. How is this prayer possible without liberty ? If a third party interposes, it hinders and oppresses. At the time of the Reformation a great gulf had been made between humanity and God ; the Catholic Church had placed itself between earth and heaven. The poor sinner could not find his heavenly Father without great hindrances. Then came the Reformers, and the world heard their mighty voice : “ Back ! back ! ” they shouted to the hierarchy. They restored true freedom of conscience ; they conceded to conscience all her rights.

If Rome was not built in a day, neither will it be destroyed in a day ; and the Reformation must be our example. Our fathers have borne more than an abstract witness ; their blood has flowed. Therefore, I think that those who bear a complete testimony, act in the true sense of the Reformation.

Now, beloved brethren, how stands the matter in reality ? Do all the Evangelical Churches recognise the sacred right of

conscience? Whoever preaches and promotes Christianity by means of persecution, is a false Protestant. Nothing is more Christian-like for States and Churches, than to leave the conscience perfectly free; for conscience is the best friend of Christianity. Have we religious liberty? Is it certain that freedom of conscience is making progress? But, what am I to say when, in the work of Germany, I see an Evangelical clergy which numbers persecution amongst its fairest prerogatives?

2. BY DR. SCHENKEL,

PROFESSOR AT HEIDELBERG.

Beloved Brethren in Christ,—Every word that in our day is spoken for the sacred cause of freedom of conscience echoes in every true and pious breast; and I may, therefore, readily confess that the word which my esteemed colleague at Heidelberg has just now spoken, has found its echo also in my breast. But that the question itself which has been treated of this morning is one on which the greatest difference exists, and of extraordinary difficulty, every one will at least grant; and, therefore, you will perhaps not take it ill of me if I very briefly call your attention especially to two points. My colleague has spoken, as I understand him—and I believe I have understood him well—not for unconditional religious liberty; not for the American system. Had he spoken for this, I should have taken the liberty, on this point, to oppose him. He has spoken for conditional religious liberty. But so soon as we enter on the territory of conditions, the case becomes confused and difficult; for where does the restriction begin, and where does it end? Respected brethren, we can with perfect right say, Wherever a single individual, or, much more, wherever a corporation steps forward and says, “We wish to form ourselves into a religious community, in order to be irreligious;” wherever a corporation comes forward, and wishes to worship as their god Saint Materialism, for instance—then, certainly, the State has perfect right to say, The object cannot be religious freedom, where it is wished to undermine and destroy religion. But, dear brethren, there are false religions, and there are true; and, therefore, the question is simply, Is the State-power forthwith to recognise every society which has the colour of religion, but is throughout irreligious, and at once to give it corporate rights? This



is a practical question, and on it I wish to be permitted to say a few words.

All religions have been obliged to conquer their place in the world—and, indeed, by sweat and blood; and I maintain that a religion which cannot conquer its place is nothing worth. These founders of religion in our day, who wish for things so extraordinarily comfortable—who, at champagne and oysters, invent their religious confession, found their societies—conquer for themselves no place, still less can maintain it. Just on that account must the kind State itself carry to the waiter the religion which pleases for the nonce. Dear brethren, I strongly distinguish between individual religious liberty and corporate; unconditional religious liberty must be only individual liberty. No one can force any man to be saved—that “*compelle intrare*” of the benevolent Augustine was a fearful error in the history of the Church and the world.

No man ought to be prevented, in religious matters, from thinking and being what he pleases; but just so far as the religious society enters into, and acts upon, the great movements of the community at large, the representative of the community has, at all events, the right to inquire: In how far the community will be troubled or unsettled by the adopting of what is new? Hence, I believe that the civil power ought, at least, to deliberate—has the right to deliberate, before it confers corporate rights on a religious society—ere it recognises the same as fully authorised. On the other hand, I would, from my heart, wish that every State should, so far always as this is agreeable to universal moral law, grant toleration to each newly-rising religious society, however erroneous it may seem to be. The State ought to wait, ought to have patience; and if it proves that any such religious society does not disturb the peace, does not rashly attack the community at large, well, then, let us not be narrow-minded, let us be large-hearted, and let it widely flourish under legal protection.

I have spoken of the relation of the power of the State to societies newly forming. As far as the Church is concerned, I am in entire unison with my colleague. It ought not to use carnal weapons; when it does so, men at once say, That is jealousy, lust of power; they care not for truth, they wish only to rule. Therefore, dear brethren, the Church ought to be thoroughly large-hearted, and allow the erection of whatever

wishes to build itself on the territory of religion and the growth of whatever can grow under the universal sun.

In conclusion, two more remarks. A great, practically the most difficult, question of all is this: How shall we pass over from the present condition of State Churchism into the new condition, which has already been proclaimed to be the right one? Dear brethren, if here we proclaim thus much, it will happen as with certain proclamations which, a few years ago, floated through Germany. After such proclamation it comes to pass that some one takes such things practically in hand, and the practical way is the way of patience. In the kingdom of God nothing is in haste; he who there with rage will float high like the banner, will take possession at once, loses all. At all events, this is the great task—the ecclesiastical polity of our time, of the Evangelical Church, in my opinion—that we free ourselves from the present guardianship of the State, which for 300 years has formed and continually developed itself, yet that we do so gradually, skilfully; and for this many years may be necessary.

And, dear brethren—let this be my last word—this is possible only by means of Church organisation. Believe me, they who are for the old system of unrestrained State guardianship, will do what they can to prevent the organisation of Churches; and all who are for the principle of individual, of gradual religious liberty, will do all to promote the Church organisation. Raise Churches, pure, living, vigorous, Christian Churches, which are founded in faith and love! Thus shall ye hasten the glorious period when the Apostle of love will reign on earth!

3. BY THE REV. DR. BLACKWOOD,  
OF MYDDLETON TIAS, YORKSHIRE.

As a clergyman of the English State Church, I wish to add my small contribution to religious liberty. Whilst I freely express myself as an Englishman, I hope to give no offence in any way to any of the brethren. But whilst I speak with humility, I shall at the same time express myself distinctly. Our conviction in England is that the mind of every Christian ought to be free. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty: and hence we cannot but pray that the Word of God may have free course. We believe that religious liberty is to the soul what air is to the body. I would wish to illustrate this by two

occurrences in two different countries. During the late war in Turkey I laboured in the army, and found that in that land no religious liberty prevailed. The Mohammedan law was, that if any Moslem embraced the Christian religion, he lost his head; and at Adrianople, a few years since, a man did lose his head because he had become a Christian. When, two years ago, the Evangelical Alliance held its gathering in Paris, a memorial was forwarded to the Turkish Sovereign, the prayer of which was for religious liberty. This petition was carried by the present speaker, and he had the honour of presenting it first to the Grand Vizier, and afterwards to the Sultan. The principle laid down in this memorial was, that every man ought to be allowed to live according to his conscientious belief. It appeared very bold to demand from the Sultan these universal principles of religious liberty, since previously the law had always held good, that the sword is the key to heaven and to hell. However, this memorial was graciously received; it was supported by the Ambassadors of England, Holland, and Prussia. A few months afterwards complete religious liberty was decreed in Turkey by the Sultan. What had hitherto seemed impossible actually took place. At the present time there is in Constantinople a Turk who has embraced the Gospel, is ordained a minister of the Word of God, and preaches the Gospel to other Mohammedans. Having returned from the East, I lately visited Sweden, and that religious liberty which now prevails in Turkey was denied in a land where the Lutheran Church is dominant. If I should pass through an historical gallery, I should find no figure so prominent as the figure of Luther. What makes him so distinguished? why does he appear so great? He rose up against Emperors, Pope, Cardinals, and such like, and defended, on the ground of the Word of God, without any other authority, religious liberty for every individual, in order that he might walk in the way to heaven. That is the character in which I recognise Luther.

I have gone so far as to express to several clergymen in Sweden, that I am really ashamed to be a Protestant, while Protestants yet employ imprisonment, torture, and exile against those of a different belief in their own land. If we go to Italy, to deliver the poor people who, on account of the Evangelical faith, are persecuted and imprisoned, the Roman Catholics at once say, Go first to Protestant countries; see to

it that no one there is persecuted for the sake of his belief, and then come again and we will talk together. I believe you will help in this matter, that this stain shall be wiped away from Protestantism, that neither Mohammedans nor Roman Catholics may be able to say that Protestants are persecuted by Protestants on account of their belief.

4. BY DR. SCHLOTTMAN,

PROFESSOR AT ZURICH.

Beloved Brethren in the Lord,—I return to a point in the address of the first speaker, which seems to me to require supplementing. He has shown how the persecution of the Apostles and first Christians rests on a formal right of those by whom they were persecuted. But it is at the same time to be borne in mind, that this formal right was preceded by a fearful breach of right—namely this, that the nation had put to the death of the cross Him to whom its whole existence points, who was its promised One. So that the apostles, whilst they were treated according to the letter of external right, could yet point to that fearful, horrible injustice, with the words, “The Prince of Life ye have crucified.” Quite similar is the case with that formal right of which Professor Plitt has further spoken in reference to the Reformation—that Luther could be put to the ban of the Empire rested on the fearful, horrible injustice before the Lord, that the highest rulers of the Christian Church mistook the voice of the living God in the mouth of a poor servant of God whom He had called. To this fearful, historical crime, we must continually point honest Protestants. My dear brethren, we witness as an Evangelical Alliance for the right of Evangelical confession, so far as it rests on universal freedom of conscience; as in the report it has been made good on all sides in an exhaustive and instructive manner. But we wish, at the same time, to witness against the existence of the Romish Church as it now is, as a Church, which rests on the rejection of the voice of the living God in His Word and in history. We were told yesterday that the Roman Catholic Church has the advantage over us, and that it attacks not only our doctrine but our very existence. We wish—not, however, in an external, judicial sense, but, indeed, in a higher, ethical sense—to cast back the reproach and say, You, also, have no right of existence before God, namely, thus to be, as you have been, through



criminal unjust rejection of Divine Truth. But whilst, my dear brethren, as an Assembly, we, by such means, make the declaration, that we are here assembled as Evangelical Christians, and that we have repeatedly pointed to our good right, against our persecutors; yet at the same time it becomes us to be penitent. It seems to me almost that the joy over what we possess has here and there been expressed too loudly; that if, indeed, with good right we may say, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us be glad therein," we ought at the same time to remember the guilt which cleaves to us; and repeatedly has this whole Assembly made confession of the great guilt, of the frightful discord, of the great sectarianism, which has attached to the Evangelical Church in the past. And is, then, this stain already and entirely washed away? A dear brother from America says, There are no longer any sects, but only different parts of one Church. Is this actually the case? Is there no longer any separation, which would be contrary to the mind of the Apostle, when he regards every division amongst Christians as carnal? There is truly need that we strongly bear in mind, now and henceforward, this side also of our Assembly, which earnestly calls for penitence, and say to ourselves, Each one who here gives his hand to a broad alliance, is he at home as well doing all he can to effect union; at home, where, perhaps, as in Scotland, two Churches are contending about a question of fact, and cannot draw closely near each other, whilst, however, in all essentials they are agreed? Or, in Geneva, where two Churches exist side by side, which find themselves in fearful danger from the side of Rome?

Further, the question has often been about the fidelity towards our confession, which ought to be associated with the brotherly hand which we here give to each other. But is it not also needful to remember that this fidelity towards our confession consists likewise in this, that we endeavour to remove what is false therein? All human confessions, so far as they are Evangelical confessions, are a work of the Spirit of God; but in all there are also stubble and chaff. Are we now doing everything, each in his own place, to discover and remove this imperfection? A beloved minister has from this place reminded us that where there are differences between the two principal confessions, to one the feeling belongs that here the doctrine is not yet complete. Oh, dear brethren, from far and near, in

order that our Evangelical confession may attain to its full right not merely before men, but also before God, let us so far endeavour to remove the imperfect which fastens to our confession, and strive after true and perfect unity, and all barriers ought to be removed which now hinder us from making common cause, which continually revive discord and dissension between brethren!

And now one more free-hearted word! It is important to our German Church that we admonish the denominations concerned. Are you also doing everything which you can justify before the Lord? Are you also proving whether all is correct in your principles according to which you act? I speak not of such as declare off-hand that the National Church is a Babel; they are not of God; for he who can doubt that God has gathered together His children by Luther, and other Reformers, and all the faithfulness of God up to the present day, is in miserable blindness. No, I mean such as, from the heart, recognise us as brethren. They also may well be admonished to carry on their work with wisdom, love, considerateness; for it is not enough to say, We act according to our conscience. It was an excellent word which a Scottish brother uttered here, when he said, "In schism itself there is something great—the might of conscience against which we cannot act." It was an excellent word, when he appealed to this, that diversity itself testifies to the power of conscience in the Evangelical Church; but, on the other hand, we must always recollect that an erring conscience is also a great sin, and is attended with heavy guilt.

Lastly, my dear brethren, let us not rest too much on the ninth Article alone. There is, probably, expressed in it what is essential to unity in our doctrine. But if all who are here assembled were able to express themselves concerning the ninth Article, many a strife would arise to-day—and on this account we would not unkindly judge concerning those who cannot subscribe to the ninth Article in the form in which it now stands. We ought, likewise, to express our affection towards those brethren who, from this consideration, keep away from our Assembly. May the Lord unite us in the might of His Spirit! May He unite the divided parties of Evangelical Christendom; and, in reference to this, it may be permitted me to cite from the letter of Luther, quoted by Merle D'Aubigné, a passage which well deserves to be heard: "The Father of all mercy and

of all consolation give to us on both sides His Holy Spirit, to melt our hearts together in Christian love, and to purify them from all scum and dross of devilish and human wickedness and mistrust, to the praise and glory of His holy name, and to the salvation of many souls. Amen."

5. BY THE REV. DR. BARTH,  
FROM CALW.

Dear Brethren,—In a small company of friends of the Alliance which lately met in a town of South Germany, an opponent of the Alliance rose and asked one of its defenders, "How can you stand in connexion with Alliance people, who are in connexion with the *Freemasons*?" The defender asked, "How so?" "Yes, in London they meet in the *Freemasons'* Lodge."\* It is our fullest conviction that we are no *Freemasons*, and wish to have nothing to do with them; but on the building, for which many industrious men are wanted, we wish to be fellow-labourers, on the building of which it is said: "Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is the Branch; for it shall branch up from under him, and he shall build the temple of the Lord; even he shall build the temple of the Lord, and he shall bear the glory and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne, and the counsel of peace shall be between them both." (*Zec.* vi. 12, 13.)

That is prophetic of a time which we have not yet lived to see; when there will be peace between the spiritual and temporal powers—between Church and State; it is a prophecy of a time which I permit myself, though it should be interdicted, to call the millennial kingdom of the future. If it is promised that in that time peace will be between them both, there arises the supposition that, hitherto, want of unity would exist between Church and State, and, therefore, religious liberty should not be expected until we sit down in the millennial kingdom. I rejoice in anticipation of there meeting each other again.

\* Since the error fallen into by the accuser of the Evangelical Alliance referred to by Dr. Barth was not cleared up in the Assembly, the Editor permits himself to remark here, that the *Freemasons' Hall*, in Great Queen-street, London, in which the Evangelical Alliance holds its meetings, is hired for the occasion. Other societies, *e.g.*, political, also assemble there on the same terms. With this the consequences drawn in South Germany fall of themselves to the ground.—GERMAN ED.

6. BY JAMES LORD, Esq.,  
OF LONDON.

My dear Friends,—Yesterday you patiently heard me a few minutes; I beg you to-day to grant me a few minutes more. It has been said that the day which makes a man a slave robs him of half his worth. If this has any truth in a physical respect, it is still more the case in a moral, intellectual, and spiritual respect. We maintain that he is the freeman whom the truth makes free, and there is no genuine freedom which is not sanctified and guaranteed by the Scripture. Amongst those nations in which religious freedom is forbidden, there is also less prosperity and happiness. Certainly it is the duty of every one to endure martyrdom for his principles; but it can and ought never to be the duty to make any one the martyr of his principles. The Almighty God has given and revealed to us His Holy Word, and it is permitted to no man to take it away from us, or to hinder its course, or to carry off its fruits. Whilst we place ourselves on the Bible, we have nothing to fear either from science or from superstition. Superstition is melting away, in many parts of the earth, before science and the true faith. The microscope and the telescope, the astronomer and the geologist, the traveller and the merchant, are all confederated that true religion may spread throughout the earth.

We cannot wonder at this, since the same God who has created and made all things according to His highest wisdom, has also given to us our faith and our Gospel. The result of this movement it is now impossible fully to estimate. What can we more wish than that the Evangelical principles on which it rests may be embraced in all their Evangelical purity? Thus the incitement given by this Assembly may have consequences which cannot yet be foreseen.

I thank you once more for the attention you have shown to the words I have addressed to you; they have proceeded from the deepest feeling of duty to utter them; from the solemn feeling that we shall probably never again, in this world, meet together as we do to-day; and from the undiminished conviction that the holy cause of Christendom, which is the cause of Christ, must finally be victorious.



7. BY THE REV. LICENTIATE KRUMMACHER,  
OF DUISBURG.

What I have to say I wish to comprise in a few sentences. It is likewise not so much to correct as, in a certain degree, to supplement what has been advanced by our respected speaker, Professor Plitt. He has said that each Evangelical Christian has the liberty to propagate his belief. That is, no doubt, a proposition which in theory cannot be denied. We have only to bear in mind Peter's words, when it was wished to restrict him in the proclamation of the Gospel: "We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." (Acts iv. 20.) But, dear brethren, does not much depend on this—in what way, and by what means Evangelical Christians propagate their belief? I speak not of the dear brethren amongst the Baptists in America, Scotland, and England, but my eye is directed, and assuredly is directed in love, to the Baptists in our German fatherland. Have not our dear brethren amongst the Baptists in Germany, many a time, in a perhaps not altogether considerate and sometimes vehement manner, sought to make a propaganda for their conviction, for their doctrine? Have not individual Baptists so far ventured as to call our beloved Evangelical National Church a Babel? Was that in love? Was that, indeed, *suaviter in modo*? Perhaps *fortiter in re*; but whether it was the right fortitude, that is another question. On this I wish to say nothing further than to entreat of our dear brethren amongst the Baptists that in future they would, however, forbear this sort of proselyte-making, and not utter such harsh expressions concerning our Church, in which assuredly God the Lord yet ever reigns with His Spirit and His grace. I believe that this entreaty finds an echo in many hearts here present. And if it is so, then I ask for your simple "Yes." ["Yes, Yes!"]

8. BY REV. G. W. LEHMAN,  
MINISTER OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN BERLIN.

Brethren, dearly beloved and longed for,—These days are festivals to me. I behold countenances and things for which my heart has many a year longed; and I feel all the more joy and satisfaction since I may ascribe to myself a good share in securing the enjoyment which we all have. My dear and honoured friend, our president—Pastor Kuntze, and I, were

the two who first founded our German branch of the Evangelical Alliance here in Berlin. There had certainly been already, before the Conference in London (1851), an attempt made to form a German branch of the Evangelical Alliance. But this attempt had resolved itself into nothing; and immediately after that Conference I went—I pride myself on this—first, to my dear brother Pastor Kuntze, reached him my hand, and begged of him that we might come together and conclude an alliance. And from this small beginning the tree has gradually grown, under whose shadow we now are gathered, and where we have found unspeakable delight.

In entering on the subject under consideration, my kind brethren will readily believe that with my whole heart I agree with the contents of the excellent report of our beloved Professor Plitt, and am most warmly grateful for it. I believe that in this I shall have the sympathy of most of the brethren here assembled. I observed this, especially in reference to the charge brought against us in so very mild a way by our highly esteemed brother Pastor Krummacher in regard to proselyte-making. This is, in fact, the charge made against us on all sides. I believe, however, that Professor Plitt has already defended and firmly established all that therein concerns us. With respect to the misuse which we are said to make of free Evangelical confession, I have to offer for myself and my brethren a few remarks in defence. Those who have divided the whole world, as it were, into certain religious districts, and assigned the souls born therein to a particular man, to whom they ought to belong, who alone ought to be answerable for them; these will of course blame our proceedings or any similar movement, and will regard with jealousy every one who feels himself called upon to proclaim his convictions near to any such possessor of a district. But this is not our point of view; we rather look on the world as the sea, into which the Gospel net is to be cast, in order that the great multitude which the Father has given to the Son, may be brought to Him. In the fishing in this sea, in this proselyte-making, all true believers have a share. It is, indeed, their most sacred duty thus to become “fishers of men.” This is the sanctified proselytism, and no other, which we seek to employ.

I will, on the other hand, not deny that some of us lay too much stress on our distinctive doctrine of baptism, and prema-

turely introduce it. But I may honestly declare that in general there prevails amongst us so much sound judgment, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ and Him crucified is the chief subject of our teaching, and that to win souls for Him is our aim. If our kind brethren would only take the pains to examine our Church rolls, they would find that not five per cent. of our friends had been previously brought to the faith by the endeavours of other men of God; but that our Church members are for the most part won from the world, as I have already expressed in my letter to the German Evangelical Kirchentag. This, indeed, results from the nature of the thing. The faithful ministers of the different Churches exercise a necessary and legitimate influence over the minds of those with whom they come into contact, as with believers they do. Since, therefore, they strongly oppose our distinctive doctrine, a disposition towards us arises which is horrified at *everything* which comes from us; this you all know. We are avoided and shunned by all believers, and are represented to them as a scarecrow. But this is exactly what that Evangelical Alliance does not wish, for it desires that we should come together, meet each other in a friendly spirit, and candidly express ourselves concerning what distinguishes, or divides us.

That the above-named kind of proselytism is justifiable because necessary, has, in many places, even here on the occasion of the Church Diet just mentioned, been recognised. Also our highly-esteemed friends, the Prelate von Kapff, and Pastor Kuntze, have publicly discoursed on this subject; that the world lieth in wickedness; that the condition of our Christian Germany is quite fearful; that, to bring forward only one instance of the 400,000 to 500,000 inhabitants of this city, only about 20,000, according to a just estimate, regularly or generally attend Divine worship, the whole mass beside never think of it, but partly in business, partly in pleasure, spend the Lord's-day.

Is it not, then, the holiest duty of all those who truly believe on Jesus to go out amongst the masses and invite them, that Jesus may receive them as His spoil? Can we look on quietly while the millions are going to destruction? Must and ought, then, the houses of God to be the only places where we cast the net of faith and rescuing love in order to catch men? I hail, my dear friends, the commencement of the preaching the

Gospel in the open air, which our honoured president and others have made; and if it were permitted me, and not misconceived, I would at once follow their example. Baptism, of course, I should not even name, since this is our endeavour and our joy—that we win souls for Jesus. Let them, then, go where they will; for without baptism we shall be saved, if only we truly believe on Jesus.

Just one word more! Who knows whether I shall be able again to speak thus to my dear brethren, for which my soul has longed? We do not intend to separate ourselves from the Church of Christ, much less to regard ourselves as the only Church, and to despise others. This is sufficiently proved by our having gladly joined the Evangelical Alliance, and by its being reckoned a reproach to us, and a disgrace to the Alliance, that the Baptists take an active part in this new endeavour for union. Yes, we feel and attest it, that we, with all our fibres and roots, stand in the soil of the Church of Christ, and that we are indebted to it for what the Lord has so gloriously wrought in it by those illustrious men of God, who—to instance one thing only—have, by means of science, laboured so successfully for the deeper understanding of the sacred writings. When I see around me this day so many superior and noble spirits, who so deeply feel, and in so admirable a manner announced, what they have drawn from the Word of God, I feel myself so closely united to them that I could not live without them, and perceive that it is the Lord of the Church who rules over His people. In nearly all respects I am one with them. Why should I not cherish towards them the warmest love?

We have been charged with using harsh expressions towards the Church. It may be that here and there this has been the case; but when has it not happened, when we speak, or write, or print on the most sacred matters, that we do what we ought not to do? Permit me also, on the other side, to ask whether our opponents have not spoken against us very strongly, very injuriously, very violently, so that we have become, as it were, the scorn of all people? And can it be wondered at that a word is uttered amongst us that is not right? But it grieves us from the heart, and where I have spoken such a word, I now retract it. I love you, and I love all the children of God; and that is the ruling feeling in all our Baptist Churches. Amen. [This “Amen” was heartily repeated by the Assembly.]



9. BY REV. T. R. BROOKE, M.A.,

FROM AVENING, IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

It is most gratifying to me that I am permitted to express myself before my German brethren on the subject before us, and on the principles which thence arise for discussion. The first principle is: Religious liberty must be entire. It is in this respect like the Gospel; if any part of the Gospel is taken away, it is mutilated and rendered worthless; if also even the smallest part is taken away from religious liberty, it is rendered worthless. A short consideration will convince any one of the necessity of religious liberty; no man can watch over the moral and spiritual emotions of another man. It may be said, and has been said, that religious emotions may be guided by others. Where that takes place, then these inner movements are in fact mere dreams. The external actions of a man may, no doubt, be guided, but not the inner thoughts; and, as at the commencement of the Christian Church, the attempt to guide them ended in persecution, so will it be in our time. Every attempt to guide the inner part of man by definite rules must of necessity and invariably lead to persecution.

Still another thought binds me to religious liberty. It is in our day a widely-spread opinion that religious liberty leads to danger. But no thinking man will share in this fear, since fear from the increase of religious liberty is, in fact, only want of faith. The enemies of that which we hold to be true may appear to be dangerous; but they are not so in fact. There is, probably, not a single person in this Church who does not cherish the conviction that the truth will prevail. But if we do not give an open field to the truth, how can it obtain the victory? Yet one more danger of religious liberty has been mentioned, which comes from the side of the ecclesiastical systems which prevail in our present condition. Ecclesiastical systems are entirely necessary. We can neither rightly worship God, nor form ourselves into society with our brethren, if we have not what is so commonly called ecclesiastical systems. These are not merely necessary, but also something very precious. But we must take care that, however precious and necessary, they make no obstruction to revelation. We must remember that we can take no ecclesiastical system, however complete it may be, with us into heaven. Ecclesiastical systems

are necessary to our imperfect condition, but they will be superfluous in heaven.

Therefore respect the ecclesiastical systems, but forget not, at the same time, that they take only the second place ; the higher belongs to the kingdom of God. The ecclesiastical system is highly to be prized ; but the kingdom of God yet much more highly. I have endeavoured to delineate two characteristic features which necessarily belong to religious liberty ; the principles are, in all respects, important in our day. May they amongst us also take root !

10. BY DR. SIEFFERT,

PROFESSOR AT KÖNIGSBERG, COUNCILLOR OF CONSISTORY.

I am induced to append a few remarks in reference to the Baptists, and do it at the desire of such members of our Assembly as belong to my province of East Prussia, where, since the middle of this year, I have been a member of the Consistory ; so that I have both official and personal knowledge of the matter on which I intend to speak. Although it will need to be treated with much gentleness and discretion, yet, however, I undertake it in order to assist my brethren for whom I speak, to a lighter conscience in reference to their sympathy with this convention and the Evangelical Alliance itself ; and in order, as far as possible, amongst other members, and to a firmer, tenderer union, to draw the bond of love and community of the faith more closely between these parties than, perhaps, it has hitherto been drawn. I do this in connexion with the thesis which has been treated of in general—the right of Evangelical confession. The respected speaker who introduced the matter has treated not so much of the right of Evangelical confession, but rather, in general, of the right of religious confession and of its corporate protection. I have in view at this moment the right of Evangelical confession—the right which is claimed not so much in respect to the State and the Church as in respect to this Alliance. This Alliance is not a State, or there would be a State in the State ; nor is it a Church, or there would be a Church in the Church : but it is distinct from Church and State ; it is a fraternisation of Evangelical Christians, who reciprocally recognise each other as Evangelical brethren on the ground of the same Evangelical belief. Now there belong to

this Evangelical Alliance also such members as belong to the different Baptist Churches, and it is just this point which, as in my province, has occasioned many, perhaps hundreds, of faithful Evangelical ministers and also her Church members to hold back, since they felt their conscience oppressed in this, that they belonged to an Alliance in which the right of Evangelical confession was not truly preserved by all parties to this Alliance, and especially by those parties which belonged to Baptist Churches, which undoubtedly are of a very destructive character. We have in the province a Baptist existence which certainly would not be approved of by many brethren present. These Baptist movements are with us now in very strong agitation; they are great and violent, and attended by all the convulsions and chafings which are called forth by powerful ecclesiastical movements, especially by such as partake more or less of a sectarian character. These movements show themselves in many portions of the Prussian province. Those clergymen who have been most affected by them, are personally known to me, not merely as worthy men chiefly, but indeed as right faithful servants of God, who there stand on Evangelical ground, and in an Evangelical sense discharge their office. For those who live somewhat near our province, or are known in it by their position in Church government, I need only say that there are many districts in which faithful men of God are labouring, who wish, and have in their hearts, nothing else than truly to promote the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. These, whilst they tell how things go on in their Churches, and have gone on in part before their arrival—these and others with them have been burdened in conscience. What ought we to do respecting a fraternal society, when on another side the Evangelical paternal society is denied? The Baptist movements begin with us in this way: Those in a parish, who are alive to religion, in whom there is some earnestness to care for the kingdom of God, are seized hold of, are then led to suppose that the Evangelical National Church in which they find themselves, is full of decay; as it cannot be otherwise in a community wherein all who come under the water are baptized in ignorance, so that there cannot be a community of saints; and those, therefore, who stand outside of this community of saints, within which alone salvation is to be found, may see how they can, and alone can, save their souls by a renewed baptism, by which they are

received as regenerated into the community of the saints and of salvation. This is represented ; whence it gradually arises that anxious souls are alienated from their ministers, and these become despised. Thus there become societies which form themselves into Baptist Churches, gained from those who hitherto belonged to constituted Churches, until it comes to this—that one only Church is being built up. All are gained from those who not only belonged to our Church, but to its better members, and with whose souls something can be done, whose consciences can be touched ; whilst the rest go on without any trouble about them.

In regard to these movements the question has arisen with many, With what right can I give the hand of Evangelical brotherhood to those who maintain, of me and my community, that we stand without the community of salvation ; who wish to compel me and my Church, by renewed baptism, to become sure of salvation, and so to belong to the kingdom of God ? These considerations, which, by a well-known ecclesiastical journal, published at Berlin, have been placed right in the foreground in order to render this whole Alliance suspicious, are the things which, on the part of the brethren who come here with me, weigh on the conscience, and so much the more that the entire procedure of the Evangelical Alliance at this convention has produced on us an agreeable and attractive impression. I wish, therefore, to obtain for our brethren who have come here with a half-troubled conscience, that they may return home with a disburdened conscience, that they may be able to say to those who from similar considerations have been prevented from coming here, We return with a free and joyous heart ; we have given the hand of brotherhood on the ground of what we have seen and heard—on the ground of the guarantees which have been given us. Then will the Alliance stretch its arms far wider even in our Prussian land, where comparatively little sympathy for it now exists, just on account of these considerations, by which our province is much disturbed. What can be done in this respect ? Something has been done, namely, by the words of our dear brother Lehman, who has expressed himself ashamed of many past occurrences, and had declared that he does not make salvation, and the community of salvation, dependent on baptism. I know not how far he has made, and could make this declaration for



himself only, or in how far it may be regarded as a general declaration.

Rev. Mr. LEHMAN: As a general one!

Dr. SIEFFERT (resuming): This last would be fair and desirable; and if there were produced in us here the distinct conviction that our Baptist fellow-Churches did not make salvation first dependent on repeated baptism—that we also who as children were baptized, as members of the Evangelical Church, are regarded by them as true Evangelical Christians, provided we sincerely believe in our Lord Jesus Christ; if this were so represented that we could regard it as something general; if, perhaps, even from the midst of our Baptist brethren it could be intimated that they gave their hands to this, to admonish also such Baptist societies as now make this frightful stir in the Church, that they strictly preserve an Evangelical and fraternal fellowship; and if we might hope that by these means the prospect is opened to union—then should we East Prussians return with quieted hearts and consciences, and could so much the better affirm that the Evangelical Alliance is something else than an attack on the Church from the Baptist standpoint; then would also from this side a bond of love and brotherhood, after which we long, enclose us. We have here heard many discourses, but we have received the feeling of the Evangelical fraternal community of life in a purely Evangelical belief, which we cherish and help to promote. I just now hear that such declaration on the Baptist side is shortly to be given, and I rejoice that my discourse may, perhaps, have given the occasion to it.

11. BY J. KEBNER,

MINISTER OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN BARMEN.

Beloved Brethren in the Lord Jesus,—I can entirely confirm all that our dear brother Lehman has said. I can do this, not merely in my own name, but also in the name of the collective Baptist Churches, which are united in an association, and have chosen me as a delegate to this Assembly. I testify to my respected brethren that we do not make adoption into God's family dependent on baptism; but that we believe no one can (rightly) be baptized who is not already before baptism a child of God, and who, if he should die before baptism, will enter into heaven. We do not believe that salvation is through

baptism, but make it dependent on faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And if we found members in our Churches who believed that salvation was dependent upon baptism, we should exclude them from the Church; and likewise those members who used immoral means for the spread of the kingdom of God—means which are not in unison with the Word of God, what is called proselytising; but we authorise such propagation only through the public expression of conviction. Everything else we regard as immoral. This is what I was briefly to say. I believe that the love which Jesus has poured into our hearts will more and more unite us and all the children of God which are in the world.

## 12. BY PASTOR KUNTZE.

The wish has been expressed by Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, that a paper proceeding from the Evangelical Alliance, addressed to Evangelical Christians in and out of Germany, should be printed in the political journals. General-superintendent Hoffman has declared himself ready to prepare it; and I now ask the Assembly whether it is agreeable that such an address, proceeding from the Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, shall be permitted? [The Assembly gives token of assent.]

13. BY DR. KRUMMACHER,  
OF POTSDAM, COURT CHAPLAIN.

Merely in conclusion I wish, in respect to one animated defence of our unlimited, absolute liberty of religion and worship, to establish a simple fact, in order to bring those who are, perhaps, floating in the air of ideality back to a firm concrete standpoint. The Prussian State, in whose chief city we now are, is no irreligious, but a Christian State, and intends always such to remain. And, because it is this, it does not belong to it to restrict or to influence individual freedom of conscience; and, because it is this, it will further afford the utmost toleration when a particular faith wishes to communicate, propagate, and incorporate itself. But it will also esteem it a sacred ecclesiastical duty, devolved on it by God, to protect the Church, as now existing in it, and as entrusted to its care, against the invasion of any destructive, impious falsehood. As often as a new religious community wishes to be formed, the State will not give up the sacred right to demand the legitimation of the same, in order to convince itself whether this community is really,

on the ground of truth; since it holds it for its duty to protect its subjects most energetically against any moral, as well as against any physical poison. It watches over the education of the people; and if a teacher, on the ground of the principle of universal religious liberty, should wish to teach the school children a doctrine which is in opposition to revelation, then the State would know how to use its power, and silence the teacher. Let us thank God that our State has never forgotten this duty, and because there is amongst us a school-compulsion, and every one cannot teach what he wishes. On this account things are better in our Prussian land than in America and England, where there are millions who neither read nor write, nor make use of the Bible. If we consider the circumstances as they are, then we shall wish for no Americanising or Anglicising of our German and Prussian condition. Of course it can be replied there is—there rules now, indeed—a Christian spirit in the civil government; but if the case is altered, then, perhaps, there will arise a persecution, or powerful obstruction to the teachers of truth. Now, if it should be so! Is, then, persecution the greatest misfortune? Has not the Church been nurtured by the blood of its martyrs? I think that this discussion, concerning unrestricted religious liberty in the territory on which we now stand, has only lost its way. Our Government will certainly exercise toleration as much as is to be wished; and I doubt not that the Baptists, had they not been often guilty of such encroachment, would long ago have been recognised. May they continue, with the wisdom furthermore which has been recommended to them, to go to work, and they will live to see that they dwell in a Christian State, which will know everywhere what is Christian-like, and what God's Word, the Gospel, demands of it.





## SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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IX.

ON THE PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE CLOSER  
UNION OF GERMAN AND BRITISH CHRISTIANS  
UPON THE THEOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS LIFE  
OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

BY REV. JOHN CAIRNS,

BERWICK-ON-TWEED.

FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

1. REV. W. JAMIESON, AMSTERDAM.

2. PASTOR SCHRÖDER, ELBERFELD.

3. PROFESSOR SCHENKEL, HEIDELBERG.

4. DR. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, GENEVA.



## SUBJECTS DISCUSSED.

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### IX.

ON THE PROBABLE INFLUENCE OF THE CLOSER UNION OF GERMAN AND BRITISH CHRISTIANS UPON THE THEOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE TWO COUNTRIES.

BY THE REV. J. CAIRNS.

BERWICK-ON-TWEED.

*Thursday, September 17, 1857.—Morning.*

President : Professor MOLL, D.D., of Halle University.\*

WHEN, thirteen years ago, at the feet of Neander, I began in this city to study the peculiarities of German theology and of the German ecclesiastical world, and saw myself in deep seclusion from the people of this foreign capital, surrounded only by a few fellow-students of my own country, it would then have sounded strange beyond expression, that in so short a time Berlin should become the centre of an assemblage of Christians drawn from all parts of the earth, and that the duty should fall upon myself of taking a public part in the proceedings of this great meeting. Most gladly should I have declined the task assigned me, but a grateful remembrance of many benefits derived from Germany, and a desire publicly to express these feelings, led me at once to comply with the invitation of the Committee. It is difficult, in writing a foreign language, to find always the right word ; but I shall be quite satisfied if I succeed in conveying to this most imposing—I may say overwhelming—audience the general outline of my views on the topic entrusted to my charge. That topic is this, “What is the influence on each other, both in the department of Christian theology and of Christian life, likely to be exercised by the

\* Their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Prussia and the Prince and Princess Charles were present on this occasion.

closer union of British and German Christians?" It is of course impossible fully to discuss so large a question in so limited a space; and yet perhaps it ought to have been expressed in still more comprehensive terms, so as to include all Christians who speak the English language. I will, therefore, with their leave, include our American brethren under the head of Britons, for this occasion, so as to consider the subject in its widest comprehension.

There is a twofold question before us; first, What is likely to be the influence of this union in the department of theology? and, secondly, What its influence on Christian life in general? This venerable Assembly will not expect from me, in answering this twofold question, the language of prediction, but of sober anticipation. The Church of the future, the future alone can disclose. And, besides, a charge has so recently been brought, not only against the Evangelical Alliance, but the English character in general, of indulging in vain-glorious and inflated pretensions, that I would rather incur the opposite censure of undue caution and reserve. It cannot be the design of the Evangelical Alliance to put itself forward in an ostentatious attitude, as called upon to act the chief part in the development of the joint forces of England and Germany for the advancement of the kingdom of God. The proverb here holds, "*Una hirundo non facit ver.*" It is only as co-operating with other influences—only as one leading element amidst a multitude of strivings and ever-unconscious aspirations after unity, which exist independently of the Alliance, and can act without it, that the Alliance can here be regarded; and any other view would not only be narrow and illiberal, but contrary even to reason and common sense.

In taking up, then, the influence of the union in question on the theology of the two countries, this may be considered as exerted in a twofold manner—either directly, in connexion with special acts of co-operation for particular objects, or indirectly, without any such specific end in view; and only in the general result of the infusion and reaction of new elements, by which the theology of either country contributes to the life and progress of the other. I am not prepared to expect very much from the direct union of German and British Christians for specific theological objects. It might be possible, under a system of joint adjudication and unlimited competition, to



call forth prize essays of a high rank upon the principal topics of theological science; but the practical difficulties in the way would be considerable, and the works in question might fail to reach the highest standard of excellence. Again, it might be possible to lend support, from some great central fund, to enterprises undertaken for the interests of theological science—as, for example, travels and researches, such as those of a Tischendorf, a Layard, and others—by which textual criticism, biblical geography, and other departments of sacred literature, might be enriched. Only, it can hardly be maintained that in past times such enterprises have suffered greatly from pecuniary difficulties, or that the largest supply of funds from all parts of Europe and America would lend much stimulus to the noble zeal of those explorers and discoverers who have created for themselves resources in all parts of the Christian world. Once more, we may conceive of co-operation as employed to produce theological encyclopædias, and similar works, or to improve the Christian periodical literature of the highest class. We have in our English tongue a splendid example of the co-operation of English, American, and German scholars in Kitto's "Cyclopædia," a work of which the articles of Tholuck, Jacobi, and some other German theologians, form a great ornament. It will probably be in some similar way that co-operation for specific objects will in future produce its best fruits. Nevertheless, this will hardly be regarded with truth as an absolute gain to theology, since every mind of the highest productive power—be that mind German or English—would have, at any rate, brought the results of thought and study to light through some vernacular organ, and thus have secured their transfusion, in due time, into the literature of the whole world.

So far as Christian Periodical Literature is concerned, much more might certainly be done—by means of essays, and reports from foreign contributors—to develop a more enlarged theology, and to promote a warmer interest in the progress of ecclesiastical questions than has yet been accomplished. For my own part, I do not know any periodical of a strictly scientific character which regularly supplies original articles from foreign contributors; and the number can at most be but small of those who could write with fluency and elegance in more than one language. The wider study of languages must be here the condition of all future progress, since the

task in question is too great for our journalism to accomplish under the present necessities of translation.

When we pass from the direct to the indirect modes in which the influence of Christian union between England and Germany will make itself felt in its bearings on theology, the field of our hopes is almost indefinitely extended. Amongst many other results, I shall give prominence to these three: That the union in question will lead, on both sides, to an extension of the horizon of knowledge; that it will effect an assimilation of character; and that it will foster a development of theology at once peaceful and progressive, on the common basis of scriptural and Protestant doctrine.

It may be affirmed, without the least hesitation, that growing Christian intercourse between England and Germany must lead to an enlargement of theological knowledge on both sides. In Great Britain, indeed, no one has the least reason now to complain of the sealing up of German theological literature. On the contrary, the complaint is now loudly raised from many quarters, that, from these fountains a perfect deluge has broken forth, which is inundating our land, and threatening to sweep away at once our native literature and our hereditary orthodoxy. But although this foreign theology, which is thus rushing in upon us, requires in many points to be modified, and in others to be earnestly opposed, it cannot be asserted with truth that the thorough study of it will produce evil in England; nor can it be maintained that it is yet thoroughly studied in all its breadth and compass. There prevails still in England, notwithstanding all translations and recasts of German theology, and notwithstanding the growing number of those who study it in the original, a large amount of unacquaintance with its products; and this is found in different degrees in the different fields of theological literature. The departments that have been most completely reproduced in England are Textual Criticism, Biblical Introduction, and Exegesis; whereas the Philosophy of Religion, Dogmatics, Doctrinal History, Christian Ethics, Theory of Worship, and Church Government, have been comparatively neglected. Many among us are involved in elementary ignorance of the ecclesiastical separations of Germany, and the attempts at union; and if one should try to enumerate the scattered few in England who have gone back to an earlier period than the past century, with a view to study the post-Reformation

history of the German Church, or who have looked through the great treatises of the chief Lutheran divines, such as Gerhard, Hutter, Chemnitz, nay, even Calixtus, or who have worked their way to the end of the book of Concord, the list of names might be counted on one's fingers. England has certainly much to gain in point of theological knowledge from increased intercourse with Germany; and if the opponents of the Evangelical Alliance had desired a just appreciation of the Lutheran Church, on the part of the Reformed theologians of England and America, the very last thing which they should have done was to decry and denounce the formation of these bonds of union. When we turn to Germany, she also has to gain in point of theological knowledge from intercourse with England. This would not be the place to lay open the defects of German theologians as to their acquaintance with English literature in general, and theological literature in particular. It is true, that England may not have to show at present an amount of productive energy in theological science to be compared with the restless activity of Germany; though much appears in this department, and perhaps to an increasing extent, which it is a serious loss not to understand. But behind us in the past lies a great and splendid literature, both of the Church of England and of the Puritans'; and this literature seems to have but little place in the study of German theologians, just because they want the key of a living acquaintance with still existing forms of thought and feeling in England, by which alone it can be opened. Besides, personal acquaintance and study is almost the only means of thoroughly comprehending our ecclesiastical statistics and our Church relations, which are so different from those of Germany, and so much more complex; so that, in this way, and this way alone, German theologians can find an enlargement of their knowledge, and, at the same time, a corrective of their theories, so as to secure a universal gain to theology.

Not less advantage is to be derived from the mutual reaction of the characters of the two nations upon each other, and their assimilating influence in theological matters. These natural features, which appear very distinctly in the theology of the two nations, need not be here dwelt on at length, since they have long been adequately described. The German mind descends from principles; the English mind rises from results. The German mind strives to harmonise ideas with each other;

the English mind, to harmonise ideas with facts. The German mind seeks to reach its goal by depth of thought; the English mind rather by energy of action. To the German mind, theology exists as an end to itself; to the English mind, theology is only a means to Christian life and practice. Each has its own right—each ought to be united and associated with the other. It would, indeed, be altogether wrong to give up the peculiarities of national character and development, for this would be at once to sin against the voice of history, and against the deepest laws of the Christian Church; far less can it be desirable that the products of foreign thought and feeling should be adopted blindly and passively under the influence of external compulsion or of delusive temporary excitement, since this would only produce a factitious and hollow uniformity, soon to be broken in pieces and discarded amid universal disgust. No charge against the Evangelical Alliance is more false than that of seeking to assimilate Germany and England by any such compulsory or deceptive means. All obtrusion of English ideas on Germany, as of German ideas on England, can produce nothing but evil. We look for satisfactory results in both countries, simply from the action of that principle of appropriation and assimilation which belongs to every living Christian organism, and which governs all the processes of its life. By the action of this principle, it is to be hoped that England will add to its penetrating judgment and practical earnestness in religion more of that comprehensive learning and culture which are found in German theology; and that Germany will more and more subject its far-extending research and its speculative tendencies to the government of that practical sense, and that sympathy with the wants and necessities of the people, which though more common in England, happily does not need now to be imported thence for the first time, since it has already found its place in Germany as a legacy from the theology of Schleiermacher, and perhaps the best legacy of his school; and also as a result and lesson of the late revolutionary troubles, which happily proved more permanent than the other creations of that time.

It only remains here to speak of the peaceful and yet progressive development of theology under the auspices of such co-operation. There can, indeed, be no peace between systems that are radically and fundamentally different. We do not



speak of a compromise on the basis of indifferentism, but of a union in the common faith. This union takes place, on the one side, on the basis of the Augsburg Confession, renewed in Berlin by assembled Germany in 1853; and, on the other side, on the basis of the Address of the present year, issued to all German brethren in Christ, by the united Protestantism of England, and containing so terse and clear a statement of the Evangelical belief of English Christians of every school. Just as the act of the Berlin Conference of 1853 created an epoch in German theology, and announced the overthrow of Rationalism, so has the English Address of the present year put an end to the isolation and suspicion towards Germany which so long seemed indispensable as armour of defence against Rationalism, and opened the way in the most cheering manner for fraternal intercourse. There may, indeed, still be much in the German theology that to an English eye appears loose and unstable, and, *vice versâ*, much in the theology of England which to a German eye appears too narrow and rigid. Yet, on the above-named basis, both parties are ready to extend the hand of brotherhood, and then to come to a better understanding of any remaining differences, as well as to assist each other in the common work of promoting Christian theology. The English theologian retains the full right of protesting against those lax views of inspiration, of the canon of Scripture, of the observance of the Lord's-day, and similar points, which still prevail, although in a diminishing ratio, among the so-called believing theologians of Germany; whilst those who have not yet made such progress as to be able to adopt the English views in all their shades, are not to be hindered from giving utterance to their scruples and difficulties, till at last the God of truth and peace has in these points, as in others, carried forward unity of heart and affection into perfect unity of doctrine.

On the field of the confessional theology of the two countries, the co-operation of English and German Christians must have a peaceful, and at the same time a progressive influence. To begin with Germany, where, unfortunately, confessional questions have become the soul and centre of theology, it may be declared to be impossible that, in the full view of the majestic creations of the Spirit of God—which, though they have not sprung up on Lutheran ground, have yet been pervaded with the deepest sympathy for the noble heart of Luther—the attempt

should be persevered in by theologians of a certain class, to seal up Germany against all contact with the doctrines of the Reformed, far less with the magic charm of sectarian Lutheran formulas, as with the mighty gestures of a Moses stretching out his hands to heaven, to assume to themselves a mystic power of shutting up the whole of Reformed Christendom in Egyptian darkness. It would, indeed, be a source of disorder were the theologians of England and America directly to intermeddle in the Union controversies of Germany; for a civil war can only be settled by the hands of citizens. Yet it is proper and right that the unanimous sentiments of the whole Reformed Church beyond the pale of Germany, which has long left the unhappy strife of the first Reformers behind, and justly estimated their difference regarding the Lord's Supper in its very subordinate importance, should indirectly exert a healing and reconciling influence upon the present unhappy controversies, so as to reduce the question in debate from a warrantable ground of separation to a mere doctrinal problem which theologians may settle in all peace and quietness. In like manner, the association of German theologians, who bring with them their distinctive views and relations, must cast a broader light upon the hereditary controversies of religious parties in England. In more recent times, especially through the rise and widespread influence of Methodism, much has been done to fill up the great chasm which before separated Calvinists and Arminians. The Evangelical Alliance has gathered up the points of agreement between the two parties into a new Formula of Concord, and adopted it as the basis of all its efforts to promote Christian union. One may entirely agree, as the speaker does, with the fundamental doctrines of Calvin, and yet lament the violence and bitterness and, in a great measure also the mutual misconceptions, of those contending sections of Christendom, and heartily welcome every attempt that is made, as in the basis in question, to bring them to an approximation and a better understanding. It seems to be a great duty, not only of the Evangelical Alliance but of the Christian world at large, to establish more firmly upon a Scripture basis, and to develop more fully a theology which shall bear the stamp of these fundamental articles, at once in harmony with the Word of God, and imbued with the spirit of living faith in Christ. Thus will the spirit of the

Reformation, which contended at once for the two principles of personal responsibility and Divine grace set free from the exaggerations on both sides, which have driven into hostile camps, and involved in mournful controversies brethren who confessed the same great doctrines regarding the atonement of Christ and justification by faith, rise up with renewed youth to knit together the long-severed thread of history, and to display once more, in a new and exalted sense, Melancthon on the breast of Calvin, and both at the feet of that Saviour whom they equally adore and seek to glorify. The Church of Christ must find, sooner or later, its gravitating centre, which is to be reached not in the track of a dead scholasticism, but of personal saving experience of gracious communion with the Divine Redeemer, the glorious incarnation of all truth; and in the degree in which the Church thus recovers itself, and its mutually alienated members in Christ, will a deeper and more comprehensive theology arise, which, penetrated with the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrine—a distinction which is fundamental to Protestantism—shall unite in Christ all that does not of itself repel the union, and thus realise, nay, surpass, the Reformation ideal of unity, and strive to reach the sublime model of the New Testament. In the development of such a theology, which certainly must not lose itself in vague and indefinite generalities, but submit to the control of Scripture, and even of confessions of faith, we are surrounded by a freer atmosphere in the Evangelical Alliance than in the councils of the first centuries, or in the synods and conferences of the early Protestant Church, nay, even in the Wittenburg Concord or the Leipsic Dialogues; inasmuch as we are released from the constraint of all political entanglements and special ecclesiastical interests, and likewise placed on such a ground of personal and not official responsibility, that, as Christians with Christians, and theologians with theologians, we are at liberty on this platform of universal Christian brotherhood to seek and to confess the pure truth in love!

It is, however, time to proceed to the second department of this topic—the influence of the union in question upon the Christian life and practice of both countries. Much that has been said under the former head may, for the sake of brevity, without any special illustration, be applied here. In this department England has confessedly the superiority; yet this

advantage, through the labours of the Inner Mission, and other cheering manifestations of German Christianity, is constantly diminishing. There has long existed a gratifying interchange of benefits between England and Germany on this field. If England called into exercise Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies, and gave them a powerful support in Germany, by example and pecuniary aid, it must not be forgotten that Germany, in the first and most difficult age of missions, trained many noble men, and devoted them to the service of English societies; and, at more recent date, that pure and lofty English character, which attracted all eyes in the recent war, when engaged in the work of Christian love towards the sick and wounded, was formed in a German deaconess institution at Kaiserswerth. In the erection of the bishopric of Jerusalem we have seen an influential example of co-operation between the two countries, and probably more occasions of similar practical co-operation in the vineyard of the Lord will arise in the future. From such direct co-operation, however, in the practical as in the theoretical department, the most is not to be expected; because political and ecclesiastical considerations of a narrower character so soon and so easily arise to disturb the harmony. It will be by Christian example, by living Christian intercourse, and by meetings of such a nature as the present, which involve no compromise or concession, that the two nations will best assist each other's progress. The splendid missionary institutions of England and America seem specially adapted to give a constant impulse to the less excitable German nature; while, on the other hand, Germany has, in her Inner Mission, exhibited such an example of complete organisation, and of masterly statistical statement, in setting forth the entire religious and social evils of Germany, as cannot but supply hints and corrections to the more irregular and impulsive philanthropy of England. The influence of the observance of the Lord's-day in England, when better known by intercourse and observation, must exert an increasing control over the Christian sentiment of Germany; and in this matter it is very pleasing to find that Germany has begun to react on England, and that the attempts of the Kirchentag to promote Sabbath observance in Germany have formed a valuable auxiliary in the struggle which is being maintained in England against those revolutionary tendencies that have assailed this sanctuary of



English piety. In like manner it may be hoped that those scruples of excellent men in Germany, respecting English views of religious liberty, will disappear of themselves.

When, as the result of manifold experience and inquiry, this result has clearly manifested itself, that the idea of religious liberty, including the right of proselytism, is equally dear and sacred to all religious parties in England; that its praises are uttered with the same enthusiasm in the camp of the Established Churches, as among the Dissenting communions; and that, by its freest exercise, neither public quiet nor Church concord and unity are in the least degree endangered, but rather incalculably promoted, then the limitations of German theory and practice will vanish of their own accord, and the people amongst whom the great Protestant principle was first announced will look forward with confidence to its widest and furthest results and applications. By way of return for such a gift, Germany may well point to the state of public instruction in England, which, under the shadow of religious liberty, has remained so sadly defective; and urge on England, that a state of things so dishonourable to a Christian nation must be terminated, whether it be in the way of voluntary effort, or of State superintendence and control.

Within the inmost circle of Christian life there is room for mutual instruction and admonition. In England there prevails a more distinct line of separation from the world in matters of worldly art, amusement, and indulgence; and hence the practice of German Christians may gain in strictness. In Germany, on the other hand, at least in the best specimens of its piety, there is a noble indifference to that all-devouring love of gain, which is the deepest cancer in the vitals of English religion; and one would gladly transfer something of German simplicity and value for intellectual worth and its enjoyments, to bridle that worldly strife of competition, which reduces the Church of Christ in England, in all its members, to a condition of undue subjection to the cares of this life and the deceitfulness of riches. Nevertheless, England, taking into account its domestic devotion and discipline, its habits of church attendance, its love for the Bible, and its fixed moral and religious usages and institutions, is fitted to exert both a quickening and a directing influence on Germany; still Germany, although not yet in the full career of its revival, since it was later in being awakened out of the sleep of

last century, is already in a condition, by the freshness of its restored faith, by the new shapes its Christian doctrines and organisations assume, and by the echoes of its hymnology which is ever old and ever new, to send forth a reviving spiritual power which shall not only, by God's blessing, extirpate the Rationalism which has been transplanted to the soil of England and America, but scatter and diffuse fresh blessings over all the sister Churches of the Reformation.

Dear brethren, if these benefits of Christian co-operation, and other influences extending to wider circles, on which time forbids me to enter, are, by God's blessing, to be realised, it is on God himself that we must depend, in the exercise of deep humility and persevering prayer. It is not, after all, on assemblies and conferences like the present—it is not on ecclesiastical powers or chiefs of Christian parties, that the future of the Church is suspended, but on the sovereign will of our blessed Lord himself, who alone is Head and Ruler of His own Church now and evermore. It was through pride and self-will, through decline of faith, through decay of love, through restraint of prayer, that all the hindrances of the Reformation, all the errors, divisions, and deep declensions of the Protestant Church in England and on the Continent were at first prepared and called into existence. Let us, dear brethren, now that the Lord has, by His blessed Spirit, in so wonderful a manner, and to such a degree, healed the evils and calamities of centuries, and crowned in so many lands the gift of a newly-awakened faith with love, enter into a holy alliance with one another, that we shall, through humility and prayer, preserve this great gift of mercy undiminished, and strive to increase it from year to year, as good stewards of His manifold grace. The God of our fathers will be with us, their children. The exalted Son of the Highest, in whom we all are one, and whose sublime office it is to gather around His person all the scattered sons of men, will look down approvingly on the work of our feeble hands! Here His great Word, that has so often brought comfort to the souls of individuals, will fulfil itself anew in the history of nations—"Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

## FREE REMARKS ON THE SUBJECT.

I. BY REV. WILLIAM JAMIESON,

BRITISH CHAPLAIN AT AMSTERDAM.

Mr. Chairman, Christian Friends, and Brethren,—I regard it as a great privilege to be permitted, were it only for five minutes, on this closing day of the Conference, to address this great Assembly on “The Probable Influence of a Closer Union of German and British Christians on the Theology and Religious Life of the Two Countries.” I trust the closer union may be realised, and that the influence may be great—an union of sentiment, and feeling, and action based on union among the men of both lands to Him who is the great source of light, and who alone could say, “*I am the truth.*” A young and reverend friend of my own (the Rector of Walesby) stood up the other day on this platform, and, alluding to the union soon to be solemnised between the son of your own Crown Prince and our Princess Royal, proposed the solemnisation of a marriage between British and German theology. Knowing full well the sentiments of my reverend friend, and that he did not mean the Rationalistic theology of which we have heard so much, which contains nothing, and can impart nothing (for he took good care to guard his sentiment in that respect by the words “*Ex nihilo nihil fit*”), but the theology which we have heard delivered in this Garrison Kirche, I could not feel it in my heart to stand up and forbid the banns. Far otherwise; for, imperfectly acquainted as I am with your own German tongue, I do know enough to have been able to join in those precious prayers that have been here offered up by your own eminent divines; and from the crumbs which I have gathered under your table I cannot help feeling that you have had abundance of the fullest and most satisfying provision; and I shall go back to my own sphere of labour with my own faith, I trust, greatly strengthened from what my eyes have seen and my ears have here heard at Berlin, with the fondest hopes of my heart greatly revived and its charities also deepened and enlarged, both towards Him that begat and towards those that are begotten. German and British Christians have here seen each other face to face, if they cannot see things always eye to eye; of this great fact many of us, I believe, if spared, will here-

after delight to think and to say, "*Hæc olim meminisse juvabit,*" and if, after parting from each other this day, we only look upwards with a humble heart, distrustful of our own powers, and seek the guidance of Him who has promised to guide His Church and people into all-saving truth, we shall realise His blessing, shine as lights in our several spheres, holding forth the Word of Life; be ourselves a people prepared for the Lord, and thus have the best preparation for gathering in God's elect before the day of His coming glory. May God thus bless His people in both lands, and then shall the two kingdoms, thus united together, and growing into Christ in all things, form part of that body "which is fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth." May God thus bless Germany, and gather from amongst her people many a bright jewel hereafter to shine in the Redeemer's crown.

2. BY PASTOR SCHRÖDER,

ELBERFELD.

I believe the words that we have heard deserve an echo and a full one. I thank the dear brother in the name of you all, and am certain of your concurrence. But permit me one remark. I will not speak of what I hope, pray, and desire as to the mutual influence of England on Germany, and of Germany on England, in these precious and never-to-be-forgotten days in Berlin. I should like rather to say one word in relation to what each of us would fain take away with him of these days, and it is that our immortal souls may appear of more value to us than ever before. I beseech the dear brethren among us who occupy the chairs of professors, in the name and under the impression of these days, henceforth not to look at their students merely as auditors, but as souls, immortal souls, who, above all things, ought to be bound up with the living God in Christ. I beseech my brethren in office, to inscribe these blessed days over their studies, and each time they look at this inscription to call to mind that the worth of a human soul is so high that for it the Son of God has poured out His precious blood. And I beg all of you individually, of whatever community you may be, to take away with you as the sentiment of these days that at the hour of death it will little signify to what Church you belong. In the prospect of eternity we shall not reassure ourselves with saying, "I am Lutheran, or Reformed, or United, or anything



else;" that which alone will console us will be that the blood of Jesus has cleansed us from our sins—that we are living Christians. And you, beloved members of our Churches, press upon your pastors from the worth of an undying soul, that the study should not become merely a room for writing and official business, but a room where souls can speak upon the one thing needful. May God bless these days to me and to you, to the eternal good of our immortal souls! Amen.

3. BY PROFESSOR SCHENKEL,

HEIDELBERG.

Dear Brethren,—I will commence by saying that I speak entirely unprepared. But whoever has listened to the enkindling words of our Brother Cairns, from England, may well be able to speak without preparation. That was a voice of truth and of love which must penetrate deep into our hearts. Two races of people sprung from one root, born of the same spirit of Evangelical Christianity, have met together during the past days, and have given to each other the right hand of Christian fellowship. They are dependent upon each other; they have the same task, although they may have to fulfil it in different ways and by different means. Brother Cairns has most admirably characterised the different gifts of grace of these two nations. We Germans are a people of thought and reflection; it is the standard of thought that we carry in our hands. Our vocation is above all things to maintain without ceasing the liberty of religious thought. Our English brethren are most thoroughly practical; they are men of deeds; and yet I would not say that our English brethren do not think, nor that we Germans do not act. And what is more beautiful than when thought, the bridegroom, leads home his bride, the deed? A marriage must be solemnised between them; Brother Cairns has pronounced his blessing upon the holy union, which has at this moment found its type in another exalted union. Our brother shall receive our thanks for this blessing, and we gratefully return it upon all English brethren—all English Christians. May God bless the brotherly alliance here concluded between German theology and the Churches of England!

4. BY PROFESSOR MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ,  
OF GENEVA.

Dear Friends in the Lord,—The Lord said, “I have ordained you that ye should bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain.” From this Christian and delightful Assembly a fruit ought to remain. Let this be our prayer. But it must also be effected by us, for the kingdom of God does not consist in words, but in deed, in power, and in life. “If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.” I would make two proposals. First, I propose that an address be published by this Assembly to the Christians of Germany, for the purpose of making known the great end of the Alliance—the union of all German Christians, and of promoting it. Secondly, That a cheap, or, rather, a popular edition of the addresses to which we have listened should be published, reduced to about a third of the original size, so that it may be bought and read everywhere. This proposal only concerns the committee, but the first ought to be laid before this Assembly. All brethren, not all good Christians, who in Germany and elsewhere belong to the real great Evangelical Alliance, have been in this temple. How can we be cold towards such numerous friends, who, perhaps, up to the present time, remain indifferent to the union of all the children of God to the manifestation of the mystical body of Christ? No; we love them, and we desire the edification of the body of the Lord. Let us call upon them, and say, “Come, for all things are ready.” More powerful, certainly, than a written document, ought to be the personal active operations of the brethren. Let us all return to our countries, from this moment, as missionaries of this great idea, this great fact. Still, a written declaration, proceeding from the Assembly, will be of vast importance. I therefore make this proposal, and a committee ought to be appointed to carry it into effect.

And now, my friends, I thank God that I have come to Berlin. We have received a gift, a power, from above. One step more—a decided, cautious, and faithful step—should be taken by us. Fear not, only believe. O God, may thy kingdom come! Amen.

Pastor KUNTZE: I must now ask the Assembly if it accepts the proposal made by our brother, Merle D'Aubigné. [Carried.]

# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## I.—GERMANY.

I.

ON THE STATE OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH  
IN EASTERN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. E. KUNTZE,  
BERLIN.

II.

CHRISTIAN LIFE IN WESTERN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. DR. GOEBEL,  
COBLENTZ.

III.

THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF SOUTH GERMANY,  
ESPECIALLY OF BADEN.

BY THE REV. C. F. LEDDERHOSE,  
BROMBACH.

IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE “EVANGELISCHE BRUDER-  
VEREIN” AT ELBERFELD.

BY PASTOR HEUSER,  
ELBERFELD.

V.

ACCOUNT OF THE ROTSCHER UNION AT SPIERS.

BY PASTOR HOFFMAN,  
SPIERS.

VI.

THE PROTESTANTS OF HUNGARY.

1. BY PROFESSOR SZEKACS,  
PESTH.

2. BY PASTOR LE GRAND,  
BASLE.

VII.

THE RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL POSITION  
OF BOHEMIA.

BY THE REV. DR. NOWOTNY,  
PETERSHAIN.





# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## I.—GERMANY.

### I.

#### ON THE STATE OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN EASTERN GERMANY.

BY THE REV. E. KUNTZE,

BERLIN.

*Thursday, September 17, 1857. — Evening.*

President: Pastor KAISER, of Berlin.

THERE are peculiar difficulties in taking a survey of anything ; more especially, however, is this the case as regards the religious and ecclesiastical position of affairs at the present time, because we ourselves are more or less connected with them by our sympathies or antipathies ; and from the limitation of our powers we are not able to give equal prominence to the great and the small, to the general and the special. However, it is not here worth while to place each individual fact under the microscopic glass, and to dismember it, but, rather, to soar with eagles' wing, and thus gain a bird's-eye view of whole districts of the country, of whole masses of people, when, it is true, the great and prominent catches the eye, while the individual and lesser objects are lost to the vision. Such a mode of reporting may easily appear wrong to one who only looks at his own circumscribed circle of life and labour. I will try, however, to be just both to the one and to the other.

The whole tract of our fatherland—from Niemen to the Hartz mountains, and to the Weser, from Arcona to the Schneeberge, on the Moravian frontier—offers great variety in the peculiarity of the nation, as well as in the cultivation of the country and the differences of race. The country that we now look upon belongs

to the northern table land, and only small districts extend into Middle Germany. The peculiar nature of the individual districts and the special characteristics of the different races are, more than might at first be supposed, the causes of the great variety in the religious condition of the country. The historical development of religious and ecclesiastical life has been of a most peculiar character in some provinces, and even in some small districts of those provinces, so that it would be easier to bring forward several small pictures, each in its special frame, each satisfying the beholder in itself, than to comprehend the whole in one large picture, which, in its endless variety, rather confuses than satisfies the eye, and, therefore, while we allow the gaze to roam over the whole, we shall not be able to withhold our consideration from the peculiar characteristics of individual parts.

The north-eastern part of Germany—from the forest of Thuringia and the Hartz as far as the Russian-Polish frontier—has been in the possession of the Lutheran Church from the time of the Reformation. Brunswick, Hanover, and Oldenburg, Thuringia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, the Hanseatic Towns, Pomerania, Silesia, Posen, and Prussia are Lutheran countries, and the impress of the peculiarities of this confession is stamped upon them. There are only a few Reformed, Moravian, Mennonite, and other Church communities, which, for the most part, are composed of immigrants, and are even at the present day regarded as strangers in the country. Here, if anywhere in so widely extended a province, where the Lutheran Church governs with unlimited power, she might show what she could do for the promotion of godliness, for the removal of physical and spiritual wretchedness, and for a new development of Christian life. But the Lutheran Church, from the time of the Reformation, has given herself up into the hands of secular princes and to the dominion of civil authorities, and thus has sacrificed all ecclesiastical independence. This stamp of dependence she still preserves, and has almost become a part of the State, or at least has identified herself with it. Church discipline has never been able to gain a footing, and where any symptom of discipline has been perceptible, it has been a civil police punishment. The clergy are placed over the Churches, not as part of the Churches. The Lutheran Church having allowed the State to prescribe her laws, she also sought help from the State in all cases of difficulty, and where this help was

delayed, she knew not where to turn. When, therefore, the question of the present difficulties of the Church and the measures necessary to be employed for their settlement was mooted among some orthodox clergymen, one suggested that "The police ought to interfere;" another, "The Government ought to render its aid;" a third, "The State must help us;" it scarcely entered into their consideration that the Church has an enormous power in herself for her own assistance; they had forgotten that Jesus Christ is her Head and King.

This is, therefore, the great injury to the cause of the Lord in these Eastern provinces, that the people, estranged from the Church, regard preachers, Church, and Christianity, as an institution of the State and of the police; and as they may not rebel against the State and its regulations, they will at least claim for themselves the satisfaction of demonstrating to the Church their derision and contempt in the plainest terms. The pure doctrine of the Lutheran Church has not maintained its ground against the changes of the times and the falling away of nominal Christians any longer than other Churches; and it will be more difficult for the Lutheran Church in the Eastern districts of our country to raise herself again from the deep decline into which she has fallen, and to develop a new and vigorous life of faith, than it would be for her Reformed sister in the West.

The Lutheran Church has often been reproached for her intolerance towards all other religious confessions; and a deep foundation for this lies in her inmost character, as we may see at the present day both in Mecklenburg and Sweden. The liberal-minded princes in Lutheran countries have, however, made their influence also felt in this respect. Since the 3rd of February, 1848, universal toleration has been legally recognised in Prussia, which indeed really existed long before. According to a general survey of the population of the Prussian State, 10,500,000 are Protestants, 6,500,000 are Roman Catholics, 1,380 of the Greek Church, 14,139 Mennonites (the greater number of the latter living on the Vistula), 234,248 Jews, 31,386 strict Lutherans, 16,420 German Catholics and Free Churches, 3,333 Baptists, 3,030 Moravians, 1,336 Irvingites, 914 Dutch Reformed, 683 "*Mengelians*," to whom are also added a few "*Gichtelians*." They are all permitted the free exercise of their religion, often with extended privileges, as is the case with the strict Lutherans by the General Concession of the 23rd of July,

1845. The total number of Dissenters is 57,102 souls in 36 tolerated religious communities. The least amount of toleration is to be found in Mecklenburg and in some of the smaller States of North Germany. But it is evident from this representation that the Dissenters do not find the most favourable soil for their efforts in Germany.

A universal feature which pervades Lower Germany in all the varieties of the country, and all the shades of race, is the loud complaint of the decline of spiritual and ecclesiastical life, the frequently alarming estrangement from God, and the almost universal indifference to everything that relates to the Church, to Christianity, and to the kingdom of God. The causes of this lie deep. A century has passed away, in which everything has been done on the part of the Church that could serve for the destruction of faith, for the abolition of good customs, and for the extension of a universal indifference towards all that is sacred and divine. Like a powerful and all-destroying stream, unbelief has poured forth its desolating waves over our fatherland, and we must rejoice when here and there we find that some ruins are left standing which tell of a better time and offer suitable connecting links for the renovation of the present. We therefore see family life shaken to its foundations and damaged in various ways. The most striking proof is to be found in the divorces in Prussia, which are yearly ratified by the public courts of law, amounting to between two and three thousand, and by far the larger number of which belong to the Eastern provinces. We can point to individual Churches in this city where from seventy to eighty married couples apply to their pastors for certificates to be divorced by the law courts.

That which furthers this religious decline most of all among the people, and this destruction of families, is the fact that brandy is everywhere the favourite beverage, for which, simply within the limits of the Zollverein, more than seven million of dollars duty is paid; and Lower Germany offers about sixty million dollars annually at the shrine of this idol. It was up to the present time the custom in towns, and in the country in Prussia, Posen, Silesia, Brandenburg, and other districts, to celebrate Church festivals and all the solemnities in connexion with the Church—such as christenings, weddings, and funerals—by brandy drinking, when not unfrequently both men and women surrendered themselves to the senseless sin of drunkenness. Where brandy



has established its throne, the complaint is universally heard that every sacred and divine feeling, and even every impulse for good, is drowned in drunkenness. If time permitted us to bring forward individual facts, we should encounter apparitions that would make our hair stand on end and our blood run cold. A short time ago, a boy of ten years was made drunk with brandy at a wedding, which was followed by convulsions, of which he died after twelve hours of agony. The father of a family who was tolerably accustomed to brandy, drank for a wager a quart of brandy at a draught; soon after he sank under it and died. While the corpse was laid out, the children played about it, and threw the ice-cold hand of their father backwards and forwards, and rejoiced that he could not punish them any more.

But not only brandy has helped to destroy family life; manufactures have done their part also. In the manufacturing districts, as well as in the country, where many day labourers are employed, the children are emancipated from paternal control from eight to ten years old, as soon as they are able to earn their own support; and if they live with their parents, they will no longer obey them; and thus the most sacred ties are dissolved. The natural result is a dreadful increase of crime. Of this the trials by jury give a saddening proof. Punishments for perjury no longer belong to the rarities, and they are most frequent in Silesia; so that the Lutheran preachers endeavoured to obtain from the Consistory the reintroduction of a yearly sermon upon oaths which, however, was not granted. In the year 1856 there were in Prussia 717 cases of perjury brought before the courts of law. Murder and theft are of such frequent occurrence, that although eleven new prisons have been added during the last year, they are not sufficient for the reception of all the condemned criminals. It has therefore been determined to employ the felons on public works in the Oderbruche and in Prussia, by which means, certainly, the prison as a punishment, is done away with, and the prisoners are placed on almost an equal footing with the free labourers. We should less regret this, if in this way the reformation of the prisoners and the diminution of crimes were more positively apparent. But notwithstanding that the State has done all that is possible in providing pastors and preachers in the prisons, there is continually an evident change for the worse. In this city only

22,000 persons pass through the prisons yearly, and 60,000 are under the control of the police. As yet the great exertions of the gaol chaplains, and the associations have not succeeded in effecting a perceptible improvement.

Those who are old hands in crime, and are strengthened in vice in the prisons, and have, besides, learnt something of hypocrisy into the bargain, withdraw themselves, for the most part, from every Christian surveillance and religious influence. The extent and depth of the moral ruin may be seen, in some degree, from the fact that, in Berlin, in one week fifteen murders and suicides occurred, and not only among the lower classes, but also among the educated—one of whom was a physician, who destroyed himself and his family.

Debauchery, like a universal pest, has spread itself over the country—among high and low, among adults and children, in towns and villages—so that it may be regarded as a favourable sign, if only every seventh child is illegitimate. We do not venture here to raise the veil from the works of darkness, but would only bring before you one step towards improvement, namely, that some States have freed themselves from the protection of public prostitution. It is as if a pestilential vapour had spread itself over the country, whispering to every one, Seek only to obtain money, in the easiest and speediest way, in order then to be able to enjoy the pleasure of life. This is to be seen in the higher merchant circles, in swindling at the Bourse and in stock-jobbing, and in other circles by gambling and the lottery. The lottery exercises its injurious influence even upon the lowest classes of the people, and it is nothing rare that the last piece of furniture or clothing is pawned, in order to be able to take a share in a ticket, and thus try their fortune. It is at the worst in Hamburg, where they gamble in the lotteries of all the neighbouring countries. But it is the same spirit and love of money which takes its part at the gambling table, at the Bourse, and in the lottery, as in the common card-playing at the alehouse.

The press, and especially the daily journals, has also spread its injurious productions in Lower Germany; although here we must confess that in later times it has also begun to exercise a beneficial influence, and we can offer to the people much that is excellent in our congregational and children's libraries. The daily journals, however, are perfectly indifferent to Christianity

—indeed, in many respects, hostile to the Church and to religious life. This spirit pervades, with few exceptions, the journals of the principal towns, as well as of the provinces; and even the local papers are not behind in this respect. What is to be said, when a journal allows of an advertisement that on the 13th of June a public festival would take place in celebration of the destruction of the world, with dancing and other amusements, which is to close with psalm-singing and prayer; or when “the destruction of the world Punch” is extolled as restoring health and making joyful and blessed; to say nothing of the open and secret attacks of the press upon religious belief and ecclesiastical ordinances? How can the people esteem either the Church or Christianity when it is daily fed with such nourishment?

If we here complain that the Church has neglected her duty, and not done enough—indeed, that many souls have been lost, from a scarcity of the means of grace—it must appear to be an unjust accusation, as Prussia alone is provided with 17,443 churches and chapels; nor is there a smaller proportion in Saxony, Anhalt, Mecklenburg, and Oldenburg; and the statistics prove that in—

The Province of Saxony,	for every 100 souls, there is 1 church.
„ Pomerania,	„ 400 „ „
„ Silesia,	„ 800 „ „
„ Brandenburg,	„ 300 „ „
„ Posen,	„ 600 „ „
„ Prussia,	„ 1,773 „ „
The Kingdom of Saxony,	„ 1,545 „ „

And all these churches are well provided with preachers. And if each clergyman faithfully performs his duty, no country could be better cared for than Lower Germany. But the churches and preachers are badly distributed. In the country 50, 100, 200, and rarely more souls, are provided with a church; while, in the largest towns, congregations are to be found of 10,000, 20,000, even 30,000 souls, who have but one church. And in some districts, for the distance of from ten to twenty-five English miles there is but one church to be found. Need we wonder that, in such neglected districts, and in the many souls whose care is so sadly overlooked by the Church, the heathenism of modern times should shoot forth? The overgrown congregations should, therefore, be divided more. Churches and preachers should be

procured ; and, in the parishes extending over a wide space, new churches should be built. Although, in later times, this evil has been acknowledged in its full extent, the time has been too short to remedy at once the negligences of a century. In this respect, therefore, there is much to be wished, and much to be done. Especially, we cannot insist too much, or too emphatically, on the fact that the numerous working classes in the towns as well as in the country are entirely neglected, and that, by this means, the terrible enemy of the State and of the Church is nurtured. It is high time that we should go to work seriously to remedy this evil, and apply every means for this purpose that has been ordained by God.

But if we look in this wide circle—from the Niemen to the Weser—at the officiating clergymen, we find in the towns and in the country some who recognise the importance of their high vocation, and devote all their time and strength to satisfy the demands of their office as preachers and pastors. They, however, are but few, in proportion to the whole body, who stand out prominently by their devoted and unwearied activity in the vineyard of the Lord. Among a great number of the clergy we find an extreme state of indifference. They preach two or three times on the Sunday, and with that consider their work done. He who does not attend church, stays away, and they trouble themselves no further about him, unless there is to be a marriage, or a christening, or a burial, in his family. To seek out the souls perishing for lack of knowledge, to warn those who are in danger, to help the wretched, never occurs to them. In their frequently impoverished condition, they care more for their land and cattle than for immortal souls. Many are only capable of holding fast to that which exists, the observance of the regular Church form, and look shyly at every innovation. On this account, in many places, there are neither Bible nor missionary classes. Others only care that the Lutheran doctrine should be externally observed and confessed with the lips, and then they suppose that there is no further danger for souls. From these causes, the attendance at public worship in most districts is bad, both in town and country. Of twenty-five to thirty souls, only one attends church on the Sunday, and in many places, not even so many. Entire masses of the citizen class have excommunicated themselves and placed themselves under the ban of the Church ; in the country, the day labourers,



and in the towns the manufacturing class, journeymen and under officials. A simple observance of Church forms, even without living Christianity, is not to be found, except in some parts of the province and kingdom of Saxony, here and there in the villages. But there are also *oases* in the midst of this desert, where we see all that is Christian and good in the most flourishing state; but they are rare. Most frequently we meet with small beginnings of Christian Churches in some awakened and believing souls, where there is spiritual life abundantly manifested by the clergyman.

The Roman Church has not failed to avail herself of this deplorable state of the Evangelical Church, and especially the complete neglect of the scattered thousands and tens of thousands among the Roman Catholic population.

After this general description, we should like briefly to trace the peculiar spiritual physiognomy of the individual districts.

The province of *East and West Prussia* seems to have sunk the lowest through the neglect of the Church; but the activity of many distinguished servants of God, and the furtherance of every good impulse by the ecclesiastical government, has called forth a time of renovation and of the fresh development of religious life. By the introduction of Christian Church government, as well as by the exertions of the living members of the Church for the care of the needy, slumbering souls have been awakened, and Christian effort is seen everywhere. But we can only call this the commencement of an improvement. It depends very much upon the clergymen, in all places, employing the powers that offer themselves, and thus bringing about the full life of a religious community. An old custom, that is still preserved here, offers the best opportunity of awakening and furthering religious life. These are the meetings for family prayer and examination. The clergyman comes at certain times to each family; the children and servant maids, as well as the heads of the family, are exhorted, disputes settled, the weak strengthened, and sinners called to repentance. The renewing of these meetings promises to become a means of blessing for the promotion of the kingdom of God. We also find in this province a great number of Evangelical Churches belonging to the Lithuanian race, where the public service is conducted in that language. They are physically a strong and powerful people, and of delicate feeling, having preserved throughout the

time of the decline a deep love for living Christianity, and among them flourishing Churches are still to be found, although they have to work hard and are for the most part poor.

The greater part of the province of *Posen* is Roman Catholic, and the Evangelical Churches who could show at the time of the Reformation many courageous confessors to the death, had sunk very low under the dominant spirit of the unbelief of the age. This is more especially the case with the many Protestants living scattered among the Catholic population. The Protestant Church had almost entirely forgotten these her members. Dioceses, from twenty-five to thirty miles in extent, where the Protestants were living in twenty or thirty different places, could not be treated with pastoral care by the individual clergyman, however much they might be animated with apostolic zeal, and from this cause the Protestant Church has lost more and more of her members.

They were lost to her without her having a suspicion of it, although other Protestants were always immigrating into this province. Where the heart was not filled with indifference, a strict Lutheran spirit was evident, which unfortunately was not always animated by the living breath of the Holy Spirit. At the present time the labours are most abundant to satisfy the spiritual necessities of the Protestants, and I need only mention that in this province since 1853, nine Protestant congregations have been established, houses for the reception of the children sent from a distance for religious instruction preparatory to confirmation, are built, and several assistant and travelling preachers established. Only the German Protestants of the Grand-Duchy are generally thought of, since the Polish population belong to the Roman Catholic Church; but there are 10,700 Protestant Poles in the districts of Adelnau and Schildberg in the space of forty-four square miles, who have only four churches, and who, notwithstanding all the trouble caused by and the importunity of the Romish Church, and their great poverty, have remained faithful and steadfast in the Protestant faith and in the true fear of God. It is cheering that in 1853 and 1854 two new parishes have been established among these Protestant Poles, and during this year another will also be established. But there is a want of Polish preachers and of suitable teachers; and to supply these deficiencies a seminary for theological students has been founded at Ostrowo and a prepa-

ratory school for teachers in Adelnau. These Protestant Poles have lived hitherto upon the faithful testimonies of their fathers derived from bygone times, but which were always diminishing; so that it was necessary to come to their assistance, if they should not die away altogether. On the whole, no part of Lower Germany offers so wide and so well-prepared a missionary field as the province of Posen.

Of all the East German countries, *Silesia* has undergone the most remarkable struggles and seasons of oppression and distress. Although of the Protestant congregations of 1605, twenty-five were deprived of their churches and church revenues by force—although the dragoons of Lichtenstein, in association with the Jesuits, exerted every effort to accomplish a counter-reformation—the Protestants of Silesia rather suffered the loss of all temporal things than deny their faith and sacrifice the treasures of the Reformation. Scarcely had they obtained religious freedom under the Prussian sceptre, than they erected—from 1740 to 1750—two hundred houses for prayer, besides “Grace, Peace, and Frontier churches,” which existed from former times. There are still places where a large and handsome church stands empty, because there are no Catholics living in the place; while the Protestant congregation, passing by the church they have built, but which has been wrested from them, assemble in a barn-like building. Silesia has also received many a wound from the destroying power of Rationalism; but a goodly number of clergymen, supported by the ecclesiastical government, have laboured energetically and powerfully for the spread of the Protestant faith and life. There are, however, many spiritual deserts; and the great poverty in the mining and manufacturing districts, especially in Upper Silesia, must bear its share of blame. Still, Silesia is now a field of battle against the Romish Church; and we find that, besides the Jews, from 600 to 800 Roman Catholics yearly come over to the Protestant Church, and the Protestant General Superintendent does battle in pastoral letters with the Roman Catholic Primate. Only in the most modern times (1855) have the poor pillaged Protestant communities received the very small donation of 20,000 dollars from the building fund.

In the province of *Brandenburg*, we find in the congregations, as well as among the clergy, the greatest indifference. There are but few positive Rationalists to be found, more of the

orthodox class, but least of all, active spiritual life. Many churches are but very badly attended, as the labourers in the country, and the workmen and manufacturers in the towns, neglect it entirely. Attendance at church, as a custom, has disappeared, and where it is to be found, vital Christianity shows itself as the mainspring. The race of the Sorben and Wenden, consisting of about 137,000 souls, occupying fifteen miles along the banks of the Upper Spree, is a curiosity. The lower class among them is proportionately very large, and they are distinguished by their begging, stealing, and drinking propensities. But where they have landed possessions, the Wenden are honourable, and still retain some hereditary good customs. There is, however, a deficiency of Sorben preachers; and but lately the endeavour has been made to remedy this by the foundation of free scholarships at the Grammar-school at Cottbus.

The Romish Church has sought to make Brandenburg her field of battle, and there is an appearance as if she would come off victorious. A hundred and thirty years ago, there was but one Catholic church in the province, and that one in Berlin. From 1815 to 1850 the number of stations increased to ten, with sixteen missionaries; and now there are eighteen stations, with twenty-nine missionaries. There are four Catholic churches in Berlin, eleven priests, and one convent, and in its neighbourhood we see Roman Catholic churches and schools arise—in Neustadt-Eberswalde, Nauen, Spandau, Charlottenburg, Potsdam, Luckenwalde, Cottbus, Alt Landsberg, and other places. Here upon the sands of the province of Brandenburg—according to the speech of Cardinal Wiseman—shall be fought the great battle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism; and if the Protestant clergy do not exert themselves, and put on the spiritual armour, and rightly wield the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, the victory is not doubtful.

The province of *Pomerania* is much divided. If here and there we come to a lovely *oasis*, we find in other districts, especially in South Pomerania, that the churches are forsaken, the congregations indifferent, and the preachers discouraged. The clergy are almost equally divided into strict Lutherans and Unionists. In 1853, 160 Pomeranian preachers declared themselves in favour of the Union, in opposition to the strict Lutherans. The Pomeranian is naturally very slow, and it



seems that this is also developed in his spiritual life. When, however, he has really comprehended it, he then adheres to it all the more firmly. Here there are the fewest Catholics, only 6,595, and yet the Romish Church tries to gain more and more space for her missionary efforts.

The province of *Saxony* has, generally speaking, the same religious physiognomy as the kingdom of Saxony—spiritual death united to external attention to Church forms. A strong spirit of Lutheranism predominates, so that at a General Church Visitation the sacrament of the Lord's Supper could not be celebrated by the ministers unitedly, because the strict Lutherans dislike both drinking out of the same cup with the Reformed and Unionists, and strengthening themselves in the Lord at the same altar.

Individual efforts to awaken spiritual life have been made by the Sunday Association and itinerant preaching, without producing perceptible progress. A neighbourhood where Uhlich laboured so long and so effectually, in such an extended circle, can only be won back again by degrees.

In *Mecklenburg* strict Lutheranism is now dominant, although but a short time ago Rationalism was at home there. Many of the Rationalists have gone over to the camp of strict orthodoxy, but still spiritual death has spread itself over the country. With iron severity every deviation from Lutheran orthodoxy is repressed. Catholics and Baptists are persecuted, imprisoned, and proscribed without indulgence. Yet it has by no means served to promote religious life, which can be most clearly seen from the fact that, in the districts of three superintendents, in one year, public worship was omitted 248 times, because none came to join in prayer or to hear the Divine Word. Would that for Mecklenburg a day of prosperity may soon dawn!

There is but little that is cheering to be said of the *Hanseatic towns*. Lubeck still feeds upon the prosperous times of the fathers, without giving any proofs of its possessing real spiritual life, and even the holding of the Kirchentag there has done little towards breaking the slumber of spiritual death. In Hamburg the backsliding is most evident. Formerly there were twelve churches for 35,000 inhabitants, and now there are seven churches and twenty-four preachers for 150,000 inhabitants, thus reckoning for each church 21,500 souls; and further, on an average, the attendance on the Sunday is 1,500; thus one in

a hundred goes to church—one of the most deplorable conditions that can be imagined.

In *Oldenburg* and *Brunswick*, Rationalism has made sad devastation in the vineyard of the Lord. Nor does the night seem to have passed away. Whether the New Church and congregation regulation and the individual exertions of the General Synod, introduced into Oldenburg since 1853, will produce a better state of things, we must leave to the future.

In the little principalities of *Anhalt*, *Gotha*, and *Weimar*, there is only in Dessau some stirring for the better; elsewhere Rationalism is still entrusted with the guidance of ecclesiastical affairs. Where a Bretschneider and a Röhr have so long laboured, no better harvest is to be expected for the present. The Thuringian Pastoral Conference has given some cheering signs of life lately, so that we need not look upon this district without hope.

In overlooking these great districts, from the mountains of middle Germany to the sea coast, which belong principally to the Lutheran Church, we must not, however, forget that the Roman Catholic Church regards it as her peculiar property, only her dominion has been suspended from the time of the Reformation until now. Still she is not willing to give up the least part of it. All these countries are portioned out into fixed bishoprics and administrations; and the propaganda at Rome, as well as the Jesuits and other institutions, have to furnish missionaries to exterminate the heresy which, for awhile, has drawn these countries and peoples from the Romish Church; and their efforts in this direction are untiring. It is true, that, as yet, they do not employ force, as in this they would be opposed by the Government; and, for a time, only religious freedom is demanded, until they feel themselves strong enough to carry out by force the system of conversion, such as they employed in the seventeenth century in Silesia. First of all, it is of importance to the Romish Church to obtain the necessary pecuniary means from Protestant States, in order to carry on their plans safely; and although in Prussia three-fifths of the population are Protestants and two-fifths Roman Catholics, the Roman Catholic Church receives already from the State as much again as the Protestant. The Protestants of Germany must all unite together, to whichever State or Church they may belong. The danger is common to all; the battle ought to be equally so! As

yet we have regarded the danger from this quarter too lightly, but the more nearly we look into the religious state of individual provinces and countries, the more gigantic appear to us the plans of Rome. The Roman races in Italy, France, and Spain, no longer lend to the Roman Church the internal strength and the support of their power, and therefore she turns with all her force to the German races, in order to find the rallying point again in them. But, as in England, they have gone on from mere defensive operations to the attack, it must be the same here. With united force we must meet the enemy. There is still time; the favourable opportunity may soon be passed. Germany and England united, saved the political freedom of Europe at Waterloo. Would that a similar alliance might rescue spiritual freedom from the fetters of Popery!

Much, however, is already done in these parts of Germany, which makes us hope for a cheering future. It must be thankfully acknowledged that the ecclesiastical government in Prussia and Saxony, as well as in some other countries, has with great readiness taken steps for the advancement of the Church, and for the promotion and awakening of spiritual life. But decrees are not sufficient to effect this; and new measures cannot produce a new pulsation. That is only to be effected by God, through His Holy Spirit. That which, according to human wisdom and Christian love, was to be accomplished, has been done. The different Church governments have been regulated at the Eisenach Conference, in order to try how far the thirty-six national Churches of Germany could work together, and form, and carry out new measures for the improvement of religious affairs. Unfortunately, positive results have not yet been perceptible. The general Church and School Visitation established in Prussia, and afterwards in other States, in the particular manner in which it has as yet been carried on, has done much in the awakening and strengthening of individual souls, and of whole congregations; and we may hope that if in many places the work of grace seems only to have been of a passing nature, still lasting effects will not be wanting by means of the faithful labours of the Lord's believing servants.

Just as cheering and beneficial was the assistance derived from the Church government for the Protestants scattered among the Catholics; the Protestants of the whole country were

ready to subscribe, and the first collection for this purpose (1853) amounted to about 30,000 dollars, and upon a repeated call the response was not much less liberal. Thirty-two assistant pastors and six itinerant preachers were immediately appointed where the need was the greatest, and the establishment of a new pastoral system, the building of churches, schools, and confirmation-houses is continually increasing; so that these till now neglected children of the Protestant Church, will soon be abundantly cared for, especially as the Gustavus-Adolphus Association so liberally lends its aid. Nothing has so greatly served to promote the awakening of new life in the Churches, as the mission question. We must take this expression in its fullest sense, as comprehending the Heathen, Jewish, and Home Missions. First of all, the Mission to the Heathen came before the eyes of Christians, and touched their hearts with the full force of the Gospel and with the wonderful facts of the heathen world; so that slumbering souls were awakened. Living witnesses, as well as glorious testimonies, have led many to the Cross of Christ, so that they not only gave their contribution to the cause, but also became themselves living members of the body of Christ. The anniversaries, with the increasing numbers that flock to them, are a strong evidence that in Lower Germany the Lord has still more than 7,000 who have not bowed their knee to Baal. The mission to the Jews followed in these steps. This Mission, in its efforts, has not only spoken to the Jews of redemption, but has also tried to awaken among Christians love and sympathy for God's chosen, but now deeply degraded Israel; and thus the living preaching of Christ to Israel becomes a blessing for Christian communities. The youngest born of missions—the Home Mission—has here had the greatest success, while in other places it barely exists, and in many places is wholly unknown. It is true that forms do not give the spirit; but the spirit must have an external form in order to work effectually among men; and these ecclesiastical institutions and divisions of labour are entirely wanting in the Lutheran Church. But where a Protestant Church congregational order is introduced, and has taken root, there the furtherance of the whole, by means of individual members, has taken place. All those individual efforts of the Home Mission—such as asylums, and public worship for children, associations for the care of the sick of both sexes, and for the



care and visitation of the poor, and so on—will only gain more strength and consistency by a fixed ecclesiastical division of work, and thus spread richer blessings over the entire Church. It is for the interest of the Church to draw into her bosom those associations which have risen up around her—the results of spiritual life—and thus to fill and strengthen herself with that life. The Church seems to have recognised and acted upon this principle in our days, so that in this respect we may look hopefully to the future. In the same way that unbelief has spread itself from the upper to the lowest classes of the people, must we strive that the true faith may also be extended. While religious life was developing itself in the higher and highest ranks, science could not remain behind. An active and youthful band, guided by efficient leaders, forced their way with the weapons of science into the foreground, and thus the dominant spirit of Rationalism in our Universities and amongst our learned men is completely overcome, and only some broken-down remnants of the great host have tried to maintain their ground at some insignificant Universities. The overwhelming majority of our Universities are institutions whence a living faith emanates. It is at the same time not at all astonishing that many preparing for the ministry learn the pure faith just in the same way as any other science, while formerly each individual must go through the inward struggle from unbelief to faith, from darkness to light, in face of the inclinations of the age. This has its disadvantages, inasmuch as young clergymen enter upon their office and preach the orthodox truth, while at the same time both personal experience and spiritual life are wanting. On this account sharp contrasts are observable among the clergy between confessional and living Christianity, the congregations in the meantime remaining unaffected by it. This is inherent to the progress of our Christian development. At first “Pietism” had commenced anew the struggle in the Church against unbelief and Rationalism. By many it was acknowledged that subjective piety cannot lead to the desired aim; if we are to have a Church we must base it upon a positive confession. This dispute about the confession has lasted more than sixty years, and has led to this result, that all who wish the good of the Church do not wish the confession to be done away with. And the dispute now rests between those who lay the greatest stress on this, and those who regard

it as of less importance; and we cherish the cheering confidence that before long this, too, will be brought to an amicable decision.

But that which has been especially beneficial to the Church, are the Pastoral Conferences, which have found their most decided manifestation in the German Church Conference, or Kirchentag, where the most important questions of the day are discussed, in smaller and larger circles. The Pastoral Conference, in Gnadenburg, Gnadau, Berlin, Stettin, Danzig, and Thuringia have been the means, in the hand of God, of dispensing rich blessings among the clergy participating in them, and by them, again among their congregations.

The efforts for the introduction of a Christian celebration of the Sabbath, chiefly emanate from these conferences. Many regulations have, therefore, been made: old laws for the observance of the Sabbath have been renewed in the mining districts; Sunday labour has been abolished since 1853, in Mecklenburg; the order has been given for the observance of the whole of the day, in the province of Saxony; they have endeavoured to abolish Sunday labour in the factories, and the payment of the labourers on that day; the Government has limited the post delivery on the Sunday; and the assembling of the militia has been fixed for a week-day. It has also been attempted to do away with the Sunday markets and fairs. But as people, taken as a whole, have lost the love for a really Christian observance of the Sunday, all the efforts in this respect have been followed by but a small degree of success.

But the work of the Home Missions has also commenced the attack on another side; and we reckon as one of the most cheering signs of the times, the associations for young men and journeymen which have sprung up since the institution of the Young Men's Alliance in 1854, and at the anniversaries in Brandenburg and Potsdam. The vigour and power of our people has certainly in a great measure fallen a prey to the enemy, and scarcely anywhere is there such a decided enmity to living Christianity, as among our artificers, who seek their glory in their shame, and blasphemously profane salvation, as has occurred when apprentices have imitated the holy sacrament with brandy and meat, at the same time giving vent to the most abominable blasphemies. On this account, therefore, we hail this slight commencement among them with

joy, seeing in it the leaven which is destined to penetrate the whole mass.

The asylums for destitute children are worthy coadjutors to these associations. They give, unfortunately, a testimony to the completely wretched state of domestic life, and are but a poor substitute for that which the paternal roof does not offer them. The success that may attend these efforts must be still waited for; at all events it is but few who are thus rescued from the miseries of destitution. Still, we must begin with individual souls if the mass is to be effectually assisted.

The same may be said of the prison associations and the care for released criminals. In country congregations it is easier to watch over released felons, to guide them, and care for their external subsistence and spiritual welfare. In the larger towns they generally withdraw themselves. They will not place themselves under Christian discipline and guidance, and, therefore, here too but few can be saved.

In looking at the complete picture of North Eastern Germany, we must confess that we have cause to humble ourselves on account of the deep decline of faith and Christian morals; but the rays of a new day are breaking, and there is so much that is encouraging, that we look with joyful hope for a better future; and with this we commend our beloved country to the care and the guardian protection of our one Head and King, even of our Lord Jesus Christ.

## II.

## CHRISTIAN LIFE IN WESTERN GERMANY.

BY DR. M. GOEBEL,

COBLENTZ.

Beloved Brethren in our common Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, from all nations and tongues,—While begging for your indulgence, in consideration of the time given me for the preparation of my communication upon Western Germany, I shall regard all that as known which has been communicated at former conferences, especially at the conference held two years ago at Paris by the brethren Kapff and Taube, upon the religious state of Protestant Germany, by Dorner and Tholuck upon the German Universities, and by Krummacher upon unbelief in Germany. I shall, therefore, limit myself to characterising the life of faith, or the Christian life in West Germany, as far as it can in a short time be comprehended by brethren to whom as yet this has been strange and untrodden ground. I shall, therefore, make the bright side more prominent than the shady side; but at the same time continually bear in mind the Apostle's words, 2 Cor. iv. 7, "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us;" as well as the prophetic words of the Lord, John xii. 24, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

Western Germany—as distinguished from Protestant North Germany, and from Catholic East Germany, or Austria—includes the provinces of the Rhine, with all its tributaries, from the Alps to the sea, with the exception of the countries that unfortunately no longer belong to Germany (Switzerland, Alsace, Lothringen, and the Netherlands); Bavaria or Franken, Würtemberg and Baden, the Palatinate, Hesse, Nassau, and the Prussian provinces of the Rhine, and Westphalia. The course of the Rhine is, in religious as well as in political respects, a frontier, and, therefore, has become the subject of incessant



wars and struggles, with the weapons both of the flesh and of the Spirit, such as have taken place in no other province upon the face of the earth ; and, therefore, the Protestant Church in these countries has been, from the commencement, and continues to be, a struggling Church ; and in that part of Western Germany with which I have especially to do—from Maine to the Netherlands, from the Lower Rhine, and in Westphalia—a Church under the Cross. That is her first and essential characteristic, without perceiving which no one can understand our religious life in its perfections and imperfections. I must, therefore, first of all endeavour to describe to you this warfare, and this Cross.

After the Schmalkaldic religious War, and the devastations of the Thirty Years' War, Germany, in 1555 and 1648, at last enjoyed repose, by the Roman Catholic religion on the one side, and the Lutheran and Reformed religion on the other, being recognised publicly and formally, as equally authorised in the holy Roman Empire of the German nation, and taken under the protection of the Emperor and Empire ; while all other forms of Christianity, especially the Baptists and Mennonites, were excluded from the religious peace. Of these three bodies, the Roman Catholic had firmly established itself from the South-east to the South-west of the course of the Rhine, in Austria, Italy, Southern Switzerland, and in France and Belgium ; the Lutheran in the whole of the North-eastern part ; and the Reformed in the Upper and Lower Rhineland, to the Alps, and in the Netherlands, and Great Britain. Each of these religions struggled both before and after the Thirty Years' War, and far into the eighteenth century, for the possession of the Rhine—this ancient centre of the German Empire, the seat of Charlemagne, its most glorious Emperor, and the home of German science, art, and piety. And, since the Rhine country has always had numberless great and small, temporal and spiritual, noble and citizen lords, who, at the time of the Reformation, also differed from each other in religious respects, it has happened that among us the three acknowledged religions are mixed up and thrown together in the most varied manner, of which only an eye-witness can form a right idea. Estimating the population of the Rhine provinces at 16,000,000, the larger half will be Catholic, and the smaller half Protestant ; and of the seven and a half millions of Protestants, the Lutherans may originally have been more numerous

by half than the Reformed ; or, reckoning Switzerland and the Netherlands, the Reformed would be the most numerous. With respect to the different banks of the Rhine, the Protestants preponderate on the right bank in Würtemberg, Franconia, and Hesse ; on the left, especially of the Lower Rhine, the Catholics are in the ascendancy ; and the Protestants who live among them are principally of the Reformed Church. Thus, West Germany is not only, as regards foreign countries, a frontier district, but it has everywhere, and at every point, boundaries ; and therefore boundary dissensions, and a strict watch kept upon the boundary, are unavoidable. The first religious war in Switzerland, in 1530, began on this territory, and the last ended in 1847 in the war of the Sonderbund. In 1546 began here the Schmalkaldic War, and the prelude to the Thirty Years' War in the Jülich-Cleves War of the Succession in 1609, as well as the Thirty Years' War itself, by the acceptance of the Bohemian crown by the Elector Palatine Frederick IV. ; and here it ended—three years after the Peace of Westphalia—with the so-called Hessian War. Upon this soil, with the help of the West German princes, and especially of the Nassau Orange heroes, did the seven United Provinces of the Netherlands fight successfully for their religious and political freedom from the Spanish yoke, and thence did a William of Orange rescue, in 1688, the English Reformation and Church from the encroachments of Popery. But all this did not give peace to this land divided by various religious interests. After that, the Electors-Palatine had, from the time of the Reformation, repeatedly changed their religious confession—at first remaining Catholic, then becoming Lutheran, then Reformed, then Lutheran, and then again Reformed. The house of Neuberg, in 1685, gave a permanent Catholic line of sovereigns, and with them, in Manheim, Dusseldorf, and Duren, came the Jesuits. And now, notwithstanding the most binding contracts, there began a system of oppression and persecution both of the Reformed and Lutherans, the particulars of which are quite as horrible as they are inconceivable. Since 1688, the hosts of the bigot-king, Louis XIV., had forced themselves into the Palatinate, wasting and destroying as they went, and the succeeding Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, brought peace to all the world, excepting the unfortunate Protestant Palatinate, by the French Ambassador adding, in the eleventh hour, the fatal clause that the religion, *i. e.*, the

Roman Catholic religion, should continue to hold its present position in the conquered territories. By this means, many hundred churches were entirely or partially wrested from the Protestants, and it became the cause of simultaneous disputes as to the possession and use of such churches, which, during the last thirty years in the diocese of Treves, have been more violent than ever. Only in the year 1705 did Frederick I., of Prussia, succeed by threatening the Catholics in his States with penalties, and by obliging the Palatinate to toleration and to a declaration of religion and division of the Church estates, which, while satisfactory for the Reformed, left, however, the Lutherans entirely unprotected, by which means the open persecution was, at least, checked, and Prussia gained for itself the hearts of the Protestant population of the Palatinate, whose descendants have become its most faithful subjects. But the quiet, secret, almost imperceptible oppression continued to be exercised, to the exclusion of Protestants from all offices; and the stream of emigration to the Lower Rhine, to England, and America, was so great, that at that time all German emigrants were considered as coming from the Palatinate. The state of things on the Lower Rhine was better where Prussia's eagle rose higher, and with more power over the lion of the Palatinate, and the inhabitants of the Netherlands were aided both by counsel and deeds, and where, if wrong were done to any religious party, their protecting power of requital was exercised towards such of their own subjects as were attached to the opposing religion. But the building of a new church or the formation of a new congregation or school, was neither readily permitted nor easily accomplished, unless the secular power had previously shown a similar favour to the Catholics in their territory. Thus the war was also carried on on the Lower Rhine, with mutual grievances to both parties, till the present century, when, first of all, theology internally, and the French Revolution externally, in its fanatic hostility to everything Christian, and to every form of Christian religion, brought the religious parties to reason, and, for a time, put an end to their perpetual strifes among themselves. In the place of the long, unnatural hatred of the different religious parties to each other, a deep and universal religious indifference succeeded; and at the time of the general declension and unbelief, all honest and faithful Christians were glad to be able to save and pre-

serve only the true religion common to all. Driven by necessity and wearied out, they learned to tolerate and understand each other; and with astonishing rapidity propositions were made on all sides, especially by the Catholics under the Emperor Napoleon, by the Councillor de Beaufort, at Paris, in 1806, and even by the Archbishop Lecoz, of Besançon, in 1804, for the union of all Churches, which, however, the experienced Protestants of the Rhine decidedly opposed, because the Romish Church must give itself up, if it would really become catholic by the acceptance of the pure Gospel.

This unusual repose and quiet in the old struggle gave place but too soon to new contentions, with new zeal and new weapons. In consequence of the general revival of spiritual life in all three Churches, and especially in their clergy, the ecclesiastical contrasts came out more sharply defined than before, and they came to be regarded as the principal and most important points. The mixed marriages, which, in consequence of the growing enlightenment and toleration, became more and more frequent, and the question of the education of the children in one or the other faith, which was a vital one for the limited privileges of the Protestant Church, became the next cause for contention, and led to the forcible carrying off of the pious but somewhat obstinate Archbishop Clemens Augustus, of Cologne, to the fortress at Minden, by the Prussian Government, in the year 1837, of which the Protestant population of the country was entirely innocent. This was the signal for an unheard-of animosity and division, which has lasted for some years between the two religious parties, which has caused the most violent contentions (especially in the diocese of Treves, according to the maxim of Bishop Arnoldi, *Cum Evangelicio nulla communicio in sacris*, "No communion with the Protestants"), with respect to the mixed marriages, the use of bells and of the cemeteries and churches, which fifty years ago would not have been thought possible. It is known how, since that time, the Catholic Church has, throughout the whole district of the Rhine, disputed with the civil power of the State, regarded by her as purely secular; how her external power has continually increased and developed itself in her two richly-endowed archbishoprics and seven bishoprics, to which especially the storms of 1848 have essentially contributed; and how no Evangelical State has on this account been able to establish a firm position towards the



Catholic Church, the Pope, and his bishops, because, as possessing the Protestant Church power, it always occupies a double and false position to both Churches. But what influence has this old and new struggle exercised upon the religious life in the Protestant Church? Have I described it to you in order to complain of the necessity, oppression, and persecution which we have, it is true, to endure in many ways? Far be it from me; for we find, too, under our Protestant sovereigns, both protection, consolation, and aid! Still we are in many respects that which we have been from the beginning and would still be—Churches under the Cross. And this Cross has become our ornament, our crown, and our blessing.

It was a fearfully glorious time when the funeral piles were burning, and the scaffolds streamed with the blood of martyrs in France, in the Netherlands, and even in England; and the witnesses for Christ, and voluntary Christians in our countries, assembled in secret—their Churches scattered abroad under the Cross—and established themselves from East Friesland to Antwerp, and from the Wesel to Frankfort, thus becoming the seed for the evangelisation of the whole country. A deep seriousness, a holy fidelity, a warm brotherly love, inspired the members and servants of these persecuted Churches; which in their greatest tribulation saw themselves, with deep sorrow, persecuted even by their Protestant brethren. And with sacred joy did they see the Gospel extend itself more and more; new Churches established, and whole towns and districts declare themselves on their side, and in this way a Protestant National Church arise, especially after 1609, when the countries of Jülich-Cleve-Berg, Mark and Ravensberg, had fallen into the hands of Protestant sovereigns—though Jülich and Berg but for the space of five years. In 1610 the first Reformed General Synod of this country met at Duisburg, and in 1612 the Lutheran Provincial Synod met at Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg; and as the former declared again that the Heidelberg Catechism contained the sum of the religion founded upon God's Word, yet at the same time it would especially guard against *licentia novitatum* and *servitus conscientiarum*, the sad consequences of which had been seen, on the one side, in the Anabaptists of Münster, and on the other side among the Roman Catholics.

And when very soon both Jülich and Berg were again called upon to bear the cross, the Churches, although themselves in

great need, came together, and in brotherly unity helped wherever and however it was in their power. They made taxes for the necessitous, sent out begging letters in their own country, to the Netherlands, and to the Palatinate, and carried on so zealously the sacred task of doing good, especially to their fellow-Christians, that in our days, sixteen years ago, from the provinces of the Rhine, and by means of the sympathising hearts of the brethren connected with the Gustavus-Adolphus Association, much good has been promoted among us—as in fact everywhere—and has especially found such a ready entrance among us, where numerous Churches owe their existence and continued support to its assistance. In the midst of the much-trying Church at Cologne, many rich benefactions have been made, providing the secret congregations and their officers with meeting-houses and with salaries for teachers and preachers; and in a like brotherly manner, the individual congregations lend their preachers for a time to those Churches that cannot maintain one for themselves permanently. In this way the Churches of Dusseldorf, Ketingen, Mettmann, and Solingen, where, at the present day, about 30,000 Protestants have thirteen pastors, in 1593 had only one preacher each for a quarter of a year. Especially in Jülich and in Cologne, these preachers, in order not to be recognised, must travel in the commonest clothes from place to place, making themselves known to the presbyteries and synods by testimonials, which were made out in the form of merchants' letters of credit; while, at the same time, they had to endure the severest privations of poverty, persecution, and imprisonment, and where they were wanting, the elders of the congregation held their quiet but edifying services in spirit and in truth. Necessity teaches us to pray, and temptations teach us to look to God's Word; thus our congregations learnt in their trials in rich measure, and to which they bear testimony to this day. Their seals bear frequently the characteristic emblem of a rose or lily among thorns, a bower in the cleft of a rock, a palm loaded with stones, with the inscription: *Premimur sed non opprimimur, ecclesia premitur sed non opprimitur ut palma*; or a ship in the storm, with the inscription, "Lord, help! or we perish;" or a bad church of boards, with the motto, "Our beds are cypresses." And when once, in the year 1627, the necessities were most pressing, and no longer even the secret and quiet services, without either singing or sound, seemed possible,

the Jülich Synod declared that now scarcely any human means remained by which the grievances might be abolished and avoided for the future, and that, on this account, there was the more necessity to seek the Lord with zealous prayers and a penitent life for comfort, aid, and rescue; and in 1629, "We have reason upon reason to cry and sigh unto God for grace and reformation." What sighs were heard even in that same year, caused by the devastation of Wesel, occupied by the Spaniards!

The remembrance of such hard times still lives, as well as of their comfort and blessing, in the memories of the congregations of the Rhine and of the Palatinate; and the annual Reformation Festival is celebrated with feelings of gratitude and zeal. Only a few months ago, the Tercentenary Festival of the Reformation was celebrated in Simmeru, on the Hunorücken, as, a year before, it was celebrated in the Palatinate and in Baden, in a holy and peculiar manner, such as is only possible in old and persecuted congregations. But on this account our people keep firm hold of their Protestant faith, and adhere to their simple form of worship, according to God's Word, in spirit and in truth, and steadfastly oppose the various temptations to the external splendour and show of the Catholic Establishment. The two religious parties stand opposed to each other, like two hostile camps, and therefore seceders are rare on either side; and, in spite of all the efforts of the Catholic clergy, with regard to the mixed marriages, the Protestant population is continually on the increase, in comparison with the Roman Catholic population, in all the Prussian States, as well as in the Rhine Provinces and Westphalia. The Protestant population distinguishes itself by industry, prosperity, and morality, especially in Prussia and in Nassau, which is proved in an incontestable manner by the smaller number of the poor, beggars, prisoners, youthful felons, and illegitimate children.\* And though among us, as everywhere in the world, there is still much unbelief, much indifference, and even much enmity to Christ and true Christianity, yet these things avoid the light of day and do not gain the upper hand. The external observance of Church ordinances by the Catholics reminds the lukewarm Protestants of their duty in various ways and with great success. We

\* A short time ago, in the prison of the Simmeru district, where there are twice as many Protestants as Catholics, there were among fifty prisoners only five Protestants; and as a rule, the Catholic felons number four to one.

Protestants have not had friends of light and free Churches springing up amongst us; and in other places they have disappeared. The German Catholics have found no sympathy among us, and those who left Popery have at last taken refuge with us; and if in the towns, Protestant fathers thoughtlessly give up their children to the Roman Catholic Church, but too frequently the sad presupposition is that they come from East Germany, and have brought from their homes only a single sentence, which comprises their entire religion—"We all believe in one God." I should like, therefore, from most painful experience, earnestly to beg our brethren in the East to warn their catechumens, their hearers, and especially their soldiers before they come to us, not to forsake their faith, as they so frequently do, and exhort them to join themselves at once to their new pastors and the Protestant congregations, and not to prepare the way for our defeat in our old battle for the Protestant confession.

With these remarks I leave this part of the subject, which has too long detained me, and I will only add my deep sorrow that, throughout Germany, this deep chasm, this rude division, should exist, and that the members of one nation, and disciples of one Lord and Saviour, should always stand in a hostile, and scarcely ever in a friendly relation to each other, interchanging the various gifts and graces bestowed upon them. The school of Sailer and Von Ess, and the spirit of the noble Münster Catholics have afresh given way to separation—seeking Jesuitism, and to an extravagant worship of the Virgin; and on both sides the hand and the wish for peace and unity in Christ is wanting.

We pass on from the hard struggle and the blessed cross of our frontier territory to the second blessing which the Lord has bestowed upon our Church, above many others, and especially above those of our Eastern and Northern brethren.

It is a peculiar, and at the first glance, a fact scarcely to be explained, that along the whole course of the Rhine, at least for many years past, a presbyterian or a synodal constitution has existed, in the Lutheran Church as well as in the Reformed, in Bavaria as well as in Baden, while elsewhere we find it only in the Reformed, and in contrast with English Episcopacy, and while the whole of the Protestant east, till quite recently, was destitute of it; and even now for the most part knows nothing.



wishes to know nothing of it. This is not an accidental circumstance, but is essentially connected with the political constitution and history of these different countries, with the Roman constitution and population of the Roman Catholic Church and hierarchy, with the subjection of the Slavonian population in the countries beyond the Elbe, under the German conquerors, knights, and margraves, and with the position of the never-subjugated and original German race, and the constitution of the countries on the Rhine—of the tribes, for example, of the Allemanni, Suabians, Franks, and Saxons. This, however, does not belong to our subject; it simply serves as a clue. But what is the religious character of the presbyterian constitution so much spoken of, praised, and misunderstood, as on the one hand in relation to the hierarchical episcopal constitution, and on the other hand to the monarchical consistorial constitution? This is the principle, that the Christian Church is a unity, a whole, a self-reliant, but certainly not an independent member of the body of Christ, with the Divine right of existence in liberty and good order; that this living Church, formed from the individual Christian householders, and represented by them, has a house of prayer, public worship, a minister of the Word, and superintendent or elder, governing her and exercising Christian discipline; but not that the Church, the external building or the external institution, has either a preacher, a congregation, or hearers, who adhere by force or voluntarily to its altar or confession, or that a bishop has a large flock, too large to control personally, which, however, he is expected to care for and to represent. That this presbyterian constitution is the only possible one wherever the sovereign does not profess the same religion, or where the Romish hierarchy dominates, is proved by the fact that all Lutheran Churches which are separated from the National Church, or have no Evangelical sovereign over them, have been almost against their will obliged to adopt a presbyterian or synodal constitution. Outwardly, this constitution exhibits itself in the administration of a grave and often severe discipline, for the exercise of which a number of respectable and religious men are appointed besides the pastor, for the congregation, or sometimes by the congregation, who are called presbyters, elders, or censors, and who hold the office for life or for a fixed term. These presbyteries, consisting only of the elders or also

of the deacons, are not, however, independent, but are placed under a synod deputed by the individual Churches, which form themselves, according to their number, into provincial and general synods. The first principle of this constitution is, that no Church, no minister, no elder, no deacon, should have any privilege or dominion over another; but that all are equal—that the Church is only governed by her presbytery, and that none may appear at the synods who has not an office in the Church as presbyter, and that each Church is subjected to the decisions, regulations, and examination of the synod and its principals. Thus the presbyterian constitution places itself in opposition to democratic independency—its enemy to the death, and to monarchical episcopacy, its contrast as an aristocratic institution; it fills the same place in the religious world as the constitution of the towns and States in the middle ages, but, like them, is always in danger of degenerating into an oligarchy. The Churches under the Cross could have no other constitution, if they would not perish and be dispersed. But there was such a holy earnestness of Christian discipline in these small and secret communities of voluntary Christians, that they have a long time considered whether they might venture to mingle with the large and public Churches, which were still lax in discipline, or whether they ought not to continue separate. For the good of both, they mingled; and the presbyterian and synodal constitution, which the foreign Churches first received in London in 1550 from the noble Pole, John à Lasco; and then in 1553, on their expulsion by the Catholic Mary, brought to the Rhine and the Maine, from Emden to Wesel, to Frankfurt and Frankenthal, became gradually the salt of Christian order and discipline on the Lower Rhine and in Westphalia, as well as in Nassau and the Palatinate, the savour of which has spread both internally and externally, and still continues to preach slowly and imperceptibly, but at the same time has been powerful and noble enough, in all these countries, to accept, within our recollection, the blessing of the consistorial constitution. This constitution of our Churches, with the elders serving, not governing them—the most distinguished among them not disdaining to hold the plate at the church-door, nor deeming it beneath them to confer with the lowliest of the brethren, under the presidency of the pastor, and keeping up with the pastor regular house-visitation instead of the private confession—has

already made the deep impression of a true and living Church upon many who before were acquainted only with a Church of pastors and pastoral domination. This constitution has become, under the blessing of God, the vessel in which religious life has preserved itself during centuries in the hardest times of infidelity and indifference, and by which the Church was awakened to new life, after that the stagnating plan of the members of the presbyteries being chosen by themselves was abolished, and the choice was restored to the Christian householders in 1815 and 1835. We owe our thanks to it, that not only our churches are better filled than most of the other churches in Germany, but also, that in these congregations spiritual life is to be found; that among the preachers of the Word, not a hierarchical, but a brotherly spirit reigns; and that there is not a sign of the great contrast existing elsewhere between the clergy and laity, or between the clergy and elders, simply because the elders have just as distinct an office in the Church as the clergy, and instead of governing the congregation only, desire to be its servants in the Lord. And whoever knows the history of most of the synods originating from these presbyteries in Westphalia, in the Rhine country, in Nassau, in Hesse, in the Palatinate, in Baden, in Bavaria, also knows how, while maintaining a firm stand against all revolutionary cabals of every kind, the Word and the Spirit of Christ have, from synod to synod, gained a firmer hold, and, by their means, spiritual life has been strengthened and increased. I should like, however, to warn them of one thing—that, according to the ancient synodal right, none may ever, or in any way, be admitted to the synods, who do not possess the office of a presbyter in their Churches, for he who does not work with them, ought not to be admitted to their councils. The charge, moreover, that the large representation of the Churches, according to ecclesiastical regulations which have existed generally in Westphalia and the Rhine Province for the last twenty years, is a democratical and revolutionary institution, borrowed from the political constitution, I here declare to be both untrue and unjust; and this assertion I make, founded upon historical conviction and upon facts. And let me add, that if this representation had not also been an aristocratic limitation of the original and traditionary right of all householders, the blame of it would not concern our country, but the general

Prussian Legislature from which it is derived ; and last of all our late King Frederick William III., who, in granting this constitution, did not adopt the aristocratic, but rather the plutocratic principle, by giving the right of election, not only, as the intention had been, to the most highly-taxed, but to all householders, and indeed with these words, "In the Church there shall be no 'census.'"

With the peculiar presbyterian and synodal constitution of the provinces of the Rhine, especially in the North-western parts, and with its old struggles and crosses, is connected the fact that, with the precedence of Prussia, before all the other countries of Germany, it has obtained the pearl of the union of the two Protestant Churches in one, and values this as its most precious jewel. Our constitution has been characterised already, in 1819, by our synods, as the condition and the anticipation of the Union, and history in the East and West of Germany confirms this declaration. I know well, my dear brethren in Christ, that on this subject I touch upon a province that in the last ten years has become the subject of the most violent and bitter discussions among the professors of the Gospel in Germany, and the occasion of the most hypocritical suspicions—for which, however, our Alliance is not to blame. But I also know that it is the first care of the Royal House of Prussia, and of the Prussian Protestant State, to promote and establish peace and union between the two Protestant confessions since the time that the Elector, John Sigismund, in 1613, separated himself from the more rugged Saxon Lutheranism, and turned to the milder sway of Melancthon in the Reformed Church, without obliging his Lutheran subjects to accept of the Reformed faith and form of worship. With this Christian regard for conscience, the sacred charge and duty was given to him and to his successors, to commence and carry on the work of union between the two Protestant Churches in Germany, once united by Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, but in later times divided. Thus the union was slowly and gradually prepared, amid the loudly or quietly-expressed approval of the pious among the Germans and Swiss, till at last, under God, after the severe trials and glorious delivery from those fifty years of unbelief and decline which the Lord had permitted to spread over all Germany, the late King, on the 27th of September, 1817, issued his Royal mandate for the union of the two



separated Protestant Churches into one Evangelical Christian Church; and thus made legal and possible that which had, in fact, long been desired, and which, indeed, already existed. At that time the Union, which after three hundred years of struggling came into existence, was recognised and prospered, and to this day it extends its branches, like a fruitful tree, far over the province of the Rhine, where it has struck its deepest roots, and far beyond Germany, into the most distant countries of the world where German and Protestant Christianity has made itself known. This Union was brought about as little artificially as the Reformation itself; and although in both there may have been too much error, sin, and human policy, yet not so much in either as to nullify the blessings of Divine mercy, patience, and grace. And as there was a reformation before the Reformation, so there was also, and not on the Rhine only, a union before the Union, when, fifty years ago, after two hundred years of grievous division, a peaceful spirit sprung up between the two confessions. That the positive and legal Union could be concluded thirty or forty years ago, in Westphalia, Nassau, the Rhine country, Hesse, Birkenfeld, the Palatinate, and Baden, is the greatest and richest blessing of the synodal and presbyterian constitution, since only by that means the Churches and synods concerned were in a position to declare unanimously by their legal and recognised organs for the Union, and to conclude it formally, so that only Church revolutionists and religious demagogues would be able to labour for its abolition.

Previous to the Union which has now almost everywhere been completed, the Protestant population of the Rhine country was, and especially in the valley of the Rhine itself, far more divided as between Lutherans and Reformed, than as between Protestants and Catholics; and these two parties opposing each other in hatred and strife, were neither of them in a position to strengthen the other against the inroads of the undivided force of the Catholic adversary. We, therefore, find it very aptly put in the Government instructions of 1742, projected by the Jesuit Marquis d'Ilire for the Elector, Charles Theodore, of the Palatinate, "That the union of the two Protestant parties, so extremely hurtful to the Catholic religion, must be prevented," which maxim the Jesuits and their friends have never forgotten. But the two Protestant confessions having

become weary and worn with their single-handed struggle against the Catholics, approached nearer and nearer to each other, and long before the Prussian Union was concluded, a union had formed itself amongst us of their most essential and important adherents.

It was of the greatest importance, first of all, that the constitution of the two Churches was so little different, that in the direction of Nuremberg and Augsburg, the Suabian and Palatinal Lutheran worship differed much less from the Reformed than from the Saxon worship which the First Bavarian Consistory at Munich was obliged to bring into notice in a very disagreeable manner only last year. Professor Vilmar, in Hesse, who originally belonged to the Reformed Church, has tried to prove but very lately that the whole of the Lower Hessian Reformed Church is not, as she supposes, Reformed, but Lutheran, by which he has proved that the difference is a very delicate one, and easily obliterated; and I am acquainted with several Churches in Westphalia that, up to the commencement of the seventeenth century, disputed as to whether they were Lutheran or Reformed. In the course of time the theological points of doctrine, differing scientifically, but not religiously, had become so blunted by the neology and indifference to Christianity introduced from the old Lutheran countries and universities, and so completely unfit for use in the new struggle against unchristian belief, that the vanguard of Christianity of that time, in which were to be found Tersteegen and Stilling, Von Marées and Menken, Lavater and Pfenninger, Oetinges and Von Meyer, Krafft and Schubert, no longer ventured to produce these worn-out weapons. And already the Churches, their members and organs, had shown, that life and customs are mightier than form, theory, and doctrine. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the Reformed and the Lutheran congregation at Daaden, on the Westerwalde, went in peace and unity to the church, whether the Reformed or Lutheran clergyman was the preacher for the day. When, in 1721, the Reformed preacher Kock, at Mühlheim, on the Rhine, would not preach, his hearers went to the Lutheran Church, as is even now frequently the case among the congregation at Elberfeld, which are still separated as to the confession, but believe that the Word of God is above all the doctrines of men. The Reformed General Synod of Jülich and Berg, in 1731,

admitted the Lutheran preacher Frederick zu Stollberg to its assembly, and granted him a collection in their congregations, on account of "their near relationship in the faith;" and the Reformed Church at Soneborn, a hundred years ago, admitted the resident Lutherans without limitation, even to the election of their pastors. The institutions and Churches of the United Brethren, transplanted since 1736 from Herrnhut to the Herrnhag, in the Wetterau, had long ago merged Moravians, Lutherans, and Reformed into one single Church, bound together by the blood and death of Christ, which even Count Zinzendorf, who exercised so great an influence, had not the power to separate, but only to distinguish by the institution of his "*Tropoi Paideias*." Thus arose among us, in 1750, at Neuwied, a French and German Reformed community, of the United Brethren which does not subscribe to the Augsburg Confession of 1530, but to the Berne Synod of 1532, and yet belongs to the *Unitas Fratrum*, and as such has materially aided in the work of union amongst us. At the Reformed and Lutheran Synods of Berg, deputies have appeared since 1788 from other confessions, and mutually testifying their friendly feelings, they determined upon the union of the synod, for the common work of arranging their religious grievances in Berlin and Munich; and in 1803 the Reformed Synod agreed even to the proposition made, in the first instance by the Lutheran, to recognise the already long-observed custom, according to which married people of the different communions might communicate together alternately at the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Thus, everything was preparing for the Union, which long before its public recognition in Prussia had really existed, and indeed since the commencement of this century, especially in the old Catholic towns, and in the new Evangelical communities, favoured especially by the Lutheran Consistorial President, Jacobi. In 1800 the Inspectors of the Sub-prefecture of Simmeru took decided steps for the conclusion of a complete union. The Jülich Local Consistory, in 1807, recommended the Union to the Lutheran and Reformed. The new communities in Mayence and Coblenz were established only on the ground of the "consensus." The old Churches of Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle had, at least, public worship in common, and both communions assisted at the administration of the Lord's Supper. Reuss united itself in 1806, and the United Com-

munity of Gelders determined, in 1808, to elect, alternately, Lutheran and Reformed preachers. In Berg the synods already, in 1810, laboured to effect a united Church-government; in 1813 the Reformed deputies celebrated the second centenary of the Lutheran Synod of the Mark; and at the synod the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in common, was determined upon. Therefore, in 1817, the Royal summons for the Union was greeted with acclamation. All the district synods of the Rhine and Westphalia declared themselves, without exception, and without resistance, for the Union, and at the same time the noblest and most distinguished Christians of their time—Krafft, in Cologne; Graber, in Barmen; Ross, in Budberg; Von Boen, in Wetter—were by word and deed worthy representatives of this Union. The first Protestant United Synod, legally assembled, of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg—after the celebration of the Lord's Supper in common, and laying aside the party character, and the party names of Lutheran and Reformed—laid the foundation of the Union, by unanimously expressing their opinion, that the two parties, both in their confessions of the truth, and in the worship of God, do not essentially differ from each other; that their union may not be a forced, but must be free; that the symbolical books, up to this time, of both parties be recognised by both, for the Protestant Church; that in respect to the points of doctrine characterising the difference of confession, the synod expects, trusting to the spirit of love and truth from all Protestant preachers, that they will teach them, with wise moderation, so that the peace of the Church may not be disturbed, nor the bond of union broken by new and unholy discussions. At the same time it ordained as the general observance of the Lord's Supper, that the bread should be broken, and the words of the Lord at its institution should be spoken, and prepared the general agenda, hymn books, and catechisms, which since then have been introduced.

Quite in accordance with this are the decisions of the United Protestant Synods in Westphalia and in the province of the Lower Rhine, or the districts of Aix-la-Chapelle, Coblenz, and Treves, and upon this foundation all single congregations, with some few exceptions, joined the Union in the Rhine province, but eighteen Reformed and twelve Lutheran Churches continued separate; and upon this legally-founded Union the Churches and synods have maintained their ground, and have



not been led astray by the falsely-explained Royal Cabinet order of 1834, nor by the order of 1852, but adhere to it as their dearly-bought and guarded common confession of Protestant truth. Upon this foundation of the union, which was speedily concluded in the other parts of the Rhine country, religious life grew and prospered, to the praise and glory of God, in a manner up to that time unknown and unprecedented. The families and Churches, up to that time separated, together with the schools and universities, were again united, and this unity rendered them as strong as the former disunion had made them weak. It is true that very lately, on the east bank of the Rhine efforts have frequently been made in Bavaria, Hesse, and Westphalia to cast a suspicion upon the Union, and, indeed, to dissolve it; but these exertions, and their failure have only served to strengthen and confirm it. Bavaria has, it is true, had the courage after it had owed the revival of religious life in its Lutheran Church, and the commencement of foreign and home missions—especially to the two Reformed Brethren, the apostolic Professor Kraft, in Erlangen, and his friend Charles von Raumer—to exclude the few Reformed Churches from its synodal contract, and to establish itself again as Lutheran. But this unloving and unnatural separation has brought no blessing, but only involved them in a deeper and more fruitless struggle among themselves. In Hesse, the attempt to disturb the legal Union in the province of Hanau, and the gradual Lutheranism of the Reformed of Lower Hesse, has not succeeded, and the weapons which a separatist Lutheran party in the east of Westphalia and the Rhine have employed, in order to obscure and to distort plain rights, have been repelled by the good confession of the Union, and threaten to bring them under the power of selfish carnality, or after the precedent of the brethren in Silesia, Hesse, and Nassau in recent times will lead to the Roman Catholic Church, to which our Protestant congregations will never suffer themselves to be perverted. But where the doctrine of the Lord's Supper is overrated, as by the Lutheran Church, or the ordinance of holy baptism, as by the Baptists, and the refusal of fellowship at the Lord's Supper follows, and the communion of saints, grounded upon both these sacraments, has found, in a few instances, an entrance among our Churches, and separation has been occasioned thereby—it was still not this peculiar doctrine and practice which was the moving cause, but rather a deeply-

rooted propensity to separation, and therefore it was easy for the old Lutherans and for the Anabaptists to draw newly-awakened Christians to themselves. Still I must with great joy tell you that everywhere where the Union exists and is respected, on the one hand the Evangelical Alliance is beloved and cherished, and on the other, under the protection of the Union, religious liberty grows and prospers. However many, and however extravagant may be the sects and sectarians amongst us, they are always less in number than in the other provinces of Prussia; in the Rhine Province, and scarcely in Westphalia, for many years no one has been either persecuted or oppressed on this account; Nassau and Baden are also beginning to leave the old Lutherans in peace, and in this way to deprive them of the martyr-glory, and on all sides the Baptists are less and less persecuted.

From this free, Protestant, Christian standpoint, the Evangelical Alliance has always found a ready response and many friends; the first assembly in London was attended by brethren from Westphalia and from the Rhine. From this standpoint of the Union, the Evangelical Pastoral Conference at Bonn but lately professed solemnly its attachment to the principles of the Evangelical Alliance; and, in spite of the distance, many brethren, especially from the Rhine country, are present at this Assembly to-day. May it be a blessing to us!

Union and alliance, Church communion and Christian unity in the Gospel, belong to each other, as faith and love, as word and deed; and therefore in Western Germany, together with the Union, the Alliance has struck such deep root, and already borne such excellent fruit. Let us not forget that our province, the country of Gottfried Arnold, Gerhard Tersteegen, Heinrich Stilling, and Friedrich von Meyer, where Arnold in Giessen wrote, in the spirit of the Philadelphian community, his impartial History of the Church and Heresy—where Tersteegen, in Mühlheim-on-the-Ruhr, lived so entirely apart, and yet worked so beneficially—where the Westphalian Stilling, as a Christian witness, in hard times, assembled the believers of all confessions around the banner of the Lord; and Von Meyer in Frankfort scattered the seed of sacred mysticism in the Christian journals among the educated classes and among the deeper thinkers. The dreadful and unchristian religious hatred of earlier times had long ago forced more earnest minds to search for the

common truth, and for the union of its confessors, from the different religious parties. Led astray by the external form of the Christian Church, and regarding it as a sectarian Babel, or as decayed into a mere nominal Christianity—like the Church at Sardis, or at Laodicea—they longed and prayed for the promised Philadelphian, the faithful and fraternal Church, and, out of misguided piety, avoided the existing Church and her means of grace. Thus, a hundred and fifty years ago, principally in our province, arose the numerous secessions of pastors and divisions into separatists, enthusiasts, and Anabaptists, and on the other hand, the establishment of Philadelphian societies of these precursors and prophets of the Evangelical Alliance. The first idea of such an assembly of awakened and persecuted believing Christians of the ancient existing Churches, was expressed towards the end of the seventeenth century by the enlightened, but also enthusiastic, pupil of Spener in Frankfort, the Rhenish Fraülein Eleonore von Werlau, who married Dr. Petersen; and her courageous words were readily responded to in London by the mystical adherents of Jacob Böhme, of Jane Leade, John Bromley, and John Pordadge, who, in 1695, really established a Philadelphian society of none but true Christians, that soon numbered more than a hundred members; and in Scotland, the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Switzerland, found many friends and adherents. In their statutes we read as follows: "The numerous divisions, separations, and sects of Christendom, which all profess to be the true Church, can be healed in no other way than by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The consideration of the insufficiency and inadéquacy of all human means, together with a deep consciousness that love cools and faith is extinguished to such a degree, that scarcely any remains, must necessarily be a high and pressing motive to awake and arouse ourselves from the sleep of security to seek and to expect such means as are powerful and sufficient, and especially to apply all our efforts to cherish and keep alive the love and the faith which are perishing from among us. These means are not confined to a party, nor, indeed, to our society. The object and ultimate end of our assembly is not to rend in pieces, but to unite; not to erect a new Church, but constantly to cherish the spirit of love towards the members of all religions and Churches, to employ all diligence that we may, by the power of the Holy Ghost,



according to the one way of reconciliation, come to a perfect and constant union. Universal love and apostolic faith are the two great pillars of strength to our society." But the society declares itself to be only a model of the real future Philadelphian Church upon earth, from the establishment of which the conversion of the Jews, the bringing in of the Turks and other unbelievers, and, lastly, the personal reign of Christ upon earth, was not to be expected. In this they were right; the model in London itself came to nothing in about eight years, in endeavouring to form itself into a Church; and the various attempts at the formation of Philadelphian societies and communities in Hesse, Elberfeld, and Ronsdorf, in Stuttgart, Strasburg, and Berleburg, where a Philadelphian community existed from twenty to thirty years, and even by Zinzen-dorf, in the Wetterau, did not continue long, yet the extension of the Philadelphian idea was followed by important results among the mass of newly-awakened Christendom, and for which men have zealously worked—such as Dr. Horch, in Marburg; Dr. Kaiser, in Stuttgart; Dr. Brusske, in Offenbach; Dr. Carl, in the religious "Fama;" and, lastly, Stilling, in all his works. And thus we see the old Philadelphian idea, at the present time in a newer, better, and purer form, freer from the sectarian spirit, and presenting itself again in the Evangelical Alliance. May it, however, take warning from its predecessor, and avoid the byways of sectarianism and fanaticism.

It has been supposed that the Union and the Alliance were hurtful and dangerous, and not entirely without reason, if they should again be carried on with carnal zeal and an unholy sectarian spirit. But they both only desire to change and soften down that which in every visible Church is human and earthly, by the living Spirit of the Lord, which everywhere urges to the essential and real, to life and truth, since no good and excellent fruit can be produced where an internal ban separates the brethren, where there are marks branded in the conscience, and where the human Church is prized more highly than Divine Christianity. Such good fruits of the Christian spirit and life have richly blessed the whole of the Rhine country, and especially the northern half, since it has worked upon the firm foundation of the Union, and displayed in all its labours the spirit of the Evangelical Alliance. Thus the country of the Union has become the



country of missions both at home and abroad. But all this has not been brought about till the discord among the brethren had ceased. As soon, however, as the latter began to decrease, the love of missions and the cause of missions made themselves felt sooner than in any other German country, and directly after the missions in England had begun to work with united, instead of with divided force. Up to the end of the last century, Christian piety confined itself, where it existed at all, almost exclusively within the limits of the house and of the Church, or of the heart and public worship; but of an effectual participation of Christianity in public life, and its extension among Jews, the heathen, and nominal Christians, little or nothing was thought, except by the United Brethren. The existing necessity for Christian fraternal communion sought painfully to satisfy itself in the despised, and, alas! persecuted conventicles. And, in the meantime, the German Protestant Church had fallen from the Scylla of cold orthodoxy into the Charybdis of shallow enlightenment and arrogant reasoning, so that true Christians felt themselves lone and solitary, and longed vainly for fellowship. At that time rose up Dr. John Augustus Urlsperger, Senior of the Augsburg Consistory—a clear-thinking, learned, and philosophically-educated theologian, who investigated the depths of the Divine Word with the acuteness of his enlightened mind, and taught it with fearless courage, even if it did not altogether agree with the letter of the symbolical books.\* He began, in 1779 and 1780, a journey for the purposes of Christian discovery and of missions, through the Rhine country, and went to England, where he would join the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which had already existed a hundred years, and established an Anglo-German society; and, afterwards, in Basle, a German society for the promotion of true Christianity, which was responded to in the districts visited by him in East Friesland and Holland, as far as Nuremberg and Basle, and further organised itself in many smaller societies, as it were, a seed for future and better times. Basle was the centre, and dates from that time its rich blessings in manifold Christian gifts. Elberfeld was also, at that time, a very small but faithful member of this widely-extended society, the secretaries of which bore the well-known names of Steinkopf, Spittler, and Blumhardt, the first of whom has been for the last fifty-five years

\* Speech of Dr. Astertage, of Basel.

the medium of Christian communion between Germany and England. His comrade in the castle in Germany was the much-honoured Jung Stilling, who, since the publication of his "Heimweh," a highly successful imitative reproduction of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," in 1793, had laboured untiringly and effectually for the kingdom of God in Marburg, Heidelberg, and Carlsruhe, where the most pious Prince, Carl Friedrich of Baden, had appointed him. There, in 1797, he beheld in the London Missionary Society, formed in 1795, of Christians of all parties—preceded three years before by the Baptist Missionary Society—and in the union of the Germans with it, the beginnings of a new and better time, and the road to a general union already made easier. This society was, indeed, soon followed in 1797 by the Dutch, in 1799 by the East Friesland and the Elberfeld Missionary Societies, consisting of twelve praying and working brethren from the Reformed and the Lutheran Church. And while a German journal described the English Mission as the "most adventurous piece of folly which our century had produced," the first "Missionary News from the Kingdom of Jesus," appeared in Elberfeld, published by Stilling, and was read from Hungary to North America. The Missionary Society of Elberfeld was the germ of the Rhine Missionary Society, established in 1828 on the strict principles of union, and which has become, with its Mission-house, mission periodicals and colonies, one of the most richly-blessed societies in Germany; and throughout our entire district, and especially in Westphalia, it has been the means of a glorious awakening. The Rhine Westphalian Association for Israel, an equal though a weaker brother, has been connected with this mission to the heathen for the last fifteen years. In 1798, Stilling had suggested a fraternal union for the establishment of an especial Mission and Preacher's Seminary in Altona or Bremen: "The English Missionary Society, and all those connected with it, must unite together with one mind in the fear of the Lord, and make a vital point only of what is essential in the Christian faith, is necessary to salvation, and is not exposed to doubts and disputations; this they must hold fast in life or in death." "He who is in an advanced state of grace, rightly perceiving the one thing needful, not mixing up with it any favourite dogma, call himself what he will, may become a teacher."

The Tract Society followed the footsteps of the Missionary

Society in England, and afterwards in West Germany; here, too, through Stilling's exertions. "My friend Steinkopf wrote to me lately, that a new society has been established in London, having simply in view the distribution of edifying and easily-understood tracts among the common people; many thousands of little books have already been distributed gratis. One of them has been translated into German, and can be had at Elberfeld; it is entitled, 'Village Talk between a Rich Farmer and his Labourer.' It is in very deed an English tract, and a word in season. The committee have also written to you, but unfortunately can do but little, and all these kinds of English plants do not prosper in Germany. Great God! when will thy life-bringing Spirit breathe upon these dry bones?" And yet that which he had sighed for was soon brought about; and even in his time he himself, with assistance from England and Germany, could publish, from 1803 to 1813, his "Christian Friend of Man," in the name of a German Institution or Society for useful religious books; and in 1814 he welcomed the establishment of the Wupperthal Tract Society, the first, indeed, in Germany. In the same year the Berg Bible Society was established in Elberfeld, ten years after the British and Foreign Society in London, of which that watchman of Zion, Stilling, also proclaimed, "I herewith make known that another important and benevolent society has been formed in England for the distribution of Bibles gratis among the common people." By the example of this society a similar one was formed in Germany and in Switzerland (in Nuremberg and Basle). The enterprise was crowned with the desired success.

All these Christian undertakings arose and grew simply upon the soil of the union and the Alliance, among the warmest and most zealous promoters of which Stilling and his friends were to be found. And they received with the awakening of Germany in the war of liberation, and with the completed Union, a tremendous impulse. What a series of works of the home missions is connected with the honoured name of our Dr. Fliedner, of Kaiserswerth, a native Lutheran of Nassau, and an Evangelical pastor in the little community of Kaiserswerth, which only became capable of active exertion through the Union! First of all he established, in connexion with the Catholics, the Rhine-Westphalian Gaol Society, in 1826, which is now supported solely by Protestant members, and thus prepared the

way, without ostentation, for the prison reform now made the serious business of the State. Then followed the Asylum for Liberated Female Prisoners; then the Asylum for Young Children; then the Deaconesses Institution, after the example of the Dutch Mennonites, and, by the exertions of Count von der Recke, in Düsseldorf, the branches of which have spread over four quarters of the globe, and among all portions, languages, and parties of the Protestant Church; then the Deacon's House, in Duisburg; and, in close connexion with this, the Asylum for Liberated Male Felons, in Lintorf. In Dusseldorf and in Overdyke, Count Adalbert von der Recke, a Reformed Westphalian, urged by love to the Lord, founded the first Foundling Hospital in Germany; similar ones were soon established throughout the whole of South Germany, and later also in North Germany. The Educational Association, founded in Neukirch, proposed, like that of Elberfeld, to take care of destitute children, not in separate institutions, but in Christian families, and by that means effect great good, both for old and young. The matter of the Temperance Association was very readily responded to on the Lower Rhine; but, like the Gaol Society, suffered at first from the faithfully observed fellowship with the Catholic Church, which neither desires nor endures any moral and religious fellowship with us; it revived, however, again in the Wupperthal, at Langenberg, and Duisburg. The year 1848—after its terrible and heavy storms—brought also new zeal in the proclamation of the living Word of God, both in the pulpit and out of it, in special pastoral oversight, the need and blessing of which Fliedner had pointed out. The Protestant Alliance in Elberfeld armed itself against the powerful efforts of the Catholic Church under the shield of Sanders. The Rhine Westphalian Young Men's Association (which sprung from the efforts, weak indeed, but faithful, of Pastor Döring, of Elberfeld), under Pastor Durselen, in Ronsdorf, was established to stop, as much as possible, the dreadful ruin of journeymen and apprentices among the artisans; and but lately in the same spirit, the Associations for Christian merchants in Elberfeld and Bremen. Opposed to the newly-discovered fearful religious decay of the masses in so-called Christendom, especially in large or neglected communities, the Home Mission arose in 1848, under the direction of the strict Lutheran, Pastor Feldner,



in Elberfeld, but also upon Protestant ground, after the model of the English, French, and Belgian Societies, which has already spread its labours, writings, and Branch Associations far over Northern Germany. By its side arose the Evangelical Fraternal Association (*Bruderverein*) in Elberfeld—charged with similar tasks, less ecclesiastical, but quite independent—which, after many internal struggles, has adopted the nine points of the Evangelical Alliance as its own confession, without, however, organising itself into a Church. The Provincial Association for Inner Missions was established in 1849, in consequence of the testimony of Dr. Wichern, and in close connexion with the existing Church. Always ready to serve her members and organs, at first with noble and rare self-denial it laboured, guided by the learned professors at Bonn, and then transplanted to Langenberg, near Elberfeld, where it has since proved that its little strength has a widely opened door, carrying on, with its few but self-sacrificing and richly-blessed members, the evangelisation of the Germans in North America, and taking a prominent part in the association formed last year for the Protestant Germans in Paris. But enough, my dear brethren, of the work of Home and Foreign Missions in its commencement, and in its widely-spreading extension. From the Lower Rhine, on the one hand, and from Basle and Wurttemberg on the other hand, the work of Home and Foreign Missions has forced its way in its various divisions and branches to the centre, into the country of the Lower Neckar, of the Main, of the Lahn, and the Nahe, which were formerly suspicious, shy, and exclusive; and already it has shot forth rich blossoms and borne rich fruits. And all these works and associations of the Inner Mission here brought before you—first of all those mentioned as established in Hesse, not forgetting the Gustavus-Adolphus Association—have, after having received the first impulse from England, arisen at first, or originally, out of the Protestant soil of West Germany, and thence have extended themselves to North Germany, while West Germany has, as far as I know, only received from Berlin, notwithstanding its being the metropolis and the seat of the central ecclesiastical authorities, the one idea of the Pastoral Aid Society, also derived originally from England.

Thus our frontier country of the Rhine is, in fact, a land of battles and of the Cross, but it is also one of blessing in the free-

dom and order of the presbyterial, synodal, and consistorial constitution, and richly blessed above many others in Germany, as a land of union, of the Alliance and of Missions. May it never either forget or neglect its mission, and therefore ever bear in mind the words given us at the commencement, "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us;" and "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."

## III.

THE RELIGIOUS STATE OF SOUTH GERMANY,  
ESPECIALLY OF BADEN.

BY CARL FRIEDRICH LEDDERHOSE,

PASTOR AT BEOMBACH, NEAR LORRACH, IN THE GRAND-DUCHY OF BADEN.

While the Lord of the Church has guarded the country of Wurtemberg from the injurious and destructive influences of Rationalism in doctrine and practice, the countries of Baden and Bavaria have, to a certain degree, suffered from them. Wurtemberg had always its witnesses, both in town and country, who laboured in the spirit of a Bengel, of Rieger, and of Storr. It always held its private meetings, which, like a net, overspread the good land of Wurtemberg on all sides. Though there may have been different deviations, the great blessing derived from them must be highly prized. When King Frederick, in his well-known manner of carrying out everything by force, introduced a Rationalist agenda and even a Rationalist hymn-book, there was a powerful reaction. Thousands left their home, others formed the communities at Kornthal, and afterwards at Wilhelmsdorf, which adhered to the ancient jewels of the Church. Prayer and teaching was carried on, and, in spite of the mythologists, Baur, Strauss, and other anti-Christians, the faith forced its way; so that, under the Government of the present King, an excellent hymn-book and agenda were introduced. The enemy has never succeeded in ejecting the precious book for candidates for confirmation belonging to Wurtemberg, from the Church, the school, and the homes of the people.

It cannot, however, be denied that in this highly-favoured land many sad occurrences took place in the revolution of 1830, but more especially since 1848-9. Evil fruits showed themselves, that made one ask with astonishment, Is it possible, in good Wurtemberg, the country of so many witnesses, in the home of private meetings? They were seasons of judgment. God sat in judgment; and He had indeed cause to punish the

ingratitude of the Churches towards the Gospel testimonies, their loathing of them, the struggle with unbelief, the slumber of so many servants of Christ, and the rapidly-increasing wickedness and want of uprightness. Bavaria, too, which must be distinguished according to its Protestant population, into the Palatinate, and Old Bavaria had to drink a rich portion of the cup of judgment. This was especially the case in the Rhine Palatinate. Here the most universal Rationalism had carried out its work, as it had been taught by the old Rationalist Paulus, at Heidelberg, for many years, to the destruction of all that is noble, elevated, or profound. The students of theology from that University were the most zealous, and, if it were possible, the most enthusiastic hearers of this "Privy Councillor of the Church, faithful to his convictions," as he liked to call himself. They carried their treasure across the Rhine, and sought, with the tradition of a religious life and teaching, thoroughly to restore order. The United Brethren alone remained in this *Diaspora* in the Rhine Palatinate; they had the blood of the Lamb sprinkled on the lintels of their doors, and in Wurtemberg also, and in a part of Baden. In Old Bavaria Rationalism, as in Baden, found its way. Old Paulus, before he came to Heidelberg, laboured there with his friends, and left an evil seed behind him.

Where evil seed is sowed there will also be evil fruit. The unbelieving professors at the universities, and the great number of Rationalist, and in part heathenish teachers at the lower colleges, had already deprived the students of all Christian ideas. How empty, how icy cold, was it in the most of the Protestant churches and schools! Unbelief forced itself even to the lowest classes of the people, after that the so-called enlightenment had done its work in the high and highest circles. The churches became empty, household worship disappeared, and the grace at meals was no more observed. The voice of individual witnesses died away; genuine Christianity retreated into privacy, where it sighed and lamented. A spirit of frivolity universally prevailed, and a lust for pleasure made itself seen and felt everywhere. We, too, in Southern Germany, have to lament this. Marriage is not regarded, and with it is neglected the discipline of children as well as domestic life. But where the foundation is shaken, destruction threatens the erection itself. When the little family is ruined, the large family of the State hurries to its



destruction. We have lived to see this. I have touched upon the neighbouring countries, but I ought especially to keep to Baden. As a country adjoining France, it has itself been shaken by the revolutionary convulsions beyond the Rhine. Even in the last century, when the revolution of 1789 raged, our former margravate felt its ruinous effects in spite of the good government of the old margrave, afterwards the Grand-Duke Charles Frederick. He was a God-fearing man, but he could not restrain the coming storm. The revolution of July brought us State principles, which would like best to have a State without God, or at all events without positive Christianity. And what was the misery and shame of the years 1848-49 ! Such overthrows do not happen in a night without the foundations being already destroyed. The avenging hand of God interposes in such a way when the measure of sin and wickedness is full.

The wars at the beginning of this century, the diseases and famine which followed in the year 1817, awakened a longing for something better in the minds of many who had not as yet become utterly hardened. The Reformation Festival, the Union which had been effected in Baden, between the years of 1820 to 1830, the third centenary of the Augsburg Confession, had drawn attention to religious things. Rationalism had everywhere undisputed footing, and introduced books of a wrong tendency both into the Church and schools. But at the time of the introduction of the Union, a mighty trumpet sounded from an obscure corner of Baden, and in a Church which does not long tolerate such trumpet-voices. If the man were not still living, and still bearing testimony in his old age to his Saviour—in whom alone the weary and heavy-laden heart can find rest—and if it were not so utterly contrary to his taste, the name of Henhöfer ought here to be more fully spoken of. The theological faculty at Heidelberg, which, last year, has conferred upon him its highest dignity, has made chief mention of his having especially aided in the rousing of religious life in Baden. It is strange that the Reformation repeats itself in miniature among us. The renovation came from the Catholic Church, which ejected this preacher of righteousness. As a Catholic priest, and later, he laboured also in Wurtemberg ; but, with thanksgiving to the Lord, we may still reckon him as one of us. Hundreds, aye thousands, have found the Saviour

and His salvation, by means of his powerful preaching, full of light and simplicity. A crowd of clergymen, seeking after the truth, gather around him. When, in the year 1830, a catechism was published, which was neither cold nor hot, and which deviated in its principal doctrines, upon which everything depends, from the good Augsburg Confession, Henhöfer stepped forward, with six others, to protest against this book, modestly, but, at the same time, clearly and decidedly. His preaching, which had already found not only many admirers, but also much opposition, was now vehemently opposed, and the spirit which animated the hostile party—composed principally of Rationalist clergy and ecclesiastical authorities—displayed itself in violent controversial writings and even with threatenings of legal proceedings. But the good cause prospered, and many were added to the Church. In Carlsruhe and the neighbourhood, many souls were awakened out of sleep.

At the University of Heidelberg a true Christian spirit made itself felt and seen. But chiefly much was effected by the teachers of schools, as soon as the director of the Teachers' Seminary had himself become awakened to the knowledge of the truth, the distribution of Bibles, smaller pamphlets, especially of printed sermons, had a mighty influence. The Baden Missionary Association was established, missionary prayer meetings and anniversaries were held. At the principal anniversary of the association, this year, an income of 20,000 gulden was reported. The kingdom of God came with power. During the years from 1840 to 1850 it could no longer be said, as formerly, that the believing clergy might be counted by units. Among the elder thoroughly Rationalistic clergy, life was only perceptible in their hostility; middle-aged men and the younger clergy were not wanting who returned to the truths of the Bible. On every side of this small country, voices were heard raised for the Saviour; and the people too flocked to the living Fountain, forsaking those springs that yield no water. Still the General Synod during these years could not determine to effect the complete demolition of the edifice raised by its predecessor. Still more misery must be inflicted. In the years 1848-49 we felt keenly the rod of the God of judgment, but it served to bring back many, though not all. When, at the first Sandhof Conference, in the year 1848, several of the clergy of Baden demanded the permanent right of the Augsburg Confession, many asked,

What good can come out of Baden? Is it possible that in the country of a Hecker, and a Struwe such voices are to be heard? But they did not know that the Lord had been working for years for the restoration of His sorely-trying Church.

And now, what are the prospects of this Church? Those who have lived through the former times of persecution, but also of blessing, can appreciate with thankfulness the great things which the Lord has done for them. Two years ago, on the re-assembling of the General Synod, everything good might be hoped from the individuals composing it. The Church authorities had in their midst excellent men, whose call, under God, we owe to the reigning Grand-Duke. These, together with the General Synod, went hand in hand to the work. The confessions of the United Church were restored; the old belief of the Reformers was again heard in their own powerful language. An orthodox agenda will very soon be introduced, as well as a Bible History adhering to the Bible letter, and will at once be placed in the hands of the school children. There is also a prospect of a hymn-book, which will again bring the good treasure of our Church into our families and churches.

Again is to be heard in many churches the good tidings of the Gospel, and it is impossible that such preaching should not bring forth fruit. Most districts have their Missionary Associations, and the anniversaries are numerous attended. The anniversary of the National Association almost always is held in two churches, both of which are filled. And if the public worship lasts several hours, the people listen to the end attentively. A National Association of the Home Mission strives to effect its portion of the work. The Gustavus-Adolphus Association, too, is always increasing its numbers of adherents; and although, at first, it was certainly the home of the Rationalism of that time, yet there are good signs that its noble object will be promoted in the right way. We have an Association of the Home Missions of the Augsburg Confession, which not only publishes excellent works, but also supports four laymen as travelling preachers, who seek here and there to awaken and promote religious life. A religious almanack, "Der Volks Bote," from Baden, has been at work these seven years among the people, especially since it has penetrated Suabia, together with another religious almanack. We have a number of asylums which have been established in faith and in Christian charity.

In the upper parts of the country still flourishes the Garden of God (*Beuggen*), in which the heavenly Gardener has given old Simeon Zeller and his beloved family many hundreds of children.\* From his nursery many effective schoolmasters for the poor have gone forth. Although principally supported by Basle, the institution has its pleasant resting-place in Baden. At the other extremity of the country, asylums at Weinheim and Schonau are open for the reception of poor children; the same office of love is effectively carried out at Kiefenburg, near Pforzheim, and Horsthaus, near Carlsruhe. The Orphan Asylum at Dinglingen receives orphans in its motherly arms. The care of children at Nonneuweiher, in the same neighbourhood, has already educated more than two hundred nurses, who cover our country as with a net, in which the little children so dear to the Saviour are gathered together. There is in Carlsruhe itself a house for Protestant deaconesses, where many a sister has gone forth to work for the cure of patients both body and soul.

From the Teachers' Seminary believing teachers go forth, and Heidelberg has also sent believing candidates into the vineyard of the Lord. It would be ungrateful to the Lord of the Church did we not raise our voice in praise to Him for the great good and blessing He has granted to His Church in Baden. He will do still more! These are but beginnings. There are still many, very many Churches and schools, where the one thing needful is not taught. We find whole districts in which but individual voices proclaim the Gospel of salvation; orthodox efforts, positive doctrine, as it is called, extends itself; but of what avail is orthodoxy without living Christianity? Pastors holding the right doctrine but serving the world, rend with one hand that which they have built with the other. This, too, is the case with the teachers, and, indeed, with every one with whom Christianity is not the chief object. The clerical office has, indeed, been instituted by the Lord, but those who belong to it should desire to be servants, and not masters. An outward Christianity, such as is now striven after like an imitation of the Romish hierarchy, will not be able to resist the ruin which threatens it on all sides. Against such powers as these, which storm the Church as if they were demons engendered in her own bosom, and from without, there is need of men who, in the spirit of the ancient witnesses, shall stand upon the walls of

\* See *Evangelical Christendom*. Vol., XII. p. 361.—EDITOR.



Zion. To speak correctly, blessed in their own hearts with the mercy of God, willing to serve even the most wretched, they will withstand the gates of hell successfully.

I have brought before you so much that concerns Baden that I cannot help mentioning an institution that, otherwise, out of regard to the feelings of its promoters, would be left unmentioned. The Pilgrim Mission at Crischona, near Basle, close to the frontiers of Baden, consisting of a number of brethren from Baden, and which has already been a blessing to the country, in preparing labourers of an inferior order for the kingdom of God, viz., deacons, who are very necessary to the Church; for the stream of darkness spreads over the land, and, sooner or later, must create devastation. Here and there the signs of the coming ruin are perceptible. The bad literature of the day, together with its wicked newspapers and journals, which overflow both villages and towns, the open and secret assemblies in all places opposed to Christianity, the uncurbed seeking after pleasure, and the way in which it is promoted on all sides, aid the work of ruin and destruction.

I ought to have let the Gospel light in Wurtemberg and Bavaria have displayed itself, but I will leave that to abler hands. These two countries are also acquainted with the dark side of the matter. That which I have just said refers also to them. What a disturbance is made in Rhenish Bavaria by the unbelievers, if a hymn book is brought to them, from which a living Christian can sing with edification, and even in Old Nuremberg, where once the Reformation itself found so safe a resting-place! There is certainly no want of outward Christianity. Christian fruits are to be seen when the right tree is planted. May this serve as a lesson to the Church of Bavaria. But explosions such as those in 1848-49, the struggle against Christ, His Word, His discipline, His servants, as we have heard it—now, in low accents, now louder—are yet ever telling us of the midnight darkness around. It cannot remain thus. Southern Germany, which has had to sip the cup of tribulation, will have to drain the dregs. Before the kingdom of Satan falls, he will make the most desperate efforts. He has two auxiliary powers—unbelief and superstition. Both rouse themselves, and will gain the victory; and it seems as if both were successful, lastingly successful. But he who believes, knows to whom the victory belongs. We are victorious, we who do

not venture to ally ourselves with unbelief against superstition, nor with superstition against unbelief, we who are one in Christ. But it remains, as our great Reformer says in his hymn (p. 471)—

“ Mit unsrer Macht ist nichts gethan,  
Wir sind ja bald verloren,  
Es streit für uns der rechte Mann,  
Den Gott selbst hat erkoren.  
Fragst du, wer der ist?  
Er heisst Jesus Christ,  
Der Herr Zebaoth,  
Und ist kein andrer Gott,  
Das Feld muss er behalten.”

## IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE "EVANGELISCHE BRUDER-  
VEREIN" AT ELBERFELD.

BY PASTOR HEUSER,

ELBERFELD.

Honoured and Beloved Brethren,—As one of the younger members of this important Assembly, I should not have ventured to present myself before you, were it not that I do so in the name of a society which is perhaps the only one at present in Germany that is formed on the principles of the Evangelical Alliance, and has practically acted upon them for seven years past. The Evangelical Union of Brethren (*Evangelische Bruderverein*) of Elberfeld has deputed me to express to the assembled brethren the hearty and cordial sympathy of all its members and friends. I cannot better characterise the relation of this missionary association to our great Alliance than by quoting the words of the honoured President of the British Branch, who said of it, "*Ah, voilà l'Alliance en action.*" God has blessed the work of the society to many individual souls, and in many places great and permanent revivals have been effected by means of the labours of His servants; and our whole neighbourhood has visibly improved in the course of the last five years. A vigorous, cheerful, religious spirit has sensibly increased, and has taken the place of the mysticism and of a certain sanctimonious manner that formerly prevailed. The society has this great task before it to stir up all believers in the true Church of the Lord, to exercise their gifts, each in his calling, for the promulgation of the great truths of the Gospel. Although we cannot overlook the fact that the Lord has regarded our Rhine-country, and particularly the Lower Rhine, with unmerited grace, yet there is still a pressing need for the work of evangelisation. There are, indeed, individual congregations in which it is said that, from the time of the Reformation, there have been none but truly converted pastors; yet one need not go far from the favoured Wupperthal to become acquainted with large congregations in which scarcely one awakened soul is to be found. We acknowledge it, as our great and present duty, that all the members of the society shall, each in his own

circle, be personally active for the Lord. Besides this, the society now employs nine brethren, who hold more than 100 Bible-classes, and who are, besides, actively engaged in visitation and in the distribution of publications, to the yearly amount of 40,000 small and 4,000 larger tracts. At present it numbers only 180 members, but it has numerous friends; its annual income is 4,600 thalers. I will not enlarge, but only refer to what we know from experience, that the Lord manifests himself especially when we forget ourselves and our party, in testifying to the wonderful grace which has brought us from death unto life, to do which is the duty and happiness of every living Christian. I must testify, from experience, that nothing tends to strengthen brotherly love so much as the bringing forward the fundamental truths in opposition to the world and a false faith.

I could tell you of some sad experiences, for humiliations have not been wanting; we must receive them as coming from God. The most painful of these has been that we have been obliged to witness the separation of brethren who were not liberal enough to distinguish their party interests from the affairs of the association. However, these sad events occurred in earlier times, while now the grace of God enables us to maintain our brotherly communion. The majority of our members belong to the National Church; yet a fifth of our fellow-labourers, who are Dissenters, are the most zealous and active members of our society, and with great self-denial devote themselves to the work. This is especially the case with the members of the Free Protestant Church. This Church differs essentially from the Free Churches here [in Prussia]; her confession is so decided and so Evangelical, that no unbeliever could accept it, or long maintain a hypocritical connexion with it, while at the same time it is so liberal that all true believers may be received. They claim the right to receive all living Christians to their fellowship. The Lord has granted much grace to this community; and as it repels entirely the spirit of proselytism, it may be expected that great blessings will follow its exertions. May the Lord grant that we may all feel the necessity that exists in the Evangelical Church for confessing the great truths of the Gospel! May more such brotherly associations be formed, whether they commence as we have done, or in some other way, if only many among them rise up to testify to free grace in Christ Jesus!



## V.

## ACCOUNT OF THE RÖTSCHER UNION AT SPIERS.

BY PASTOR HOFFMAN,

SPIERS.

Beloved Brethren in the Lord,—I am deputed by the society formed in Spiers under the name of the Rötischer Union, to convey a fraternal salutation and the heartiest wishes that a rich blessing may rest upon this Assembly. May God, in His grace, grant that the yearning of all the children of God for unity and communion may be brought one step nearer to fulfilment, even the time when we may sing with truth, "All strife has ceased."

I come from Spiers, that old city on the Rhine, the name of which is so well known in the history of the Reformation; and the association which I represent has been formed in that city to erect a monumental church on the site of the humble parsonage-house in which the memorable Protest was prepared that was solemnly presented to the Diet of Spiers, on the 19th of April, 1529, from which the name of Protestant was given to all the Evangelical States.

In this little parsonage-house, an act of brotherly union took place, which has been blessed with rich results; for the Lutheran deputies acted together with those of the Reformed; and is not this Protest of Spiers worthy of our serious consideration to-day, as the common act of the Reformed and Lutheran Powers, that we may afresh subscribe to it with heart and mouth, as witnessing to the sole authority and sufficiency of the Word of God in all matters relating to conscience and our holy faith? We know well, dear brethren, that this Protest will be most effectually honoured by our courageously suffering, praying, and contending for the Word of the living God; by our open and resolute confession of Jesus Christ, before the whole world, as the crucified and risen Lord of glory, and as the only Saviour of sinners; and by our letting the truth, the force, and the vitality of this confession be seen in our whole country.

But would it not be a suitable remembrance and a worthy deed if that Protest of 1529 were to be honoured by a beautiful

church being built on the spot where it was prepared, and from whence it was sent forth—a church in which may be preached that Word, the free preaching and distribution of which this Protest advocated with such brave courage and with such bold humility? Our society has determined, with the help of God, to do this, relying on your brotherly assistance. To this end we have applied to all the Governments of Germany, and have received permission from all of them to apply for voluntary offerings in their respective lands. From England, also, and from Holland and Switzerland, we have received help.

But you will, perhaps, say to me, Ye inhabitants of the Palatinate have no good name; your Palatinate is not well spoken of; what is your ecclesiastical position? I answer, We are neither in a better nor a worse position than most of the other districts of Protestant Germany. Certainly, Rationalism has made great way in our congregations; but our Church, supported by the aid of faithful servants of the Lord, and by the prayers and labour of those who love Christ, is striving to free herself from this evil.

We rejoice that the worst of bad catechisms has been done away with, and that our children are again fed with the pure milk of the Gospel. We have already established two asylums in connexion with our mission, the incomes of which increase from year to year, while the annual festival of the society is flocked to by thousands from far and near. We rejoice in the prospect of opening a Deaconesses' House in Spiers. But above all, we anticipate that, by the help of God's grace, and if our perseverance in the matter holds out, the worst of bad hymn-books will soon also be superseded. Such is the state of the case with us, and I therefore think that the Palatinate is not quite unworthy of your fraternal assistance in this object; and whatever may be the language or tongue in which you may praise the Lord, we beseech you heartily and earnestly for your help in counsel and contributions, so that very soon a church may rise up on that hallowed spot which may be a memorial that the present generation holds fast to the Reformation and the Word of God; for the Word of God is everlasting.

## VI.

## THE PROTESTANTS OF HUNGARY.

1. BY PROFESSOR SZEKACS,\*

PESTH.

The total number of the Protestants of both confessions in Hungary is about three millions. The greater number belong to the Reformed. There is, however, no difference in the internal Church government; as it is in the hands of ten superintendents, who are under their respective consistories.

Two synods were held in Pesth, in the last century, one Lutheran, and one Reformed. But neither the conclusions of the one nor of the other have ever received the sanction of the State. Since that time no synods have been held.

The two Churches, therefore, stand side by side, and their union has not been consummated. This is attributable chiefly to two causes. The Lutherans possess rights which would never be granted by the Catholic party to a union. Besides which the Reformed Church are Magyars, while the Lutheran consists in part of Germans, but principally of Slavonians. Both parties, however, in a social point of view, are on good terms, and since the year 1848 have united in a common memorial to the Government.

The Protestants are, more or less, scattered through the country, as they form but about the fifth part of the population. In every episcopal town there is certainly a Church, though often a very small one. At the commencement of the Reformation, Hungary forsook the Romish clergy, and flourishing Churches arose; the Catholic reaction, however, which was headed by the bishops, had the most injurious effect upon them. In one Government district the persecution was carried even to "dragonades." For such scattered Churches as well as for

\* The Editor is only able to give a short extract of the address, as the expected materials have not come to hand; the manuscript not having been deposited at the stenographic bureau.—BERLIN EDITOR.

other Protestants living miles away from the dwelling of the pastor, travelling preachers are most pressingly needed.

Every Protestant parish has its school; but in many places there is no teacher. In such cases the instruction is imparted by the pastor. The scattered nature of the flocks also renders attendance of children at school far more difficult than of adults on public worship. One of the causes of the want of schoolmasters is the insufficient number of normal schools, of which there are only three. The difficulty is met by placing pupils from the grammar school in the office of elementary schoolmasters.

At the time of the Reformation there was much zeal in Hungary for the building of grammar schools; but when the persecution began, they were closed, and at present there is but a very small number left.

We must not speak of theological cultivation in Hungary. Those who devote themselves to the service of the Church, must seek their education at the German Universities. But this, too, is rendered difficult by legal decisions, as well as by the abolition of formerly existing scholarships.

That which is most of all necessary for the Protestants of Hungary is the foundation of a University of their own. A small commencement has been made by establishing a theological faculty at Pesth, where three professors labour. This has received the sanction of Government.

The word which the speaker directs to his German brethren in the faith is this, "Prayer! Prayer!" and he concluded with the expression of his sentiments of brotherly attachment.

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## 2. BY PASTOR LEGRAND,

BASLE.

The Hungarians and the Protestants of Austria meet with much sympathy from believers in Switzerland. Let me enumerate four evils under which, as it seems to us, they especially labour. First, the oppression which they suffer from the State, and still more from the Roman Catholic clergy, who have unfortunately become so powerful. In this respect we cannot help them, except by our prayers to God for them. Secondly, what



grieves our hearts, are the controversies on Church constitutions, and whether German or Magyar shall govern; and in these unpleasant conflicts we neither can nor will have anything to do. Thirdly, in Hungary, churches, seminaries, and school-houses are wanted. Here, the Gustavus-Adolphus Society assists; and we too, who have neither dollars nor gulden, but only insignificant francs, think that even they will not be despised. But what pains us most is, that Rationalism, mingled with sentimentality, prevails even among those few who serve the Lord, both of clergy and laity throughout the Austrian States. Now, it is my conviction, and also that of my brethren, that the best thing we can do for the Hungarians is to provide them with pious and earnest Christian ministers. We cannot renew men's hearts in Basle any more than you can in Berlin; but this we can do, we can give the Hungarians an education; and without being presumptuous, I believe that Basle is the most suitable place for that purpose. In my seminary, where I have twenty-four students, there are at present three Hungarians, but we have only two free scholarships; and I wish that, besides these two, others should be founded in order that we may be able to send thoroughly qualified pastors to Hungary.

## VII.

THE RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL POSITION  
OF BOHEMIA.

BY THE REV. DR. NOWOTNY,

PASTOR OF PETERSHAIN, NEAR NIESKY, IN UPPER LAUSITZ.

The people upon whom I am called to speak before this important Assembly, are generally known by the name of Bohemians; they, however, call themselves the Tschechen, by which appellation they are historically spoken of.

The name Cech, or Tschech, upon the origin of which all sorts of conjectures have been made, means "a speaker;" *Cesi*, *Cechowe*, "the speakers"—those who use the same idioms derived from the old Slavonic *dzjack*, "I speak, talk, say." The name Tschechen means, therefore, a sub-division, or tribe of the same race, or the same origin of family or race, which may be seen in the similarity of their language.

These sub-divisions of the great Slavonic family sprang up naturally, like the word *slovo* (speech, word, language), from whence was derived the common name of the Slavonians, which was originally also the name of a sub-division of the same, and, in course of time, divided itself into different dialects. These varieties of language gradually formed by different influences, and by a want of general instruction in schools, rooted themselves more and more firmly, and became the cause of the grouping into different tribes, and later into distinct peoples.

The Russians, the Ruthem, the Slovacks in Hungary, the Slavonians in Slavonia, the Slovinci in Carinthia, all derive their name from the same root. And here it should be observed that the Germans, the nearest neighbours of the Slavonians, and with whom they had most intercourse, were called by them the *Nemci*, or, "the dumb"—the not-speaking ones—and foreigners. From what has been said, the great love, and, indeed, tenacity with which the Slavonian of every tribe adheres to his own language, may be explained.

The emigration of the Tschechen to their present father-land took place A.D. 535. They came from the southern part of what

is now called Hungary, and, to a certain degree, under sufferance of the Franks, whose king, Theodoric, had wrested the country from the Thuringians, who had possessed it for some time after the defeat and retreat of the Morcomans.

The Slavonians quietly succeeded the Germans, and settled down in the deserted country as colonists, shepherds, and agriculturalists. This quiet establishment of an industrious people was very salutary to the country after a season of such devastation. They found, on their establishment in Bohemia, remnants of the former Teutonic inhabitants of the country, with whom they in all probability, in a measure, amalgamated, and at last became as one people.

But a distinguishing characteristic of the Slave is, his unbounded veneration of God, with a love of religion and respect for its servants. The Slave lives in God, without whom one might say he cannot speak. His daily greetings, adieus, wishes, and sayings, his domestic manners and habits, his happiness and misfortunes, his bodily health and manifold ailments, indeed, even the slightest occurrence of his life, drives him to God, and comes to him from God, with whom he has continual intercourse. To the Slave, no narration, or anything else, is perfect that has not a reference to God. He honours his clergyman, and calls him *Knez*, as he does his prince, and submits to him as to his king.

This deep religious feeling explains the willingness of the Slave to contribute to the promotion of the honour of God and of religion, as well as his great love to the poor, his known hospitality to strangers, and his really rare tolerance of those who are persecuted for the faith.

The religious nature of the Slaves has very much prepared the way for the spread of Christianity among them; they themselves begged for missionaries, and in the year 880 they threw their idols into rivers and swamps with their own hands; and we may say that the Word of God spread quickly.

The principal cause of the willing reception of Christianity on the part of the Slave, and particularly of the Tschechen in Moravia and Bohemia, was the fact, so important to the Slaves, that the Church, according to apostolic usage, presented itself to the people in teaching and public worship, by means of their own language, quiet and loving as a friend, who invites his fellows to familiar conversation on the most important sub-

jects. The people who gave themselves to the Saviour in Christian communion, received, as the gift of this community, the sacred Scriptures, which had been translated into their language. Christianity was thus firmly retained in the language of the people, which, obedient as the people themselves, received its holy thoughts, purifying and extending itself as it became sanctified by the Psalms of David, the parables of Christ, and the writings of St. Paul. The language received from the holy brethren its own alphabet, imitated from the Greek, and with it a peculiar character of mildness and majesty. By means of these characters, and from the great similarity of the Slavonic to the Greek language, the clergy were easily able to learn Greek, and so obtained access to the classic works of Greece and to the fountain-head of Christianity. The translation of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament was the first fruit of modern literature possessed by the Tschechens, and they were, by this means, enabled to understand rightly their earlier history, and to preserve in writing the most important part of it, and also to hand down to posterity a history of their language. By this transition from heathenism to Christianity, proceeding from the race itself, the power of the national taste and feeling was preserved; both were penetrated by the faith newly introduced, yet ancient, inasmuch as it but fulfilled the longings of the people; both received their true impulse and consecration. Nor did they become extinguished or necessitated to force a path, as was later the case in the Romish Church, for the old ecclesiastical principle did not curb the freedom of the people in its nationality, but it urged both onwards by binding both in a natural manner to the obedience of the faith. Thus the Tschechen people, under the regulating law of an education in common, without losing the inextinguishable character of their origin, or in any way injuring it, were to form those salutary connexions which should later bring them into the European family. But thus the rapid progress of Christianity among the Tschechen in Moravia and Bohemia is explained.

But not outwardly alone, the kingdom of Christ was established also in the hearts of the people of Bohemia; all that was done and planned was in the language of the people, so that all might understand. The people, too, assisted actively; for, having the Holy Scriptures in their hands, they exercised a



control over the proceedings, and, therefore, there was no cause for mistrust.

This, however, was not to continue; but rather the erection of the tabernacle of God in the midst of the Bohemian people, already in such a state of progress, must be discontinued, the work delayed on divers pretences, made a matter of question by strange representations, left exposed to storm and wind without covering or protection, then again miserably propped and mended, but at last pulled down as unserviceable.

The Pope of Rome saw with displeasure this accession to the dominion of the orthodox (Greek Oriental) Church. Nicholas I. took every pains to dissuade the Bulgarian king, Bogoris (who was called Michael after his baptism), from his adherence to the Slavonic-Greek ritual. His solicitude, however, proved ineffectual. But matters were making the better progress in Bohemia. The Archbishop of Salzburg accused the Slavonic apostles, Cyrillus and Methudius, in Rome, of having introduced the Greek mode of worship in the language of the country, and of having even translated the Holy Scriptures and given them into the hands of the people in his diocese. That was, indeed, in the eyes of the Romish Church, a thing unprecedented in those days, and one which must not be tolerated. Cyrillus and Methudius were therefore summoned to Rome to answer to the charge. The Pope was quieted upon their submission to the Roman Patriarch, and Hadrian II. consented that they should not only preach but celebrate the mass in the Slavonic tongue. But John VIII. revoked this permission in 872. Methudius went, however, repeatedly to Rome, and succeeded, by his mediation and representations, in inducing John VIII. to withdraw his prohibition, and the Pope even consecrated him as a bishop. But it was only an artful compliance with the necessities of circumstances. Such was the state of things during the lifetime of the two Slavonic apostles. But the Romish Church raised its head mightily when the first bishop was appointed in Bohemia. The Pope granted this to Boleslaw II., or the Pious, in 968, in the person of Diethmar the Saxon, but only on condition that the bishop should observe the rites of the Romish and not of the Slavonic Church. Thus the national Slavonic Church, with its intelligible worship, appeared as proscribed; but how little ground was gained by the Romish Church was proved by the fate of the second Bishop of Prague,

St. Adalbert, who, although Cech by birth, and of an illustrious Wladiken family, yet experienced so much opposition, that three times he was obliged to leave the country, and was at last killed by the Pagan Prussians, the last to whom he preached the Gospel. Here he trod unknown the sacred soil, and must pay with his life for his Romish zeal. But the Cyrillian Church suffered still more severely when Wratislaw II., in 1063, established a Romish bishopric in Olmutz. Thus the National Church was hard pressed from two quarters, and from that also from which it had first received its life. The higher classes turned gradually to the ritual of the Church of Rome; its creed, by virtue of the influence which belonged to it politically, was called the religion of the superiors or lords (*pauska wira*).

The people adhered, according to circumstances, to the Slavonic ritual, which was called the Peasant's, or common religion. The Dukes certainly gave in their adherence to the creed of the superiors earlier than many others, according to the position of dependence or independence in which they stood to the German kings; and to the former the spread of the Romish faith was represented as their highest duty, by which the whole policy of the sacred Roman kingdom was formerly connected. Still, there were among the Bohemian princes some who, partly from interest, partly from love to the people, took the Slavonic ritual under their protection; but there also the same irresolution was evident where political interests were at issue. This is most plainly to be seen in the fate of the Slavic monastery of Sazawa, which was alternately filled with Slavonic and German monks, till, finally, the former were obliged to give place to the latter, then under Wratislaw II. The Pope wrote that the Holy Scriptures, from being accessible to every one in his mother-tongue, would no longer be valued. Astonishing, that a thing would become more valuable if it were not known! The Cyrillian Church produced, during this period of oppression, the two saints, Procopius, Abbot of Sazawa, and the hermit Ivan. As if in remembrance of the Church of the holy Cyril and Methudius, the Emperor Charles IV., that Titus of the Bohemians, obtained, as a reward for his services, permission from Urban VI. (to whom he had secured safe conduct through Italy on his return from Avignon), for the performance of the Slavonic form of worship in the Emaus Church at Prague, though certainly it was but for a few years only.

Rome, however, while destroying, in a most merciless manner, the voluntarily accepted National Church and forcibly planting her own strange one in its stead, was opposed by those who were not yet converted to Christ, and who only very slowly, and by the intervention of force, could be induced to become Christians. Already, under Boleslaw II., who founded a Roman bishopric at Prague, the heathen Tschechen rose and collected in frightful numbers, particularly in the neighbourhood of Saatz. They were, however, subdued and, in a great measure, extirpated. By means of the convents, which already appeared in great numbers, and which were filled with the sons of the soil, the heathen element disappeared, and Bohemia became Roman Catholic, more from the fear of punishment than from conviction.

#### COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMATION IN BOHEMIA.

The Cyrillian Church—which had been established on the national soil by the voluntary subjection of the people, and had maintained its worship, even though limited and interrupted, as late as the thirteenth century, and even in the fourteenth, although only for a short time it was revived in a single Church in Prague—had still exercised a certain salutary influence upon the Romish Church, in awakening the national feeling and in keeping guard. Single portions of the Cyrillian Liturgy—as, for example, the *Hospodine pomilu ny* (“Lord, have mercy upon us”)—are still sung by the people to beautiful melodies and with heartfelt devotion, and are proofs how much this intelligent worship had penetrated the minds of the people, and imbued and enlightened them with its beautiful antiphonies and responses from the Scriptures. The Bible of the Cyrillian Church preserved still some light in the land, and diffused among those even of the Tschechen people, who, by virtue of their position, were called upon not to keep this light under a bushel. Wherever the Romish Church produced anything in the national language analogous to these scriptural doctrines—whether in the sermon, public devotion, or song—it was thankfully accepted and received as spiritual food; on the contrary, many portions of the Romish service which, from their frequent and loud repetition in the masses, which were sung, were also firmly imprinted on the memory of the people, although the meaning was unknown, were used as imprecations,



or parodied in Bohemian words of similar sounds, served as a laughing stock, and, indeed are so to the present day.

Hence, it may with justice be assumed, that, in the very midst of the Romish Church, and arising from the manner in which it was introduced into Bohemia, a spirit began to develop itself which should hereafter so powerfully shake its dominion. Besides, a Church which introduced itself among a people only as a worldly conqueror, and not as anxious for their spiritual conversion, could not possibly, under the circumstances already mentioned, anticipate a successful future. It is certainly remarkable that already in the year 1257, Pope Alexander IV. sent two Minorites to Bohemia as Inquisitors, with a demand to King Otakar, in which he expressly complains, that in some places, there were a great many (*quam plurimi*) who had turned from the way of truth, and who even directed their pestilential principles to the pulling down of the walls of the true faith. The enterprising spirit of the Tschechen induced many to visit foreign countries, in order to collect treasures of knowledge, and was later one of the moving causes of the foundation of the first German University in Prague in 1348. But the sort of religious spirit that reigned in Bohemia may be perceived from the appointment of Conrad Waldhauser, an Augustine canon from Austria, as preacher in Prague, 1360. Conrad Waldhauser was a thorough Bible Christian; he preached only in German, but entirely to the taste of the Tschechen, with the force and expressiveness of the Holy Scriptures. He preached first at St. Gallus, but later in the Theinkirche. His powerful oratory described not only the depraved morals of the inhabitants of Prague, but also the simony, the avarice, and vices of the priests, and particularly of the monks. The result of his preaching was so remarkable, that women laid aside their finery and vain personal ornaments and clothed themselves modestly and simply; and even the so-called "Helmbrechte" (*i.e.*, a set of men from whom honourable women were not secure, even in the church) did public penance. But Waldhauser was not so fortunate in his sermons against the priests and monks, who certainly laid aside for a while their mutual hatred, but only that they might unitedly oppose him. "Once you quarrelled," said Waldhauser to them, "about the bodies of the rich; now you are united in your hatred of me. Your founders, were they to rise from the dead, would no longer recognise you; and were



they to appear to you, you would not receive them, but be the first to stone them."

But what Waldhauser effected in the German language was done with still greater effect in the Bohemian by Militsch von Kremser. Militsch was Vice-Chancellor under the Emperor Charles IV., in which capacity he often accompanied him on his journeys in Germany; finally he was Prebendary of St. Veit's, at the Radschin. Inspired by the great success which attended Waldhauser in the Lord's vineyard, Militsch laid aside all his dignities, in order to serve Christ in poverty. To this end he went for some time into the country, to the pastor at Horschow-Thein, in order to obtain some knowledge of pastoral duties, and particularly of preaching. Returned to Prague, he preached at St. Niklas', at first to only a few hearers, but by degrees their number increased to such an extent that, in order to satisfy their cravings for God's Word, Militsch was often obliged to preach four or five times. His sermons were like those of Conrad Waldhauser, purely scriptural, full of fresh fancy and warm feeling, with powerful apocalyptic expressiveness. In this manner he portrayed the manners of the times to people and priests, as well as in a treatise on the time of Antichrist, the near approach of which he announced, the title of which was, "*In nomine Jesu, qui est testis fidelis.*" The success of his efforts was immense. Numbers of houses of ill-repute, which were notorious under the name of "Venice," became empty, and were afterwards filled with penitents; and Militsch, with the gifts of the pious, founded the Jerusalem College, for the reception of the penitent disciples of Magdalen. His zeal often exposed his life to danger; Romish priests and monks laid in wait for him everywhere; he was often accused and was obliged to vindicate himself on account of his book upon Antichrist; he was also summoned to Venice, where he died (1374). His influence extended beyond the boundaries of Bohemia, far into Poland.

But what was deficient in Waldhauser and Militsch in the use of the pen was amply compensated for by Mathias von Janow, Canon of St. Veit, in Prague, who has rightly been called one of the founders and fathers of the Bohemian Reformation. His six books of the Rules of the Old and New Testaments are a real treasure, and a mine of Evangelical knowledge, and became the guide of many. They contain inquiries into

true and false Christianity. A few words from the introduction to this work will show the spirit in which Mathias von Janow wrote. "In these compilations," writes Von Janow, "I have principally made use of the Bible, and only occasionally of the writings of the learned; for to me the Bible is always ready and richly sufficient for every consideration and every subject. By it and from it, and its Divine truths, which are quite evident and clear in themselves, all the remaining propositions may be confirmed, sanctioned, and made more profitable. I have loved the Bible from my youth; it has been as my friend and bride, as the mother of love, knowledge, fear, and sacred hope. I must avow that, from my youth up, and during my whole life up to my grey hairs, the Bible has been my constant companion, both at home and abroad, and during my times of labour and of rest." It is also almost certain that Mathias von Janow translated the Holy Scriptures anew into the Bohemian language, and that Huss afterwards revised this translation, and introduced it among the people. In the above-mentioned six books, Von Janow complains very much that the Romish priests take no notice of the crucified love and mercy of Jesus Christ, and only give human laws and tenets as the grounds of justification and salvation. Just so he spoke against the worship of pictures and saints, and was also the first who dispensed the sacrament in both kinds. Called, with some professors and preachers, to appear before a synod at Prague, 1389, to answer for his opinions, he was not merely successful, but his defence was so skilful and wise that his reputation not only did not suffer, but increased. While considering the work of these three great men, and reading their productions, one could imagine oneself in the midst of the Reformation. They had all received in an extraordinary manner gifts from above, so that air, warmth, power, life, and fertility might be brought into the disturbed vineyard of Christ, and right and justice to bear upon ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs.

The great importance of the writings of Mathias von Janow for the approaching Church reform became apparent after his death, 1394, when the Bohemian scholars first began to imbibe their principles, among whom Johann von Pilgram and Jacobellus von Mies were the most celebrated.

Biblical Christianity was soon spread over the whole land by means of the teachers of the University; and there it found a

well-prepared soil. For, apart from the religious disposition of the people, each student who wished to take the Bachelor's degree was obliged to occupy himself for two years with elementary education in the small towns and villages, and exceptions to this rule were most rare. They had opportunities for reading all the writings of the celebrated scholars in the three Universities of Paris, Oxford, and Prague; and their number is shown in a register of the year 1408, according to which there were in the University of Prague not fewer than 200 Doctors and Masters, 500 Bachelors, more than 30,000 students, and a great number of priests.

Indeed, almost all Bohemia studied, and it was no rare thing for country people to read the Latin and Greek classics in the original text. This study and reading became more and more theological, till at last the Holy Scriptures were the common reading-book of the country. Thus the question which had for a long time agitated Prague, now became the problem of the whole Bohemian nation; namely, whether Christianity fulfils or accords with the doctrine of Christ and of His Apostles. The Romish party affirmed that this was the case, because the faith of Peter can never cease, and that the Church is infallible; but the Reform party called these only idle pretexts, as facts prove something different. And when the Romish party declared that the Bible must not be followed and trusted unconditionally, they were answered by the Reformers: If the Bible is to be our teacher, it must not be our servant. The Bible always appeared to be the only true touchstone which was applied to the Romish Church; and this test it could not stand. What Waldhauser once said to the monks, "If your founders were to arise from the dead, they would no longer recognise you, neither would you receive them, but be the first to stone them," was now said of the whole Romish party—that if the Saviour were to come again, they would not receive Him, but would crucify Him in a yet more shameful manner than the Jews did. Thus, at the end of the fourteenth century, matters had reached this point, when Huss began his career.

Huss and his friend Jerome were the important men who, with rare power, brought to perfection and development the spiritual seed which had so long been scattered abroad.

In Huss were united all the great qualities which his predecessors, Waldhauser, Militsch, and Mathias von Janow had

possessed in a singular degree. As a preacher he was less stormy than Waldhauser, and less mystical than Militsch. His addresses were not so exciting as those of the two first Reformers, but the results were consequently more certain. Huss spoke to the understanding, awoke reflection; and while instructing and convincing, he was at the same time affectingly impressive. The sense of his words was always clear and acute, and with great dexterity he would strike at the root of a subject, and even make the most abstruse theme clear and comprehensible to each of his auditors. His great knowledge of books, particularly his rare knowledge, for those times, of the works of the Fathers and the Holy Scriptures, his faithful defence of the Christian faith and ethical morality, his great observance of truth in his behaviour, his holy faith, his piety and pure walk, his burning zeal for the salvation of mankind, and particularly of his countrymen, his firm faith in acknowledged truth—these qualities raised him above all others. And with all this, his only ambition was that of which the martyr's crown was the highest point.

While Huss rarely left Prague the whole world was almost too small for his friend Jerome. He was now in Paris, then again in Heidelberg, in Odessa, in Vienna, in Poland, in Russia, and even in Jerusalem, but also at times again in Prague, when it answered the purpose of the head of the University, whose doctrines he widely promulgated, to avail himself of his rare eloquence and presence of mind. Both of these men eagerly seized the writings of Wickliffe, although they did not agree with the English Reformer in everything. But previous to, and simultaneous with, Huss, there were several masters of the Prague University who agreed entirely in Wickliffe's doctrines, such as Nicholas von Leutomischl, Stanislaus von Znaim, Stephan Paletsch, and the astronomer, Krzistan von Prachatiz. Great shortsightedness was displayed by the archiepiscopal clergy in Prague, when they believed that they had made an end of heresy in that city by frequently condemning, as heretical, particular doctrines extracted from Wickliffe's writings, and by at last burning his complete works. Reform had struck deeper root in Bohemia than was acknowledged by the Church of Rome, on account of its strange character, and in its over-estimation of its own power. At the same time the defence and condemnation of single articles of the



doctrines of Wickliffe were the direct cause of the outbreak.

Many circumstances favoured the rapid development of the grand events which were to take place, among which were prominent the great moral degeneracy of the Romish Court, and its clergy, who performed their sacred functions in a merely worldly manner, and also the desire so generally felt among the people for reform of both head and members. The departure of the German students and professors from Prague, on account of the loss of the three votes at the choice of the Rector of the University and of other dignitaries, was the removal of a powerful defence, which had opposed itself to the development of reform in Bohemia, and thus gave to it a stronger colouring of nationality, so that Bohemian and heretic were at that time synonymous terms. In the disputations upon the indulgence of Pope John XXIII., the Scriptures were proclaimed as the sole rule of faith, and thus the principal doctrine of Protestantism was established, from which the others naturally proceed.

Thus Huss considered himself justified in persisting in his duties as a preacher, notwithstanding he was already banished ; and as Prague was laid under interdict, and he yielded so far as to retire into the country, where he preached, as occasion offered, to countless numbers, who flocked to him from all parts in order to see him and to hear him preach. This reform extended over the whole of Bohemia and Moravia. As centuries before, the Bohemians had willingly received the Gospel and the Scriptures, which had been brought to them from Swatopluk, so willingly and eagerly the Moravians yielded themselves to the Gospel which was again given to them by the Bohemians, and in faithfulness to and defence of which they often exceeded the latter.

Terrible were the consequences which Rome brought upon Bohemia and the neighbouring countries by the fines of Constance. Bohemia and Moravia were, so to speak, in a state of constant controversy as to the sacraments and the Word of God, by which those who first remained neutral were drawn into the struggle to the sacrifice of both life and goods. From the ashes, at Constance ; a warfare was enkindled which lasted more than two hundred years ; and who can describe the sufferings and desolation that resulted from it ? During this period, there was occasionally a truce for a longer or shorter time, when one or the other party, or both together, found themselves too weak and

incapable of actively pursuing the strife which was however raging in their hearts. These sufferings increased the more from the fact, that the people were not united in the common object of Church reform—and especially as to the external form which the Church was to assume—and as each party struggled uncertainly for its own opinions without either political head or tendency.

It had become very evident that a reform was necessary in the Church, but how far this might and ought to go was not unanimously determined. But two opinions were formed in time, the one held by the "Utraquists," and the other by the "Taborites." The former had their residence in Prague; they gathered their opinions and doctrines from the University and learned colleges; they sought, as much as possible, to keep on terms with the ancient Church, and at last confined themselves to the four points of the Basle compact. The Taborites were formed from among the people, and acknowledged only the authority of the Bible. They were, however, again divided, one portion of them—and among these the leader Zizka—observing several customs in common with the Utraquists, which were not opposed to the Bible, the rest repudiating these things, and thus drawing upon themselves the hostility of Zizka himself. Both parties, however, signify the Christian Church and the universal priesthood of believers. Zizka distinguished but three classes of men, viz., true Christians, open enemies to the law of Christ, and mere nominal Christians or hypocrites, whom he pursued and judged with undeviating severity; for in unbending fanaticism in piety and discipline he exceeded all the Taborites. In this respect he knew neither indulgence nor gentleness. If we were to characterise the factions of the Bohemian Reformers by the terms now in use among the Protestant confessions, we should call the Utraquists, Anglicans; the real adherents of Zizka among the Taborites, the Lutherans; and the Ultra-Taborites, the Reformed. The physical, and much more the moral power, belonged to the moderate party of the Taborites, with their leader Zizka. Among them was especially to be seen the powerful inspiration and influence of the Word of God, which their eloquent leader well understood how to awaken again and again, and the most entire faith in the law of Christ. Zizka, with his invincible arm, before which the enemy fled in all directions, is the reflex of the spiritual power in Huss

with which he shook the false and worldly authority of the Papal See. Zizka owes his great military reputation to the Hussitism, without which he would have died as a mere courtier of Wenzel IV.; and Hussitism again owes the greater part of its intellectual influence to the originality of Zizka, without which it would, perhaps, have shared the fate of the Waldenses. Since the three above-mentioned factions had the same origin, and still retained the most important articles of faith in common, they always held together when danger threatened, and from this union proceeded those deeds of bravery that have no parallel in history, and which would have been able, with small difficulty, to build up a political edifice of enormous dimensions, if politics, after all, had been the foundation of this religious conflict in Bohemia. A certain political unity existed among the Taborites, in most of the towns of Bohemia, for mutual help against their enemies, both in and out of the country; but it was rather of a religious character, according to the model of the Apostolic Church, and was the foundation of the "Brotherly Unity," which afterwards developed itself more fully. Zizka himself acknowledged but the one title of "Brother," and thus he called himself in his letters and speeches.

With the failure of a political principle which had kept and united the parties against the Romish phalanx, it became an easy thing for Rome to destroy, by all sorts of evil machinations and artifices, the creations of the fresh power of a people inspired by living faith—even to fanaticism—among whom the monarchical principle was only in abeyance, but not annihilated. After fruitless attempts to bring the Bohemians to obedience by the sword, she gained over the Utraquists, and a portion of the Hussites, wearied with the struggle, by the grant of the well-known Basle compact, and then vanquished and annihilated the Taborites, for whom there was no consideration at all shown in the above-mentioned compact. Soon enough the Utraquisten found out how sincere Rome was in her intentions; the great King George von Podiebrad, and also Rokyczana, best learnt how far she might be trusted. The compacts were declared heretical, and secretly stolen away by the Papal Legate. The Utraquists would have had, after all, to experience the same fate as the Taborites, had not the prophecy of Huss been fulfilled, and Providence raised up Luther, and by the religious movement in Germany, lent new power and life to

the expiring Reformation in Bohemia. The brethren, purified in the fire of tribulation, again gathered together, trusting wholly to the inner life in Christ, and active diligence; they kept up a brisk correspondence with Luther, who spoke most highly of their Church government, and the hearty sincerity of their faith. The Utraquists, too, began to develop their sobriety by purer preaching of the Gospel, but the Protestant nobles of Bohemia, trusting to their privileges and the constitution of the kingdom, and with the presentiment of coming evils, refused to comply with the wish of Ferdinand I., that they should fight against the Saxons. New misfortunes came upon the country, and the nobles were accused of want of fidelity, and the brethren especially were severely censured. The Royal letter of Rudolph II. ensured to the Protestants of Bohemia religious freedom and equal rights with the Catholics (1609). But Rome could not permit this. Her Jesuits provoked the Protestants, wherever it lay in their power, by the most open disregard of the rights granted to them. The war broke out, because the Jesuits wished it unconditionally, and ended, as they had desired, by the destruction of the Protestant Church in Bohemia (1620). The chief Protestants were executed, the Protestant nobility of Bohemia scattered over all parts of the world, the country depopulated by constant emigration, and those who did not quit the country were compelled to become Catholics. The Jesuits converted the Protestant population of Bohemia by means of the well-known and justly-aborred dragonades of Lichtenstein, not a few of the victims rather dying on the rack in fearful tortures than deny the Protestant, and accept of the Catholic, faith. The faithful adherence to that which they had recognised as the law of Christ, has shed a halo of glory around them as true Protestants in the long period of suffering in the counter-Reformation. Like a lion long hunted, wounded in many places, but again recovering himself, and again roused from repose, and wounded afresh till he is urged to frenzy, and rages and destroys on all sides, till, wearied in the long struggle, he sinks and receives the last death-wound—thus Bohemia, attacked in its reform, fought long for its maintenance, till it sank with weariness into the long sleep of death, yet not without hope of a resurrection. I refrain from speaking further upon the tragical events, for they are such as I could best weep over.

The Jesuits, after having become masters in Germany, had at



least equalled, if not exceeded, the most cruel of the Romish tyrants, in the persecution of the Protestants, and by such means had rendered the country outwardly Catholic. They spoke softly; but woe to him who did not concede to them! When, however, they were less fortunate in the Thirty Years' War, and were obliged to grant religious liberty to the Protestants, in the Westphalia Peace they still found, to their great joy, that there was not a single Protestant Church in Bohemia that could avail itself of the religious recognition. The old convents in Bohemia were again restored, the Jesuits themselves had received many of the confiscated estates of the nobles, and they erected a number of colleges in the country, at least one in each of the larger towns. They performed the restored form of worship, with far greater splendour and pomp than formerly, in order to attract the people to the churches. But how difficult this was at first is proved by the remarkable circumstance, that the people were forced to attend the church according to the house number. Here and there many a one excused himself, when they came into the house, with the exhortation, "to church," that it was not their turn yet. The people, therefore, though apparently Catholic, were not easy to be converted. In the deepest silence, at night, in the severest weather, some at least continued to assemble in the forest, in cemeteries, and other secure and unfrequented places, to mourn over the destruction of the Protestant Zion of their country, that its paths, which formerly were trodden by thousands who there sang God's praises and enjoyed His sacraments, were overgrown with grass. The Jesuits traced with Argus eye all such assemblies, and, wherever they discovered them, they stationed night watches of hirelings, that were placed at their disposal, and caused those thus found to be savagely butchered. Still, they did not discover all. These persecutions were carried on more than 150 years, from 1620 till 1770, when the order of Jesuits approached its own decline, and under Maria Theresa a new spirit began to be felt. The secret services of praise, prayer, and the reading of books that had escaped destruction served as the only ray of hope for better times, in the darkness, and preserved symptoms of life up to the latest period.

When Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, conquered Silesia, driven by the threatened danger on the part of Prussia, the Bohemians were permitted to give freer utterance to their

opinions; after, too, that the Jesuits had been put on one side as injurious and useless, some thousands of Bohemian families announced themselves as ready to emigrate to Prussia, and established in Silesia colonies bearing the historical names of Hussinetz, Tabor, Podiebrad, and Hradetz. This did not escape the notice of Joseph II. He saw plainly that many of the old Hussites were still living in Bohemia; and in order to prevent further emigration, he lightened the yoke which they hated by issuing the well-known Edict of Toleration, in 1781. Scarcely was this known in Bohemia when a great number of secret Hussites demanded permission to exercise their religion openly. The applications soon became so numerous that the Romish hierarchy took alarm lest all Bohemia should return to the old heresy, and a tremendous hue and cry was raised by the Jesuits still remaining in the country. The numerous suspensions of monasteries under Joseph II. made the newly-gained liberty more complete. The higher powers found themselves obliged to shorten the term fixed for applications. Those who had applied in time at the Government offices, and had not been held back by the hindrances that lay in the way, were united into Churches according to the circumstances of the place, and the number of the families, and joined themselves for the most part to the Augsburg Confession, as they were not allowed to call themselves Hussites. Those who applied at a later period were first of all to submit to six weeks' instruction from the Catholic priest of the district, and might then only secede if they firmly persisted in their intention, and were considered sufficiently instructed in the Roman Catholic faith. From the Edict of Toleration there arose in Bohemia fifty-nine pastors and 92,958 souls, in Moravia and Silesia (Austrian territories) forty-five pastors and 119,983 souls, belonging to the Protestant confession.

By the enactment of the six weeks' instruction, in later years, after the death of Joseph, the Edict of Toleration was as good as abolished. Many faithful souls have trod the weary road to the Roman Catholic priest for years without obtaining their object—viz., the permission to secede. It was, too, a long time before the newly-founded churches had pastors appointed to them, or churches built. They were obliged to attend to both, themselves, and, in doing this, were limited in every way, and had, first of all, to surmount Himalayas and Chimborazos of

difficulties, nor dared to weary, if they could build in an obscure corner a miserable house of prayer, without tower or anything else that might excite observation, and then support a preacher. Their astonishing fidelity and gratitude, that accepted the slightest aid as an act of pure grace, often suddenly awakened a helper and a good adviser.

It is evident that the Protestant Church thus raised up could not be particularly active in the spread of the Gospel in Bohemia. In her miserable position, and with the inferior education of her preachers, who were derived from Hungary, she bore no comparison to a glorious past; nor could she, indeed, exert herself in any way without the permission of the Romish Church, upon which she was made entirely dependent, and by which every free action was suppressed. Nor dare she boast of the talisman of a pupil of the undying Master Huss, being almost looked upon as a foreign importation, having no root in the country, and adhering to the doctrines of Luther and Calvin; they were, therefore, often reproached with the customary *Nemecka wira* (German faith)—a not directly harmless, and for Bohemia, an insignificant reproach. Thus, however, it did not appear to their jealous opposers. She was still a branch from the good olive-tree—the shoots of which they had, indeed, hewn off, but the stem, with its widely-spreading roots, they could not destroy. The new Church re-called by her name “Protestant Church,” the highly-blessed past, aiding, by her beautiful hymns, which she had saved from the ancient and venerable ruins of the faith, to preserve the thread which had never been entirely broken. Scattered believers joined themselves to her ranks; the beautiful hymn of “Jesus” sounded sweetly day and night in the dwellings of those who were still among the faithful. Thus the new Church became a partaker of the root and sap of the olive tree.

The second important fact that began to develop itself with the much-harassed and oppressed sufferance of the Protestant confession in Bohemia, was the revival of the Bohemian language, which began now to rise up out of the obscurity and sleep of death to which it had been consigned by the Jesuits. Bohemian Bibles (among which, the “Kralitzische” of the Brethren, is a masterpiece, both in respect to the fidelity of the translation, and the elasticity of the language), the excellent commentaries of Huss, hymn-books, and a number of precious



Protestant works—everything, in fact, that the nation possessed in books, had been burnt to ashes, with few exceptions. One Jesuit, indeed, boasted that he himself had burned 40,000 volumes, and the few that were saved had been dispersed with the exiles to all parts of the world. Every heresy and each memorial of them, should be so completely lost in oblivion, that, as the saying is, the tongue was rent from the people's mouth. By degrees, however, more and more Bohemian was spoken, written, and printed, awakening the remembrance of past Protestant times. With such reminiscences, Bohemia is completely covered; almost every place has some such monument, to which Protestant recollections, mostly of a saddening character, are attached. Children are made acquainted with these traditions by their parents or other grown-up persons; and it has a strange effect upon the heads and hearts of young people when they hear in the lap of the Romish Church, "Our church was once Protestant;" or, "In our Church a priest was murdered at the altar, because he gave the cup to the believers at the administration of the sacrament;" or, "In our Church an assembly of Protestants were attacked and slaughtered in the dead of night;" or, "Into yon great pool, nearly a hundred Hussites were hunted and drowned;" or, "Here the brethren kissed their native soil on their emigration, weeping, yet praying for their oppressors;" or, "On this spot was the great pit, in which the Hussites, with their priests, were thrown in heaps;" and many another story of wrong and suffering. These monuments could not be wrested from the people, for to such an extent no nation will allow themselves to be disinherited. Surrounded by the shadows of darkness, they still, by simple worldly investigation, step forth again into the light of day, and whoever may innocently touch them, becomes infected and fascinated. Conclusions are drawn from these reminiscences, the spirit of investigation is awakened, the rough material is more and more worked up, and the extent of the knowledge and of the history of the religion and sufferings of the fatherland more widely spread. People are more thoroughly convinced, how these monuments and reminiscences were connected with each other, how they are all in close connexion with the Gospel, and only by its light can be clearly understood. Further, we see from these monuments, how great a power the Gospel developes, what intensity of faith, diligence, and purity of morals it has effected in the people; with it is com-



pared the petty, frequently miserable and lamentable results of the Romish Church; the character of the past and present is seen, and the enormous difference is evident.

Thus the mind is worked upon, that is so powerfully appealed to by such monuments, and is every year more awakened. The evil spirit which has entered into men by false doctrines, religious customs, and by oppression, is for the most part so thoroughly expelled by the Protestant traditions, that it dare not enter in again; should it succeed, after having overpowered the good spirit, again to take up its dwelling in the same individual, it is only in appearance; he gives himself up to external circumstances, because he believes prudence demands that he should yield.

There is still one kind of Protestant reminiscence in the mouth of the Bohemian people, of which I think I may give you a specimen, because by it the religious and ecclesiastical position of Bohemia may be recognised. It is that the proverbs that have formed themselves from their own experiences reveal the spirit of the people themselves. I will quote some of them: "*Adpustky dopustky*" (sin and absolution are one and the same); "*Jezis chodi, papez jezdi*" (Jesus walks, the Pope rides); "*Jezis dává, papez bere*" (Jesus gives, the Pope takes); "*Kdyz Jezis place, papez se smeje*" (When Jesus weeps, the Pope laughs); "*Jezise miluj, papeze se boj*" (Love Jesus, but fear the Pope); "*Nemasli peněz, ani do nebe neprijdes*" (Hast thou no money, thou canst not enter heaven); "*Za koho páu Buh, za toho wsickni swati*" (He who has God on his side, has also all the saints on his side), showing that God is sufficient for eternal life; "*Bud tise, sic te udelám katolikem*" (Be still, or I will make thee turn Catholic—*i.e.*, I will beat and punish thee). All these, and many other proverbs, are adapted to the most various turns of the language, and according to the expression and relation to the things and objects, have a peculiar, sometimes a most humorous sense, but, in every case, at the expense of the Romish Church. Many, too, of these, and the like, are used by the priests themselves.

Added to these traditions of the past are the precious remains of the ancient Protestant literature that here and there, indeed, one may say, are everywhere preserved, and which serve, even in the midst of the Romish Church, for the building up in the faith of many a believer. It is not unfrequent that, even in

genuine Roman Catholic prayer-books, you may meet with many a beautiful Protestant hymn—even some by Huss himself—which lie hidden like a costly pearl, lending, in the eyes of the less enlightened, a greater worth to the inferior materials which they are doubtless intended to recommend. These Protestant ruins which we meet with in the Romish Church of Bohemia, give it naturally another colouring, and a more Christian stamp than could otherwise be hoped. Thus we see, from the little that has been said, that the Gospel in Bohemia is not budding on a broken stem, like the leaves upon Aaron's rod.

But from this we may draw a just conclusion as to the general feeling of the Bohemian people. This feeling shows itself in their love and admiration of the existing Protestant Church and its officers, whom they address, "twice honoured masters or fathers," even if unfortunately they do not always regard the treasures of faith they possess, nor preach the true Word of God. The great love of the Bohemians to the Gospel shows itself in the attendance at the Protestant Churches, in the delight they have in the hymns sung there, in the longing to hear God's Word at funerals, and in the hearty sympathy they manifest in the welfare of the Protestant Church and its members. There the Protestant is not hated by the Bohemian Catholic. John Huss, too, the great martyr of Constance, since the existence of the Protestant Church of Bohemia, has been exalted to new power, and to the former splendour of his name; his picture is often to be seen in the dwellings of the Tschechen, where it is looked upon with reverential enthusiasm, and with deep sighs of melancholy and sorrow. This domestic ovation cannot be denounced, for the Bohemian would rather endure everything than not be allowed to honour their Huss, at least in secret.

This was the state of things in Bohemia previous to the year 1848. This year was one of joy to Bohemia, as, up to that time, the religious pressure of Popery would not make the slightest concessions. It then showed that it was without strength or power, not even venturing a word of reconciliation, as wherever this was attempted, it was treated with scorn, and thus exhibited its own weakness still more strikingly. The Bohemians attained at once that which they desired—religious freedom and political equality—and the Protestant spirit of the

people showed itself at once. The much-detested six weeks of religious instruction was done away, and in Prague and in the country sixty Bohemians at once went over to the Protestant Church. This secession would have been much more numerous had not the Tschechen Catholic clergy calculated upon a stupendous reform of the Romish Church in Bohemia. Numerous assemblies, also of priests, were held, and Romish zealots exclaimed, "The old Hussites are coming again, and will devour us." A great number of addresses and tracts of a Protestant spirit were distributed by priests. Many a little Protestant book, that before had seldom been seen, was republished, and struck deep into the Protestant feelings of the people. The life of Huss appeared in repeated editions, compiled in three different ways, and found a rapid sale. When Huss was to be performed on the stage at Prague, in the Bohemian language, the whole land was electrified; the seats and places in the theatre were sold a fortnight before the performance, at very high prices. The bishops themselves spoke of synodal reforms; they warned against precipitation, and said the Church itself will undertake a transformation in the province of ecclesiastical affairs suited to present circumstances, and that which could no longer be retained would be replaced by new regulations. But that was the old trick with which Rome has so often deceived the world. The story of an Hungarian *Slowak* occurs to me here, who, crossing a frozen stream, became sensible, about the middle, that the ice was breaking under his feet. In this danger he cried out, according to habit, "Help, Mary! I will give thee such a long taper,"—showing the length on his arm—"Mary, help!" He came nearer and nearer the shore, the danger diminished with each step, but the taper, too, on his arm became shorter; as he sprang on shore he exclaimed ungratefully, "I will give thee nothing!" Thus the exalted hierarchy made great promises, in order to keep the Bohemians quiet; but as soon as the danger was over we got nothing. But yet something: a cardinal, as archbishop, in order to Romanise Bohemia still more; we got severe laws against priests who had seceded, and those who would secede; then, too, the Concordat; and last of all, the new dogma, "*de immaculata*." New miraculous pictures and chapels were added to the old ones, with numberless indulgences, frequent attempts and visits on the part of Jesuits and Liguorians, increase of convents and orders,



seminaries for boys for the education of a genuine Romish clergy; further, a multitude of processions and such like attractions. The priests were ordered to do certain penances, to observe their original rules, &c., &c.; by all which means, the Protestant inclinations of the Bohemians were overshadowed, as it were, by a threatening cloud. But light comes from above from "the father of lights," and cannot be extinguished. Frequent secessions still take place both in the town and country, and priests emigrate voluntarily. It would be a remarkable picture of present circumstances in Bohemia, could we collect in a book the remarks of the people and of the clergy upon them, according to their individual views, and could present them to the world, together with many striking and interesting incidents. But, on the whole, the opinion dominates, that the very artificial operation will end in nothing, should there be again an outbreak. What a sad consolation! I do not imagine, I say, much, in conclusion, if I maintain, that with the free preaching of the Gospel in the Bohemian language, and from an historical standpoint with the permission to publish a thoroughly Protestant Church journal, and free distribution of Protestant books—the Bible especially—it would be difficult to establish at least fifty Protestant believing Churches in a single year in Bohemia, and supply them with Roman Catholic priests as shepherds; but, of course, with the condition of free Protestant preaching and Protestant liberty, without any political tendency whatever. Would that God would aid us therein! it would be a rare spectacle of the fall of a Church, in a country where, from the time of her introduction, she owes her existence simply to force and State despotism.

"Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish; they are black unto the ground; and the cry of Jerusalem is gone up. And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters; they came unto the pits, and found no water; they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. O Lord, though our iniquities testify against us, help us, for thy name's sake. Why shouldest thou be as a man astonied, as a mighty man that cannot save? Yet thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us, and we are called by thy name; leave us not."



# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## II.—FRANCE.

### I.

#### THE PRESENT STATE OF FRENCH PROTESTANTISM.

1. BY THE REV. DR. GRANDPIERRE,

PARIS.

2. BY THE REV. PASTOR FISCH,

PARIS.

### II.

#### ON THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE GERMANS IN THE CITY OF LYONS.

BY THE REV. M. MEYER,

LYONS.



# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## II.—FRANCE.

### I.

#### THE PRESENT STATE OF FRENCH PROTESTANTISM.

I. BY THE REV. DR. GRANDPIERRE,

PARIS.

*Saturday, 12th of September.—Evening.\**

President: Superintendent SCHULTZ, Berlin.

NEXT to the Waldensian Churches in the valleys of Piedmont, there is perhaps no Church in Europe which has had to suffer so much and so long for the sake of the faith as the Protestant Church of France. If, too, it may be said of the confessors of the Gospel in the first three centuries of the Christian Church, that their blood, which was then so copiously spilled, became a holy seed from which a rich harvest of new Christians sprung and grew, we cannot be accused of exaggeration when we affirm that the cruel persecutions which assailed the Church of France in its infancy, and troubled it to the end of the last century, have only served to make the knowledge of their teachers, the eloquence of their preachers, the wisdom of their statesmen, the heroism of their warriors, and the steadfastness and charity of their martyrs, shine with additional splendour. Without doubt this is the principal ground of the sympathy which French Protestantism has always awakened, and which is still a living principle in the hearts of the Protestants of Germany, England, and the United States. It is loved for the sake of its fathers; more than friendship is felt for it—a feeling of hearty sympathy in its long and glorious sufferings.

It must also be acknowledged, that the Protestant Churches

\* His Majesty the King of Prussia was present at this meeting.

of France are not without importance, when they are considered in connexion with the country in which they have arisen and live. Whatever opinion may be held as to the intellectual, moral, and social value of France, it cannot be denied that, from its geographical position, it occupies an important place in Europe; that, from its language, it has become cosmopolitan, and, from its literature, almost universal. Not less prominent is the fact that the French, by their mental vivacity and the peculiarly social character of their national customs, are adapted, in a high degree, to become the diffusers of any ideas and opinions which they have themselves adopted. Once the subjects of an impression for good or evil, they are determined that others shall receive a like impression; and thus the movements which are perceptible within their own boundaries are communicated, with the celerity of the electric spark, beyond those boundaries. Hence it is natural to infer that if, instead of fostering in her bosom so many of the germs of infidelity and vice, France should once begin to shed all around her the pure radiance of the Gospel of Christ, after having illuminated and regenerated her own children, she would become, under the Divine blessing, one of the most powerful missionaries of the truth to the world. If this view is not unfounded, how great is the responsibility which rests upon French Protestantism in its relation to the rest of Europe!

Moreover, when the matter is more nearly considered, France, which is Catholic in name, is, in fact, far more Protestant than is generally believed. She is Protestant in her history, Protestant in her institutions, Protestant in her press, Protestant in her liberalism, Protestant in her literature, Protestant in her opposition, declared and secret, to Jesuitism and Ultramontanism; and, in remaining Catholic in her confession, without being so in heart and in reality, she seems to live in a state of singular self-contradiction. This contradiction in appearance, we may at least hope, will, at no far distant day, be among the things of the past.

On the other side of the mountains, the Court of Rome, and even in the heart of France itself the over-zealous apostles of the Pope, have already done all that is necessary to make Roman Catholicism hateful to the people, and to awaken amongst them a longing desire for a Christianity better than that which is to be learned at the feet of the disciples of Loyola.



Without going far into contemporaneous history, the announcement of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, imposed upon the Catholic world by a Pope whose infallibility is upheld by foreign bayonets ; miracles, like that of La Salette, which has been condemned in the highest courts, although bishops had taken it under their high and powerful protection ; scandals, like that of the Bishop of Moulins, contending with his clergy and entire diocese, so that the Council of State was obliged to interpose for the restoration of order ; the murder of the Archbishop of Paris, when by a mad priest was brought to light the hatred which divides the Romish clergy ; the daily calumnies and petty spite of the journals which serve the Jesuit party ; the foolish zeal with which the low legends, worthy only of the worst period of the Middle Ages, are again revived with the hope of giving to Catholicism the importance and splendour it has lost, but which these childish tales are more certainly calculated to destroy for ever—all these facts, and many others which might be mentioned, have called forth the not unfounded opinion that the Ultramontanes of the present day are bringing the affairs of the Protestants into a much better position than they could themselves have brought them. In fact, Protestantism in France, since the commencement of the preceding century, is making progress. This progress is continuous and decided, and it may be expected that in the future it will become, under the Divine blessing, still greater. This increase is the more remarkable, as it has been preceded by ages of persecutions. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which deprived the Protestants remaining in France, not only of the liberty of public worship, but also of their rights as citizens, seemed as if it must utterly destroy the last traces of the Protestant faith in a country which our brethren dare not forsake, but where they might not live in liberty. That faith, however, was so deeply rooted in the hearts of a small but courageous part of the community, that the most cruel and continuous persecution was not able to wrest it from them.

On the 22nd of October, 1685, Louis XIV. had the terrible courage to rob his Protestant subjects of all their civil and religious rights. At that time the number of Reformed Churches in France was 800, with 640 pastors.\*

\* Protestant Almanack, 1808, p. 4. Bénéoit " Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes." John Quick Synodium. Aymon. " Recueil des Synodes Nationaux."

In the year 1808, six years after the promulgation of the law of the 18 Germinal, anno X. (8th of April 1802,) which acknowledged the legal position of the Protestant faith, and placed it on the same footing as the Catholic, there were not more than 190 Reformed Churches, and the same number of pastors. Thus, by the Edict of Nantes, more than three-fourths of the Reformed Churches had disappeared from the soil of France.

Thirteen years later, the "Protestant Year Book" (*Annuaire Protestant*), published in 1821, contained the names of 255 pastors, and almost as many Churches. This was an increase of sixty-five pastors in thirteen years.

Seven years later, the number had become still greater. Some statistics, published in 1828 by an old pastor of the Désert, give a complete detail of the state of things at that date. These statistics speak of seventy-three Consistorial Churches, which include 240 parishes, not, however, including ten oratories. These were all under the care of 290 pastors, ministering in 431 places of worship, having, in addition, about 360 elementary schools. This makes an increase of thirty-five pastors in seven years.

Twenty-eight years later, we find these numbers more than doubled, as the "Protestant Year Book" for 1857 shows that we have now in France 105 Consistories of the Reformed Church, comprising 452 parishes and 520 chapels of ease—this making in all, 972 Churches, with 986 places of worship, and 1,069 schools, under the direction of 601 pastors.

One example, among many, will give an idea of the growing progress of Protestantism in France. Thirty years ago, there were in Paris only three appointed pastors belonging to the Reformed Church, one co-pastor, and two churches; and only one church in the suburbs. At the present time, there are five appointed pastors, one co-pastor, seven assistant-preachers; and in the suburbs four Churches and four pastors, with sixteen places of worship; making eighteen pastors instead of five, and sixteen places of worship instead of three, in the year 1830.

This refers only to the Reformed Church. It is, however, well known that there is another important branch of French Protestantism in the Church of the Augsburg Confession, which is especially successful in Alsace and in the ancient country of

Montbéliard. According to the latest reports, the Church of the Augsburg Confession is divided into forty-four Consistories, with which are connected 269 pastors, 385 places of worship, and 576 schools. We are also able to state that the progress which is observable in the Reformed Church may also be noticed in that of the Augsburg Confession. In 1830 this Church had in the metropolis but one place of worship and three pastors; there are now three places of worship in Paris, seven in the suburbs, and nine pastors, with some assistant-preachers, instead of the three reported in 1836. Nor can it be denied that these two Churches, the Reformed and the Lutheran, have received, under the successive Governments of France, from the beginning of this century to the present day, numerous proofs of good-will, and also of effective support, from the State, partly in the erection of new places of worship, partly in founding endowments for preachers, and partly in the establishment of new schools.

Thirty-five or forty years ago, these two Protestant Churches were the only ones known amongst us. About this time, soon after the general peace, Christians from England came to France and Switzerland, who belonged to the Independent body of Christians in Great Britain; and, as different local circumstances had caused a religious separation of various kinds, they established by degrees independent Churches. At first these did not profess entire unanimity of principle, and were only held together by the bond of brotherhood in the fundamental doctrines of their faith. At the commencement of this movement, the first Independent Churches in France—the rise of which is attributed more particularly to the pastors from Geneva and the Canton de Vaud—adhered to the principle that it is necessary for Christians to separate themselves from the world, and only to admit such members to the fellowship of the Church and the communion of the Lord's Supper as they believed to be truly converted characters. But as experience has shown how difficult it is to bring this principle into practice, they restricted themselves to demanding a confession of faith and an orderly life from all those who desired to unite with them in Church fellowship. In consequence of this, the greater portion of the independent Churches of France now only insist on the separation of the Church from the State, and the necessity of personal confession.

These Churches are divided into several classes :—

1. *The Union of the Evangelical Church of France*, which was formed in 1852, includes the greater number of the independent Churches which have existed in France for forty years, to the number of twenty-four. These Churches, which have twenty-four pastors, and 1,624 members, are connected by a general confession of faith, and hold biennial synods. They are, however, distinguished, in several particulars, from each other—as, for example, in constitution, the conditions on which they receive members, and the question of baptism.

2. *The Wesleyan Methodist Churches* support seven evangelists, forty-nine preachers, thirty-six places of worship, and number 1,289 members and catechumens.

3. There are ten *Baptist Churches*, which are supplied by six or seven pastors: five of these are dependent upon the American Baptist Missionary Society.

4. Some Evangelical Churches, as those at Lyons and Orthez, belong to none of the above denominations.

5. The Evangelical Society of Paris and Geneva support several stations in France, which are supplied by pastors or evangelists, but are not positively constituted Churches.

In the year 1825, there was not in Paris a single independent Church of any denomination: at present there are eleven or twelve pastors, and an equal number of places of worship.

From these facts may be formed an idea of the progress of Protestantism in the metropolis; instead of six Protestant pastors and five places of worship, which existed in 1830 in Paris and its suburbs, there are now, in 1857, thirty-nine Protestant pastors, and fifty-one places of worship, or, in other words, from five to six times as many pastors, and nine times as many places of worship.

If we now take into consideration that the different Churches, which belong neither to the Reformed nor to the Augsburg Confession, maintain 100 pastors, and about 200 places of worship, French Protestantism, as it now stands, is represented in France by 1,000 pastors, who supply from 1,500 to 1,600 places of worship, with 1,700 to 1,800 elementary schools.

Thus it is apparent that fifty years of freedom have been sufficient to enable French Protestantism again to gain a place which is at least equal to that which it had obtained before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and have also enabled it to



repair the breaches which a persecution of three hundred years had made. But it is not only with respect to the number of pastors and places of worship that our Protestant Churches have made progress ; it may also be remarked in the development of piety, of religious life, and of Christian activity. In 1810 or 1815, the French pastors who preached the pure doctrines of Christianity with faithfulness and courage might have been numbered by units. The troubles of those times, the want of pastors, the insufficient nature of their studies, the impossibility of examining them before their election, and the necessitous state of the Churches, had brought about this sad condition of things. In the year 1857, however, it may be affirmed that more than half of the French pastors are avowedly orthodox. Of this we may be convinced by the appointment in the past year of a theological professor at Montauban. His Excellency the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs collected the opinion for this purpose of the 105 Consistories of the Reformed Church ; and the majority of them, and among them the most important and the most influential, voted for the orthodox and against the heterodox candidates. We can make a similar statement with respect to the Churches of the Augsburg Confession. In Strasburg and in Montbéliard, the majority of the pastors are decidedly Evangelical.

As to the pastors of independent Churches of all descriptions, they teach the received Evangelical doctrines, although some of the most distinguished among them have appeared to incline for some time past to less strict views with respect to the ancient orthodox principles.

If we look at all these things taken together, we may well assert that of the 1,000 Protestant pastors of France, of whom 600 are Reformed, 300 Lutheran, and 100 independent, from 500 to 600 are orthodox.

If, however, we should be asked in what category we reckon the remaining 400 or 500, we must answer that in France we have very few positive Rationalists who deny revelation and miracles, and who venture, from the pulpit, to attack the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, such as the divinity of Christ and salvation by grace. It is no exaggeration to say that Rationalism is on the decrease, or, more properly, that it no longer exists. Our congregations would not allow that any one should express himself openly as an Arian or Unitarian; and

if some few pastors venture upon it in the press, there are none that would be bold enough to assert his want of faith from the pulpit. Held back by the power of public opinion, Arianism and Unitarianism are compelled at the present day to abstain from wounding the general conscience of the Church; but they adopt a form and mode of speech which brings them nearer to the style of orthodox preachers; so that, while their discourses want the essence and life of Christianity, they can, at the most, only mislead some good people who possess but little judgment or experience.

As to the mass of the pastors who are neither orthodox nor Rationalist, they may be divided into three classes: The indifferent, who cannot be accused of any specific false doctrine. Secondly, those who, having an inveterate prejudice against what is called Methodism, and fearing the charge of fanaticism, remain in the ranks of a party to which they do not positively belong from conviction. And, lastly, the Latitudinarians, those who, from an antipathy to the dogmatic formularies of the sixteenth century, content themselves with a Christianity which lays no particular stress on any grand doctrine of salvation, and addresses no serious exhortations to the consciences of their hearers. Without attacking the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, they do not positively enforce them. Most of these pastors seem, with their congregations, to slumber, and neither by exhortation nor example do they seek to stir them up to works of faith or labours of love. The societies of the Evangelical Missions, and those for Home Missions, interest them least of all; at the most they take part only in the furtherance of schemes of general benevolence. But, God be thanked, this class diminishes daily, together with the unhappy circumstances in the midst of which it has arisen, and in its place an instructed, pious, and zealous young clergy will appear, who, if they do not possess all the advantages of the men who were the instruments of the awakening of the last forty years, make up for those deficiencies in the highly-esteemed gifts of a holy walk and conversation, and an entire devotion to the duties of their holy office. That which these young servants of the Lord desire above all things, is to declare the love of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in the salvation of souls.

From the pastors we naturally pass on to the theological colleges, where they are prepared for their future office.

There are three theological colleges for the education of pastors for the Protestant State Churches of France; at Montauban, capital of the department of Tarn and Garonne; at Strasburg, and at Geneva. Those of Montauban and of Geneva are exclusively Reformed; that of Strasburg belongs to the Augsburg Confession, with the addition, however, of a professor of the Reformed doctrine for those students who are destined for that Church.

Although the college at Geneva is a foreign one, it is still authorised to prepare French candidates for the sacred office. In consequence of an understanding with the French Government, studies completed at this college are regarded as on an equal footing with those pursued at the French colleges, with the exception of the examination for the B.D. degree, which must be passed either at Strasburg or at Montauban. This understanding dates from the time when the Reformed Churches of France, persecuted and oppressed, their clergy could not obtain an education in France, and nothing was left but to send them to study at Geneva. To this end they founded scholarships of 800 and 400 francs, which are still granted to French students of theology who are there prepared for the sacred office.

If it is necessary to give a religious or dogmatical idea of these three colleges, we should say that that of Montauban is almost entirely orthodox; of seven professors, five in doctrine and confession are decidedly Evangelical. The greater number of the students (in all about sixty) follow the leaning of the majority of their professors, and justify the warmest anticipations of the Christian Church.

The faculty of Strasburg has eight professors and about eighty students; thirty of these are in the preparatory division. There is no lack, in this college, of scientific knowledge; but we could wish that the majority of their professors united a more conspicuous and decidedly Evangelical tendency with their ability and learning. Yet, we confess with pleasure that there are some men in this college who form an honourable exception to this rule, one of whom, to our great joy, we see amongst us to-day.

The case is similar at Geneva, where, out of the five professors, only one is Evangelical. In 1856, the Reformed Church of France numbered there sixty-three students—*i.e.*, as many, if not more, than in the French Colleges.

Further, there are two preparatory theological seminaries in France, viz., at Nîmes and at Paris. The former was founded by the pastor at Nîmes; the second is supported by the Central Evangelisation Society. The first contains thirty pupils; the second, fifteen. The former leans to latitudinarianism, the latter to orthodoxy.

As to the pastors of the independent Churches, with the exception of the Wesleyan and Baptist, they have almost all studied at the Theological Seminary of Geneva, which was founded and is supported by the Evangelical Society of that city; and among the professors of which are Merle d'Aubigné and Gaussen.

Upon an average, there are twenty-five students, destined for Switzerland, Belgium, France, and other countries; but those who proceed from this institution cannot enter the ministry in the Established Church of France, as they want the degrees of B.A. and B.D. required by the Government in all the pastors who are recognised and salaried by them.

Taking everything into account, we arrive at a fact which we are unable to explain—but which cannot well be denied—that a number of young clergymen, pious and capable, come forth from the three colleges which are connected with the State Churches, at least equal in amount, if not more, than those who are Rationalists; and that notwithstanding that there is a preponderance, as we have seen in two of them, of the Rationalist or latitudinarian element over the orthodox. Every one will judge of this fact from his own point of view; yet it appears to us important enough to be noticed. We must, however, bear in mind that the Lord often accomplishes His designs not only without the aid of man, but even in spite of man, and that He guides the thoughts and actions of men for the good of His Church, when they believe that they are essentially following their own devices. It must never be forgotten that, ruling over all academies and universities, there is the one Great Teacher who works, in the secret recesses of the heart, what human teachers too often neglect to inculcate.

We sincerely desire for France a comprehensive and learned theology, which should set itself the task of elevating and strengthening the faith; but should this theology, from whatever land it may come, have the effect of depriving us of faith in the Gospel, or even of weakening this faith in our pastors and people, we should most earnestly pray that it would remain at



home, and leave us the essential doctrines which were the foundation of our Protestant Church in the sixteenth century, which maintained and strengthened it during the dreadful struggles at the scaffold and stake, and the return of which has brought about the awakening of the nineteenth century, and which, after all, does not merit the contempt cast upon it by some.

If it be the vocation of the theological schools to prepare the future pastors of the Church, so is it the task of the normal schools to give teachers to the elementary schools. We have seen that two out of three of our theological faculties leave us in a doctrinal point of view much to be desired. It is not so with our normal schools, which are almost all conducted in an excellent spirit.

We have in France five normal schools for the education of teachers, and three for governesses. Of the former, we will mention that at Courbevoie, established and maintained by the *Society for the Encouragement of Elementary Instruction among the Protestants of France*. This is, perhaps, the first normal school of France, both as regards the soundness of the instruction and the Christian life. These are also distinguishing characteristics of the normal school of the *Evangelical Society of France*. The pupils of the school of Courbevoie, under the direction of Pastor Ganthey, are prepared for the schools connected with the State Churches. The school at Paris, at the head of which is Pastor Veuillet, author of several much-esteemed historical and geographical works for the young, educates teachers principally for the independent Churches. They each number thirty pupils. Besides the normal schools, we have institutions in France, which are all the more important for the French Protestants, as they are so scattered and isolated, to the extent of 1,000,000 or 1,500,000,\* among a Catholic population of 35,000,000 souls, and who have, in consequence, to guard their young people from the influence and the propaganda of an inimical, active, and enterprising priesthood—we mean the boarding-schools for boys and girls. Of the first there are twenty, of the second thirty, in Paris and the depart-

\* The last official census but one sets down the Protestants of Paris at 13,000, and 770,000 for the whole of France. But this account is evidently incomplete, and probably does not amount to more than a half of the true number. In Paris, for example, in the Reformed Church alone, two of the pastors are omitted. But if pastors are omitted, who are official men, and whom it is not easy to overlook, what will be the case with others?

ments ; and it is a consoling thought that the great majority of these Protestant institutions is truly Evangelical, and their superintendents have not only the cultivation of the understanding, but also the moral and religious education of their pupils at heart ; that they are desirous, not only to make them useful members of society, but to lead them to become living members of the Church, and true disciples of the Saviour. To sum up the matter : if Rationalism has still too large a number of representatives in our theological seminaries, it has but few or none in our normal elementary and boarding-schools.

The same may be said of our religious press. And, first, one word upon our Protestant journals. Of the seventeen religious or theological periodicals which are actually published in France, thirteen uphold the fundamental truths of Christianity, and are edited by men of living faith. Only three defend the sinking cause of Rationalism ; a fourth, which simply occupies itself with historical matters connected with the Reformed Church, has not pronounced on doctrinal points, and may be regarded as neutral. Of these seventeen journals, eleven appear in Paris and six in the departments. The oldest of all is *Les Archives du Christianisme* : it was established about forty years ago (1818) by the President of the Consistory of the Reformed Church at Paris ; it has become, in the hands of its present editor, the journal of the independent Churches, without, however, forsaking its old banner, which is that of the ancient orthodoxy.

*L'Espérance*, which has existed eighteen years, fights, as far as concerns doctrine, under the same flag or nearly so, while at the same time it defends the Church as acknowledged by the State.

*Le Disciple de Jésus Christ*, on its first appearance (1839), was simply a periodical for Christian edification, but became by degrees theological in its tendency, and only some few months ago its chief editor published a confession of faith which has been rightly denominated deistical, and has been the cause of great scandal to Catholics as well as Protestants.

*Le Lien*, which appeared first in 1841, called itself the *Journal of the Reformed Churches* ; but there is not much doctrine in it, for it takes as its standpoint an unmeasured latitudinarianism ; it maintains that it is allowable to teach from a Christian pulpit everything, from the most strongly

pronounced Trinitarianism to the most explicit Unitarianism. According to this journal, the perfection of the Christian Church consists in the variety of all convictions which attach themselves more or less to the Gospel.

*La Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie Chrétienne*, established six or seven years ago at Strasburg by Scherer and Colony, appeared at first simply to have in view the laying down and establishing a new idea of the inspiration of the Scriptures; but after they had subjected the doctrine of inspiration, as it was held by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, to criticism, the directors of this journal dissected with the scalpel of their ruthless logic the Christian doctrines of sin, of the divinity of Christ, of redemption, and others beside.

*La Revue Chrétienne*, which appeared five years ago, is a monthly repertory of literature, theology, and philosophy, with a Christian tendency. Its chief editor, a pupil of Vinet, makes no secret of his preference for the principle of the separation of Church and State. He holds the fundamental doctrines of Christianity firmly, and defends them with courage. He has lately engaged in a spirited warfare with the *Revue de Théologie de Strasburg*, upon the vital question of the divinity of the Redeemer. At the same time, the editor of the *Revue Chrétienne* expresses the opinion that the dogmatic formularies of the sixteenth century do not develop to the full the truths of Christianity, that they need a revision, and that it is the mission of Evangelical light in the nineteenth century to seek after such a conception of Christianity as is more adapted to the necessities of the present time.

*Le Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* has gathered together, as its title indicates, for the last six years, all the important documents relative to the history of the Reformed Churches of France. This journal, which renders such valuable service to them, is conducted by M. Charles Read, *Chef de Bureau* in the Office for Ecclesiastical Affairs.

*Le Journal des Missions* (1826), published by the Evangelical Missionary Society at Paris, and *Le Petit Messager des Missions* (1844), which also appears under the protection of the same society, are the only organs in Paris of missions among the heathen. The first is for adults, the second for children; both appear monthly.

*L'Ami de la Jeunesse*, one of the oldest religious journals of



France, appears under the direction of the Religious Tract Society of Paris. *Le Jeune Chrétien* has been published since 1853 by the author of the *Bulletin du Monde Chrétien*: both of these seek and find their readers among children and young people, for whose instruction and edification they are designed. *Le Bulletin du Monde Chrétien* (1848), a collection of facts, and at the same time the organ of the Evangelical Alliance on the Continent; *Le Témoin de la Vérité* (1850), which appears at Saintes (Charente Inférieure); *Le Magasin des Ecoles du Dimanche* (1851); *Les Archives du Méthodisme* (1853), devoted especially to the cause of Wesleyan Methodism; *La Vie Chrétienne* (1854), the latest of our Protestant journals, but not the least popular; and, lastly, *Le Bulletin Evangelique de la Basse Bretagne* (1851), are all more especially periodicals designed for edification, neither meddling with dogmatical questions nor with ecclesiastical affairs. They are all conducted by men of Evangelical faith and character.

Leaving now the province of journalism, and entering that of general religious literature, we make no new assertion when we say that French Protestantism has produced few theological works; for the simple reason that she possesses so few theologians; and theologians we do not possess, because the Evangelical Church in France has been more or less a struggling Church, and her spiritual leaders were almost continually in an unquiet condition; for if not persecuted, they were called upon to promote the diffusion of the Gospel and to defend their Church, and thus had little leisure for study. It is to be wished that the time may come when the pastors may lay down sword and shield, and take hold of the hammer and trowel to build again the walls of Zion. Both of these situations have their dangers. If, in the heat of the battle, study and science, which possess their advantages, and are recommended by the Word of God, are too often forgotten, on the other hand, the quiet and tranquillity which follow the battle may endanger the vivifying spirit of the Christian, by inducing him to concede too much to the attractions of a knowledge that puffeth up. Let us seek to know what the Lord will have us to do; let us not anticipate His intentions, but listen to His voice and follow His leadings. We take the liberty to remind you of the words uttered on this subject by Neander, in Berlin, in 1842. We asked him what was to be done in order to awaken new zeal in the study of



theology, which was at a very low ebb among the Protestants of France. "Do not be uneasy about it," answered he; "theology will come to them in good time. You have in France the soil in which true theology germinates and grows, viz., Christian life; this created your great theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it will create them in the nineteenth."

With the exception of the scientific works of Professors Matter, Reuss,\* Bruch,† and Schmidt,‡ published at Strasburg, and the writings of Jalaquier and Sardinoux at Montauban, Gaussen, Cellier,§ Chastel,|| and Diodati¶ at Geneva, we have no theological works of any importance to mention.

Sermons are being continually printed; those by Adolphe Monod take the first rank as respects both doctrine and eloquence. Expositions of the whole Bible, or on particular portions of it, for the most part adapted from the German, amongst which we find the works of L. Bonnet and Baup upon the New Testament, and those translated by Déscombaz upon the Old and New Testament. Books of a religious tendency, amongst which translations from the English and German of religious novels appear to us to occupy too prominent a place. Many controversial pamphlets against the Roman Catholic Church; those by Bungener, M. Roussel, and Puaux, occupy the first place. Some valuable educational works, especially those by Gauthey, one of which received the prize from the Society for Elementary Instruction. A tolerable number of works for the young, two Christian Encyclopædias—one by Pastor Athanase Coquerel (*Biographie Sacrée*), the other by Pastor Augustus Bost (*Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 2 vols). Lastly, numerous and important publications upon the origin of the Reformation in the seventeenth century, and especially upon

\* *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique.* 2 vols. in 8vo.

† *Christianisme et Foi Chrétienne.* 2 vols. in 8vo.

‡ *Essai Historique sur la Société Civile, dans le Monde Romain: Ouvrage Couronné,* in 8vo. *Histoire et Doctrine de la Secte Cathares et des Albigeois.* 2 vols.

§ *Introduction à la Lecture des Livres Saints Ancien Testament,* in 8vo. *Essai d'une Introduction Critique au Nouveau Testament,* in 8vo. *Manuel d'Herméneutique.* 1 vol. in 8vo.

|| *Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme.* 1 vol. in 8vo.

¶ *Essai sur le Christianisme Envisagé dans ses Rapports avec la Perfectibilité de l'Être Humaine,* in 8vo.

the destiny of the Reformed Church in France; those by M. de Bonnechose, *Sur les Reformateurs avant la Reforme*, 2 vols.; by M. G. de Félice, *Histoire des Protestants de France*, 1 vol.; by M. Ch. Weiss, *Histoire de Réfugiés Protestants de France*, 2 vols.; and by Merle d'Aubigné, *Sur la Reformation au Seizième Siècle*, 5 vols. All these works have obtained a well-merited celebrity.

But if our religious literature, on the one hand, is neither very learned, nor, on the other, very original, it is certainly very abundant. Publications have followed each other for some years past with such rapidity, that the religious journals are scarcely able to announce them. This proves two things; it proves that the religious awakening spreads, and that the desire after serious books increases in proportion. This remark is strengthened by the fact that, twenty-five years ago, there was but one Protestant bookseller's shop in Paris, which could scarcely maintain itself; now there are, at least, four, each commanding a good connexion; and, besides these, there is no Protestant centre of any importance in any of the departments, which has not a bookseller's shop, or, at least, a depôt for religious books connected with it.

Leaving the province of strictly religious literature, we find several French Protestants who have acquired for themselves a name in the literary world; as Julius Bonnet, by his "Life of Olympia Morata," by the publication of "Calvin's Letters," and the work he has announced upon the Duchess of Ferrara. In philosophy, M. Matter, formerly Inspector of the University of Strasburg, and M. Christian Bartholmess, so prematurely snatched from science, and his successor, as Professor at Strasburg, M. Charles Waddington, who has made himself known by his "Method of Teaching," in Paris. In history, M. Rosseuw St. Hilaire, Professor at the Sorbonne, author of a very valuable "History of Spain," and one of the eminent men who, some years ago, left the Romish Church and professed Protestantism. Lastly, our celebrated historian, M. Guizot, who has devoted to literature the leisure that was left him by politics, and the power and fertility of whose talent, neither bowed by years nor weakened by trials, is continually applied to the diffusion of knowledge, and whose son and son-in-law seem to be treading in the same path.

We come at last to the religious societies and Christian works,

which, after all, are the most striking and positive proofs of Evangelical life in the Protestant Church.

Up to the year 1818, there was not a single religious society or Christian association formed in France for the furtherance of the Gospel, or for the strengthening of the Church. This year was set on foot the *Société Biblique Protestante*, for the distribution of the Bible among Protestants only. Afterwards, in 1833, the *Société Biblique Française et Étrangère* was formed, which distributes Bibles to all, without regard to the difference of creed. These two societies, with those of *Mulhouse* and *Strasbourg*, sell or distribute 65,000 copies of the Holy Scriptures annually; in doing which, they expend the sum of about 120,000 francs.

We have in France eight societies for evangelisation—namely, the *Société Évangélique de France*, founded in 1833, which spreads the Gospel especially amongst the Roman Catholics; it supports thirteen pastors, forty-three evangelists, thirty-six schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, and there are twenty-nine pupils in the normal school connected with it; this society is conducted by Christians who belong to the Independents; the income last year was 156,200 francs. The *Société Évangélique de Genève*, which, although it is situated in a foreign country, labours almost entirely in France amongst Protestants and Catholics; it is conducted in much the same spirit as the Evangelical Society of France, and is now employing, at twenty-nine stations, fourteen pastors, fourteen schoolmasters, seven schoolmistresses, and seven evangelists; the income of last year was about 147,260 francs. The *Société Centrale Protestante d'Évangélisation*, established in 1847, consisting of members of the National Church, accomplishes for the National Church what the two former are enabled to do for the independent Churches. In four years this society has doubled its income and considerably extended its field of labour; it has established and maintains fifty-five stations, and a proportionate number of pastors, evangelists, and teachers; moreover, it has opened in Paris a preparatory school of theology, connected with the Reformed Church. The income of this society in the year 1856-57 was 93,191 francs, and the expenditure 103,185 francs. After these three large societies we must mention those which are less considerable, but equally useful. The *Société des Protestants Disséminer* at *Nîmes*; that at *Strasbourg* and at *Geneva*; a similar one belonging

to the Methodist Church, and that of the *Mission Evangélique Allemande*. These eight societies expend, annually, upon the evangelisation of France a sum which is not too highly estimated at 425,000 francs.

The *Société des Traités Religieux* of Paris, established in 1822, distributed during the past year more than a million tracts, and expended 71,000 francs. The *Société des Livres Religieux* of Toulouse has printed 200,500 copies of its publications, and expended the sum of 68,557 francs. These two societies have therefore about 140,000 francs at their disposal annually.

The *Société des Missions Evangéliques* at Paris, also established in 1822, supports twenty missionaries and twelve stations in South Africa, where this work prospers exceedingly; besides this, they have a Mission House, in which there are nine pupils. The income of last year was 123,781f. 67c.; the expenses, 144,923f. 58c.

The *Société pour l'Encouragement de l'Instruction Primaire*, among the Protestants of France, which was commenced in 1829, is one of the most necessary and most useful associations that we have. The income of the past year was 64,700f.

The *Société du Sou Protestant* collects at the rate of a penny a week for all religious works, without regard to ecclesiastical distinctions. Their last year's income was 20,361f.

The *Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* publishes the "Bulletin," which we have already mentioned. Its yearly income is about 15,000f.

The *Société des Ecoles du Dimanche*, which has only been established a few years, works beneficially with but very limited means; it devotes its efforts especially to the spread of the Sunday-school system among all Churches.

The *Alliance Evangélique* has for its object, like the present Berlin Assembly, to unite, not Churches, but Christians of every communion, upon the basis of the Gospel, in the faith and love of God the Saviour.

Besides these religious societies, our Churches have established numerous benevolent institutions, which are still supported by them; namely, two deaconesses' institutions at Paris and Strasburg, which together possess an income of 130,000 to 135,000f.; several orphan asylums for boys and girls, which are all the more necessary in France, as our forsaken or neglected orphans easily become the prey of the Romish clergy, who have ever



been on the watch for such forsaken ones. We have such institutions in Orleans (Loiret), Saverdun (Ariège), Semé (Aisne), Tonneins, Nérai, Béthesda (Lot and Garonne), Castres (Tarn), Crest (Drôme), Nîmes (Gard), Montauban (Tarn and Garonne), Marseille, Gilhoe (Ardèche), Neuhoft, near Strasburg, Avallon (Charente), Alger, Sédan (Ardennes), Montbéliard (Doules), and St. Foy (Gironde). There are also other institutions; for instance, in the Quartier St. Marcel, at Paris, the homes for the aged at Courbevoie and St. Foy. *Sociétés de Prévoyance et de Secours Mutuels*, and a number of other works that either do not publish yearly reports, or have a particular local interest, or which, being the result of individual charity, cannot be enumerated. We do not think we err, if we estimate the yearly income and expenditure of such charitable institutions at 550,000f. at least.

Taking now the different parts of these particulars, and viewing them as a whole, we shall find that the annual income of all these societies and establishments cannot be estimated at less than 1,450,000 francs. This sum is applied to the spread of the Gospel, and to the support of the charitable institutions.

We cannot close this short survey of our different religious societies and institutions without adding a few short observations.

First, all these works, amounting to forty-three, with the exception of four or five, are established and supported by Evangelical Christians professing the orthodox faith—that orthodox faith of which its adversaries allege, as its eternal reproach, that it is sterile and dead; and that it is a mere idea based only upon old and impotent formulas. Here, however, just the contrary meets our view; nor need we wonder; mere negation and error have in themselves no vital force or fecundity. The positive, the truth as it is in Jesus Christ, is alone endowed with the power of producing and nourishing works of faith. In France, and in other countries, Unitarianism and Rationalism has never been able to establish anything; scarcely can it preserve what others have created for it.

Our second reflection leads us to the fact that the greater part of the works of which we have first spoken belong to the Churches of the Protestant majority, either in the person of their founders, or in the number of the friends who maintain them. Those, the direction of which is chiefly in the hands of the Independent denomination, as the Evangelical Society

of France, the French and Foreign Bible Society, and the Religious Tract Society, receive considerable assistance from England, Scotland, and America.

The third observation we make is that the French Protestants, apart from the religious institutions mentioned, have in a great measure to provide for the building and repairs of their churches, as the Government and municipality do not ordinarily give more than a third, or at most half, of the expense in such cases; that in case of the insufficiency of the salary which is granted by the State or commune to their pastors, they have often to make up a fourth, or even a third part, of the sum amongst themselves; that, with the exception of the communal schools, too often mixed, they support a large number of free Protestant schools; and that, besides these, many other expenses of different kinds fall upon them. Thus, last year, the Consistory of the Reformed Church at Paris, apart from the help received from Government, expended the sum of 88,926f. 70c. in the support of public worship, and this sum has now been nearly doubled by the support of four new assistant preachers, by the opening in Paris of four new places of worship, and four schools. It is impossible to form even an approximate estimate of expenses of this kind; but if this could be done, we should not be surprised to find that it equalled, if it did not exceed, the expenses of our different religious societies. From these facts it may be justly concluded that the French Protestants, without making a boast of it, bring into practice what is called the voluntary system to a very considerable extent, although they have been reproached with not understanding it, and rejecting it entirely.

On the whole, the spirit of Christian liberality is beginning to develop itself. 1,500,000f., which is given above as the annual income of our different religious societies, sufficiently proves it; for less than forty years ago, nothing of the kind existed; and besides this, it is known that with the exception of Paris and a few other towns, the Protestants of France cannot boast of any great worldly prosperity—especially in Paris, where our position affords us opportunity of judging, pecuniary aid to Christian works is perceptibly increasing in importance and extent from year to year. Two years ago, when our Churches resolved to send chaplains to our Protestant soldiers in the Crimea, which the Government was not bound to do, one member

of the Reformed Church at Paris subscribed the sum of 15,000f. towards this object, and his example was followed by his son, in a subscription of 5,000f. This year, two members of the same Church, feeling painfully that the number of pastors in the metropolis was insufficient, offered to the Presbyterial Council 12,000f. a year for three years (36,000f.), in order to increase the number. Three years ago, one of our rich bankers in the metropolis presented to the Society for the Encouragement of Elementary Instruction, a house, together with land of the value of 50,000f., and the sum of 100,000f. (altogether 150,000f.), in order that at a short distance from Paris a normal school for female teachers might be founded. Last year there was a proposal that for a particular case, and the defraying of a debt for Christian purposes, the sum of 100,000f. should be at once collected. In a few weeks the sum was raised among a comparatively few Protestant families in Paris: most of these subscribed at the rate of 3,000f., 2,000f., and 1,000f. each, none under 500f.

Every year there are fancy sales in Paris, which are managed by ladies' societies, for the support of different Christian undertakings. A single sale of this kind realises generally from 30,000 to 35,000 francs, and altogether 100,000 francs. This is all effected in a few months, and within a comparatively small circle of friends. Those who promote these sales by the gift of articles are, in a great measure, the same persons as purchase them.

There is, further, no want of other enlivening symptoms, which may serve to encourage the friends of the Gospel in France. Though the *Univers* is inimical to our cause, other journals, as the *Journal des Débats*, openly espouses the cause of our suffering societies for evangelisation, or of our closed schools. In more than one respect, public opinion is in our favour. Not only does the rural population turn to us and demand the preaching of the Word of God, but also men, eminent by their social position or by reputation, boldly come over to our ranks. At the Easter festival of 1856, M. Isambert, Member of the Court of Cassation, formerly deputy and representative of the people, partook of the Lord's Supper at the Church de l'Oratoire, after previous instruction and a serious and prolonged examination in the doctrinal and ecclesiastical differences between the Protestant and Romish Church. The immediate cause which

led him to this decided step—which, however, he had previously contemplated—was the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Were the French Protestants only more united, were they but of one soul and one heart; then, indeed, the triumphs of the Gospel would be more numerous and more considerable. It is not impossible that by the progress of brotherly love, they may accomplish so much as to diminish the effect of their peculiar differences, if not to efface them entirely, by gathering in one band around the banner of the cross of Christ. We have lately witnessed a touching instance which is a pledge of what is reserved for us in the future. When some Christians of the metropolis, belonging to different denominations, had expressed their opinion that the time was come to send a memorial to the Christians of the United States on the abolition of slavery, it was signed, in a few weeks, by the pastors, elders, and deacons of 393 Reformed Churches, 218 Churches of the Augsburg Confession, and 34 Independent Churches. Thus this memorial—with from 6,000 to 7,000 signatures of pastors, elders, and deacons of all Churches which constitute French Protestantism—was sent, without difference of creed, and with perfect unanimity, to the brethren of the United States.

If, before concluding, we would show the reverse of the medal, or, as it were, cast a shade upon the somewhat cheerful picture which we have given of the present state of French Protestantism, neither facts nor materials would be wanting. Amongst other things we might reproach the Reformed Church, which is the most important as to numbers and consideration, with the want of a generally-acknowledged and positive confession of faith, with the absence of unity of doctrine, with scandalous contradictions propounded from her pulpits, with the lamentable lukewarmness of many of her congregations, her feeble or fruitless attempts to meet in synods, whether particular or general, for the direction of her own affairs, and for unity of administration—a sad and deplorable defect, which is not, and never will be, supplied by the Central Council appointed by the decree of the 26th March, 1852, which, moreover, has given to the Reformed Church legally-acknowledged presbyteries, and based on the election of elders by universal suffrage.

Then, in the Church of the Augsburg Confession, in other



respects so well organised and so well governed by the Presbyteries, local Consistories, inspections by the General Consistory and Directory, we must regret the too great influence of a Rationalism belonging more to the past than the present, and exerted, in spite of the Church's distinctly acknowledged confession of faith. It is not long since a young pastor of this Church boldly denied the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ from the pulpit, and further declared that those who prayed to the Son of God were, in his eyes, as guilty of idolatry as the adorers of the Virgin Mary. We must add, that this reprehensible conduct has been denounced by the authorities at Strasburg, and, indeed, in consequence of Professor Matter's noble and Christian protest.

We could also wish that our independent brethren of different shades who allow in theory that the principle of the separation of Church and State, and that of personal profession, are after all but of subordinate importance, should not attach so much value to them in practice; we should like to see them acknowledge oftener than as yet that the Church of Christ is wherever the Word of God is faithfully preached, the sacraments are administered according to their Divine institution, and faithful Christian souls meet together. Lastly, we should like that they would more frankly recognise the fact that the Spirit of God is with His servants and children in the National Church, since by His grace souls in great numbers are converted there to serve and glorify our God and Saviour Jesus Christ. One thing, however, must make us sad at heart, namely, that while we are free, perfectly free, to preach the Gospel, and to exercise all the other functions of our ministry in our own Churches, we are not at liberty to carry the Gospel wherever it is demanded of us, and to distribute the Word of God in districts where the want and the desire is the greatest; in short, we could groan in the spirit that so many chapels remain closed, and that so many schools in places where they are most necessary cannot be opened.

But where is the Church, or where has it existed, that is without spot and blameless? When has the struggling Church, when indeed has any one of the struggling Churches, gone through the trial of life without the cross, without humiliation and tribulation?

Has it not ever been by weak and imperfect Churches, by

tried or persecuted Churches, that the Lord has at all times, from the days of the apostles, carried on His work among men ?

Let us then go forward courageously, not folding our hands because of these necessary evils. Let us resist the temptation to become weary in well-doing, and fight manfully against the sins which so easily beset us, looking unto Jesus, the Author and Finisher of our faith; and if we belong to Him, the future is in our own hands.

When the Word and the Spirit of God again return to the entire Church, a double work will be simultaneously perfected—an internal and an external work; an internal work, a work of awakening, of progressive renovation, of growing holiness; an external work, the work of extension, the missionary work, the work of a holy and salutary contagious aggression.

God be thanked, this double work is already commenced in all our Churches in France; and should it please God that it should be strengthened and extended, the victory is ours, for the truth has the promise of victory.

We will bless God that France will one day be a Christian country, a truly and sincerely Evangelical country, though it may not be in our day, nor under the present form of Protestantism. That which we wish, the subject of our desires, the object of our prayers, the aim of our exertions, is the awakening of our Churches by the preaching of the Gospel of truth; and by this awakening and life in our Churches, the awakening and life of France. Give to us, German brethren, the sympathy of your hearts and your prayers, and by the assistance of the Holy Spirit we shall attain this end; for God is true, and that which He has promised He will bring to pass. We ought to look neither at the difficulties of the work nor the necessities of the Church, in order to sigh over them and lose courage; nor, on the other hand, at the cheering appearances which the world and the Church offer, in order to exalt ourselves and deceive ourselves by fallacious hopes. We must, on the contrary, look at both, trusting confidently to the unfailing assistance of the thrice holy God, praying in faith and working in faith, believing that we can do all through Christ Jesus our Lord, who will strengthen us by the Holy Spirit, to the praise and glory of God the Father.

The Church of Christ, as well as the believer, must seek to live in this state, and endure even unto the end.

## 2. BY THE REV. G. FISCH,

PARIS.

Gentlemen,—The report which you have just heard has brought before your notice the internal history of French Protestantism during the last two years. I am now to show you its external position. We shall have to consider the elements upon which it has to work, the powers which favour or oppose it, the reception it meets with, and the prospects which lie before it.

The two years which my report embraces stand at the culminating point of this nineteenth century. It has been remarked that, as with individuals, so it is with the centuries. After the first half of their course, they reach their maturity and come to a full consciousness of their mission; it is, therefore, the more necessary that we should understand the leading thought with which we should be in agreement, and the hopes which we have to fulfil.

The religious state of France, as it appears to us, is one in which it is vaguely endeavouring after something which it foresees and desires, but does not distinctly apprehend. Its present thought is like a river, which carries away the waters and mud of the past ages, which has lost its transparency, but the direction of which is not explored. At other times France had an exclusive passion, a controlling enthusiasm, an ideal which she strived to attain; now, on the contrary, no decisive impulse is observable; the opposing elements hold the scale without being able to balance them. True harmony can only be attained by means of a higher power which all will obey. Shall we, however, maintain that the France of the present day is sceptical? Yes and no. Yes, if we class under this term the confusion of thoughts and ideas, which knows not at what it grasps; No, if by that term we will signify that the present age gives up seeking to discover what it wants. Let us not be deceived by its apparent indifference to the truth. This truth is the very thing it longs for, but knows not where to find it. So many ways are closed to it, so many dreams have passed away, it has gone through so much without being able to understand the secret of its own experience, that it is no wonder if it rushes into the career opened by the wonderful discoveries of our times. Amidst the passion for speculation and riches, it does not forget

the malady under which it suffers, while the *ennui* which it manifests protests against these degrading tendencies. Restlessness follows it in the noise and tumult of its machines and railways; the future seems impregnable; no one dares any more to play the prophet. Each one lives from hand to mouth—a blessed way for those who trust in the love of a Heavenly Father, but distressing enough for an unbelieving race.

It is from this general anxiety, from this conscious discontent, that the necessity for, and desire after, a religion arises that shall satisfy the demands of the age. The religious question is perpetually mooted; it is undeniable that people occupy themselves much and earnestly with it: you find it in books, in literary periodicals, in daily papers. What a contrast to the last, and to the first third part of the present century! Then a man made himself a laughing-stock if he merely used the word religion; now the first place is given to it in the affairs of men. Nothing proves this change better than the forms which unbelief assumes when attacking Christianity. The present followers of Voltaire are obliged to repudiate his language, even while they remain true to his spirit; for to mock at Jesus Christ would be an inexcusable indecency.

This is the state of mind which is usually called the religious awakening of France. Catholicism ascribes it to its own exertions, and desires to appropriate its results. Is it not naturally to be expected that this movement must increase the strength of the Roman hierarchy, and enlarge the number of its host? This is one of the first questions of which we have now to treat.

And, first of all, it cannot be denied that Catholicism, if not the originator of this religious progress, has powerfully furthered it. She understands how to make use, with wonderful dexterity, of passing events. After the convulsions of 1848, at first she favoured the revolutionary storm; then she exerted all her powers to arrest it, in order that she might be able to say to society when re-established upon its basis, "It is to me that you are indebted for your salvation." Justly or unjustly, she has represented herself as the governing element in the social and political life of the nation, and has persuaded proprietors that she alone is the true safeguard of property; the only protection against anarchy. The honours, however, which she attains for religion are in reality unworthy of it; they are but another form of the egotism and selfishness which Christianity strives to



replace by love. True piety has lost more than it has gained ; but, in appearance, the effect is great. The churches are full ; religious associations continually increase. New monastic orders spring up as if by magic, and daily may be seen a new form of conventual veil or monastic hood.

We will suppose that this augmentation of resources keeps pace with a real increase of influence, or of prestige. We cannot help admiring this activity, this inventive fertility of means, this vigorous faith in the triumph of her cause. Far from us be the spirit of systematic detraction to which we are so liable, and which weakens us more than is supposed. To despise our opponents is to make us unworthy of conquering them. Impartiality, however, obliges us to acknowledge that the influence of Catholicism in the two last years, the history of which we will sketch, has been upon the wane. Here are the facts which support us in this conviction.

The proclamation of the Immaculate Conception is certainly one of the chief events of the Catholicism of the present day. This new dogma changed the very foundation of the faith ; it tended to uproot it from the soil of Christianity to plant it upon that of a disguised idolatry. It dammed up channels by which truth and Christian life might still find their way to this great organisation, and it opened new ones, by which error in mighty streams might extend itself. Moreover, this proclamation, by command of the Pope without any previous consultation in a general council, was the abolition of Gallicanism, and thus the destruction of the strongest pillar upon which French Catholicism rests. Just as much as France abominates the foreign forms of the crafty, domineering, stupifying Italian Catholicism called Ultramontanism, does she favour the Gallican efforts, in which may be seen some trace of the balance and of the freedom which characterises the national spirit.

At the moment when the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed, in December, 1854, everything seemed to smile on the faction which had imposed it. France had accepted with indifference rather than with submission the official fall of Gallicanism ; but the clearest-sighted saw that this victory was a defeat. They were not mistaken. Important separations have become perceptible, resembling a fire from which, as yet, only the smoke can be seen, because it is still hidden by the walls of the building. On the one side, Gallicanism, which was believed

to have been destroyed, has raised itself to new life under the very stroke which laid it low. It has established a periodical entitled, "The Catholic Observer" (*L'Observateur Catholique*)—an antagonistic journal, edited with ability, sometimes with spirit, and which, opposed to the wiles of Jesuitism, represents the cause of sincerity, of liberality, and of conscience. English Puseyism considers that it has some points in common with the "Catholic Observer;" this is but an optical delusion. They are two voyagers, one of whom ascends, while the other descends the stream, and greet each other where they may meet. Just as great a dislike as we feel for false Protestantism, which leads to Rome, just as great a sympathy do we feel for this true Catholicism, nobly defending itself against error, and serving the same cause that we ourselves serve, only under another banner. The "Catholic Observer" can produce only good results. It is more circulated than is supposed, and that which it expresses aloud and fearlessly is thought and felt by thousands of priests in secret.

We find, further, two laymen, MM. Bordas Demoulin and Huet, occupying a position still more in advance, who still more energetically expose the errors of their Church, and, not content with protestations, aspire to positive reforms. They have published their manifest under the title of "*Essai sur la Reforme Catholique.*" What they demand is, a complete return to the apostolic age, and to the principle of a universal priesthood. They use strong expressions towards the Roman hierarchy, which they regard as fallen from the faith. "Ultramontanism, or Jesuitism," they say, "has now the mastery in the Church. From the Pope to the lowest chaplain, the clergy are Jesuitical; but what does this triumph signify if not the downfall of the Church?" (page 181.) "I do not know whether, among 1,000 priests, two or three are to be found who would refuse to follow the bishops to destruction" (page 199). "All bishops, the Pope at their head, rush rejoicingly into heresy, without any other inducement than the fanaticism of domination, of party spirit, and of ignorance" (page 599).

These different publications are sufficient to make us appreciate the deep rent which the apparent unity of French Catholicism only covers. In our Evangelical Alliance, the difference is on the surface, the union in reality; with them there is scarcely unanimity on the surface, and deep down at the

root we discover an ardent passionate struggle, of which only the initiated can form an idea. The amenities which certain Ultramontanists fling at the Gallican journal, exhaust the language of abuse. The latter has more control over itself, though it is frequently overpowered by its contempt of its opponents. There are, in fact, two religions, which, while subscribing to the same formula, are as much opposed to each other as day and night.

This strife, far from weakening Catholicism, would be of abundant use to her, if it led to the triumph of Gallicanism; but the latter has not the slightest prospect of success. Intimidation has compelled the Gallican bishops and priests to silence. If the former speak, they do it under the name of a member of their clergy, while the latter employ the signature of a layman. We are far distant from the time of a Bossuet; at that time Gallicanism was strong, and ventured to offer opposition; now all is sacrificed to the idle phantom of unity, behind which they hide themselves, in order to avoid the attacks of a generation of sceptics. Should it be allowed that there are two Catholicisms, united according to the letter, but inimical in spirit, they would pronounce sentence of death upon themselves. Therefore they must yield without a murmur. The Ultramontanism under the protection of Rome, which it represents, continually extends its conquests. It demands that the last remains of Gallican freedom shall be sacrificed. It insists on substituting for the diocesan liturgies that of Rome. They hesitate, they regret the change; for the Roman liturgy contains legends unworthy the spirit of our age. But they must resolve on delivering up these treasures, precious by ancient associations. What they strike out is the French stamp, the last remains of national sympathy and preference.

But *the war has broken out in the lap of Ultramontanism itself.* Its official organ, the *Univers*, appears to have taken upon itself the task of making Catholicism odious. There is no assertion, however ridiculous or revolting, which this paper does not undertake to defend. It would not obtain the honour of being refuted, did it not offer an easy opportunity to the Parisian press to show off its wit at the cost of the poor journal, which does not seem to perceive how very much amusement it affords. This is the comical side of the matter, but there is a more serious one. The *Univers* is considered in Paris as the organ of

the Court of Rome; but, in the understanding of the masses, Rome is Catholicism. Has not every one learnt in his catechism that he believes in a Holy Apostolic Roman Church? The *Univers* is, in truth, the greatest enemy of the cause which it professes to serve, and we cannot enough wonder at the fatality which drives this religious authority, commonly so clear-sighted, to destroy itself with its own hands. This, the sensible among the Ultramontanes perceive. The *Correspondant*—that so distinguished a review, which is edited under the auspices of MM. Albert de Broglie, de Montalembert, and de Falloux—has declared war with the *Univers*. The *Univers*, in its turn, reproaches M. de Broglie with being heretical in his work upon the Church of the fourth century (*Histoire du Monde Romain au Quatrième Siècle*). This was only a skirmish; it was soon perceived that it was no longer a party, but the entire French episcopacy that was divided into two camps. In September, 1856, appeared a pamphlet entitled, “The *Univers* Judged by Itself” (*L’Univers Jugé par Lui-même*). It proved by able quotations that this paper had, by turns, first idolised and then abused every Government, every system, every dynasty, every Sovereign. It was known that this pamphlet was patronised by a Bishop, and later also by Monseigneur Sibour, Archbishop of Paris. Another Ultramontane journal ventures to take it under its protection, *L’Ami de la Religion*. At the same moment the fire commenced along the entire line; seventeen prelates ranged themselves on the side of the *Univers*; they laid claim to the honour of all its associations for the Church, and one of them declared that this paper occupies the first place in the Catholic literature of the day. The *Ami de la Religion* replied that thirty-two prelates had sent in their adhesion to him; unfortunately, they remained anonymous. The *Univers* did not hesitate to cite the publisher of the pamphlet to the civil tribunals. The process began. The curiosity of the public was powerfully excited. The advocate of the *Univers* had spoken. The disclosures which the reply of the celebrated M. Dufaure promised, were waited for with impatience; but a terrible incident occurred, which caused a sudden and solemn interruption. The Archbishop of Paris, who was known to be one of the protectors of the accused pamphlet, perished in the sanctuary, assassinated by a priest. The impression made was immense—it was disastrous. The Church



authorities demanded, in the name of this great calamity, that the process should be withdrawn. The *Univers* was saved, but Catholicism received a deep wound.

The divided state of Catholicism is only one of the grounds of its weakness; its positive exhaustion has made itself known by other symptoms. First of all, Catholicism, subjected to Ultramontane influence, more and more deserts the ground of conscience for a sickly and exaggerated enthusiasm. Before the eyes of an intelligent century, it gives itself up to the most foolish and revolting practices and legends of the Middle Ages. The worship of the Virgin Mary usurps the worship of Jesus Christ. "It is clear," says the Bishop of Evreux, "that our century, after having erred and strayed in false ways, and been prodigal of its incense to false gods, at last perceives that it is only through Mary that grace can be obtained." "Mary," it has also been said, "is our mother, with the same right that God is our Father." A religious periodical takes for its motto this falsification of the Lord's Prayer—"*Maria veniet regnum tuum.*" "Mary," says another recent work, "in becoming the mother of Jesus Christ, has become the mistress of all creatures; and not in name only, but also in reality. She can, therefore, reverse all the laws of nature, according to her pleasure, and perform all miracles that she will, as she chooses, and when she chooses." The dogma of the Immaculate Conception justifies all these blasphemies. But to give to religious worship such a direction, is to break more and more with the mind of our age, for if the worship of Mary suited the instinct of the times of chivalry, it is now the favourite form of pietism only to women and priests. Men experience nothing but a secret repulsion at this effeminate and effeminatising religion, which, exhibited by a clergy destitute of the holy and powerful ties of the family, exhales itself in outcries as false as they are grotesque. The Marianistic literature of the day is the most perfect example of bad taste. Who is not aware that in France taste is a power of the first rank? The already advanced Gallicanism shows us the abyss into which they must rush, and the start taken in that direction is too decided for any human power to hold them back. The Jesuits occupy every avenue, which has always been a symptom of the rapid decadence of Catholicism. Every day sees some new superstition creep into life, or some old ones dressed up anew. Now, the adoration of St. Copertinus is re-

commended—the man who could float in the air, whose touch communicated a peculiar odour, and who experienced an unbearable smell when he came in contact with the wicked, which even tobacco smoke—and he was a great smoker—could not dispel. Then the adoration of believers is turned to a saint who is on the high road to canonisation—the pious Labre, who was nothing more than an impudent beggar. But the capital fact of this kind is the demonstration of the imposture of La Salette. Every one has heard of the appearance of the Virgin Mary, who informed two little shepherd boys that the potatoes did not thrive, because her worship was neglected. On the place which she touched with her feet a church has been founded. Numerous crowds go thither on pilgrimage. The water of the fountain that rises there has become a universal remedy, and many cases containing this merchandise are sent into all the Catholic world. A priest—the Abbé Deléon—then proves, in a book the contents of which are convincing, and the style of which is calm and moderate, that the whole miracle is a piece of jugglery, and that the Virgin of La Salette is a Mdle. Lamerlière, well known throughout the diocese. Further, he discloses, with the positive proofs in his hand, the inconceivable trickeries, the violence and intimidation, by which they prepared, propagated, and accredited the lies. This book carries conviction, and we ask ourselves what can become of religion in such hands as these? The courts of the department in which La Salette is situated pronounced sentence, in the first and second instance, in favour of the Abbé Deléon against Mdle. Lamerlière. This is undoubtedly a fact of the greatest importance; and that which made the case still more serious was, that a part of the episcopacy warmly espoused the cause of the false miracle. In spite of the decision of the courts, pilgrimages prosper more than ever, and the trade with the miraculous water becomes daily more profitable. It has been said with reason that the real miracle here is the blindness which is dragging Catholicism to its own destruction.

And it is not only by superstition that the moral sense is offended, and in part destroyed. Faith ought to conquer the world; at the present day, the world governs faith. That which often brings crowds together for the devotional exercises during the month of May, is the frivolous and secular music. Churches are built by means of lotteries; one of these—that of Rocamadour

—promises to raise not less than 600,000*f.* by lottery tickets. Is not this to excite the feverish love of gain, which is the malady of our time, and which will demoralise France under the pretext of leading her back to God?

But everything holds together in the province of ideas, as in that of the passions. What leads to superstition, leads also to stupefaction; and this is a second symptom of decline. The same influences which sensualise the worship, degrade the mind. Nothing so much contributed to the grandeur of Catholicism in the seventeenth century as its alliance with study and genius. Bossuet, Fénelon—the great men of Port Royal—governed the century. Now, on the contrary, the Church treads in a parallel path, and never comes in contact with them. Bossuet himself is so little esteemed by those who give the tone, that the inauguration of his statute in the Church of St. Roche took place with no ostentation and almost in secret. We do not live even in the days when Lamennais by his writings, and Lacordaire by his preaching, lent to Catholicism—the first, his genius; and the second, his eloquence. Lamennais disappeared from the scene after he had destroyed that which he worshipped; and Lacordaire retired into obscurity. The most popular preacher is at present Father Felix, who has opened a vein more facile than original in attacking industrialism.

The Lent Pastoral Letters are a no less significant sign of declension. Clothed in a pompous and inflated style, they present nothing but monotonous declarations, which only demonstrate two things—the mediocrity of the episcopate, and their retrograde tendencies. The first of the French prelates flings a pastoral letter directly at progress in general; another recommends alms as a means of healing all the sorrows of the soul; a third counsels believers to send for their father-confessors, to burn all the prohibited books that may be found in their libraries; another declares that the priest is Jesus Christ himself, and that though the Virgin conceived the Lord but once, the priest can create Him as often as he likes. If this is the state of things with the heads of the Church, what must it be among the subordinate clergy? Let a Catholic witness tell: “It is necessary to cast only a single glance at the Church of France to perceive the lamentable state of the clergy. Ignorance of theology and of all ecclesiastical science has reached its climax. The studies pursued in the seminaries are almost

nullities. A great number of priests who, immediately on leaving these establishments, are appointed to their livings, entirely relinquish study, and often forget the little they have learnt." To this ignorance may be added another deep evil—viz, the dissatisfaction of the 38,000 priests who are dependant absolutely on the bishops, and may be displaced at their will. In Paris there are several hundreds of these suspended priests, who are living there to hide their shame. They form a class of Pariahs that are still more unhappy than those of India; for the latter have, at least, a family. Suspension, to a priest, is well-nigh death itself. How can a man maintain any moral dignity, when he is liable, at any moment, to be ruined without appeal to a higher judge? In the diocese of Moulins the Government was obliged to interpose, in order to protect the priests against an arbitrary power, which had proved sometimes to be insupportable. "In the present day" (says the "Catholic Observer"), "priests who distinguish themselves by their intellectual powers and nobleness of thought and feeling, are often regarded as suspicious characters. It may well be said, that in the clergy only slaves are wanted, attentive to the words of their master, and desirous only of obtaining his favour by humbly executing his pleasure and his caprices." This dissatisfaction increases in the midst of an absolute silence, which is an additional burden. And do they think to conquer or to retain the age with an army which is continually increasing in ignorance and ill-will? Who does not see that, at a given moment, the end must come, and then on all sides they may look for help in vain!

Now that we have contemplated the moral resources of Catholicism, let us direct our inquiries to discover the true ideas of France in reference to religion. It has been defined in the affirmation that a favourable wind has begun to blow for Protestantism, and we believe that this assertion is true. Protestantism has gained much since the commencement of this century. The religious awakening has given it the forces which the eighteenth century had allowed to sleep. It has shaken off the elements which enfeebled it in the beginning. It has not less vigour than in its best days, and it has the experience of more than three centuries. It has spread the Bible throughout Europe; it envelopes the globe with its empires, its colonies, and its missions. It seems as if, after preparing it by three



centuries of relative inferiority, God was now calling it to a glorious destiny.

The general impression, however, of these facts has not taken full effect upon the French mind. Invincible prejudices present an obstacle. For one, it was the religion of a detested rival, or, as it was then called, of "perfidious Albion;" for another, it was the instigator of dreadful wars, which for a century desolated France; for others, finally, it was an infinite multitude of fantastical sects. The sentiment has been expressed from the tribune by a Protestant, M. Guizot—"Externally, France is Catholicism." France, it is said, is its bulwark, because she accepts of it just enough to secure its advantages without so much as to be enslaved by its authority. France owes to it that she is artistic, generous, disinterested. Is not Catholicism the religion of the beautiful, the religion of good works, the religion of St. Vincent de Paul and of the Sisters of Mercy? Protestantism, on the contrary, is an icy religion, which speaks neither to the heart nor to the imagination; it is the religion of selfishness, which admirably suits a nation of merchants.

These unjust prejudices have, within the last five or six years, been sensibly modified. England is no longer an enemy, but an ally. The political alliance has been strengthened by our mutual sufferings before Sebastopol, and by the mutual exchange of generousities at the time of our inundations and of the disasters in India. We have recently seen who are the real adversaries of the Alliance; they are those who, regardless of the true interests of France, have their sympathies invariably fixed at the foot of the Appenines.

Favoured by passing events, the true character of Protestantism is beginning to be understood. Many of the best writers of the Liberal press allow no opportunity to pass to strengthen it. The *Revue des Deux Mondes*, the faithful mirror of the spirit of the times, contains articles that are calculated to exert a profound influence on public opinion. We mention, among others, the articles of M. Montaigne, but, above all, those of M. de Remusat upon the history of the Reformation, and upon religious parties in England. It is difficult to find more mind, more impartiality, and greater—almost prophetic—penetration. The *Revue de Paris* has devoted some of its columns to the sympathetic study of the great authors of the Reformation. Another of its articles, which was devoted to Adolphe

Monod, did not scruple to assign him the first rank among the French preachers of our time; "perhaps even," added the writer of the article, "among those of all times." Our *Revue Chrétienne* takes an increasingly important place in the literary movements of the day. It is read, esteemed, disputed with, frequently quoted with approbation, and gains every day, as we have reason to hope, new friends.

It must, however, be admitted that what most of these writers wish to produce is still not the Gospel. It is as yet only Unitarianism. Two men, whose writings exerted great influence before 1848, Edgar Quinet and Eugène Sue, have recommended Unitarianism as the most suitable religion for our times, because it offers the two advantages of possessing a philosophy and also the power of forming a Church. The man who of all others is the most admired amongst the representatives of modern Protestantism is not Chalmers, or Neander, or Vinet—it is Channing. Real Evangelical life is not yet understood; it is confounded with a bigoted, strict Puritanism, and its missionary zeal is suspected to be only a mercantile calculation for the good of the English and American manufactures. It is but a first acquaintance that they are now making with Protestantism, and we already know that Providence eschews sudden transitions. The dawn is not the day, but it is the promise of it. Prejudices disappear, and that is much; at a later period Evangelical religion will have its turn.

So much for the daily press. Let us now turn to the field of learning and science. We need not be detained by the positive sciences. They are, of course, in high favour, and have produced a diversion perilous for the future. They are more and more directed to the practical; truth is less sought after for its own sake, than for the sake of the benefit to be derived from it. If we would obtain more exact indications in relation to religious movements, we must look at those branches of science which are most concerned with man. Let us begin with history. During the two last years, only two important historical works have been written under Catholic influence; the first is the "*Histoire du Monde Romain au Quatrième Siècle*," by M. Albert de Broglie; and in this young and brilliant author, the traces of the large-hearted and noble piety of his Protestant mother is not to be mistaken. The second is the continuation of the "*Histoire de l'Eglise Française*," by M. l'Abbé Gnettée; but M. Gnettée is one

of the principal defenders of Gallicanism. The history of the present runs in another channel. M. Guizot, in his excellent work on Sir Robert Peel, makes us acquainted with a statesman who in his principles, as well as in the circle in which he laboured, is a thoroughly Protestant man. M. Michelet, who has thrown so much incense around the Middle Ages at a time when it was the fashion to praise them, has now arrived, in his "*Histoire de France*," at the period of the Reformation; and the volumes he has already published are a splendid apology for Protestantism. One cannot read without emotion the glorious pages in which he celebrates the heroism of our martyrs, if we do not go so far as to say that he immortalises them. Ah! wherefore must a man so richly gifted, who unites the penetrating intelligence of the historian, the profoundness of the philosopher, and the fancy of the poet—why must he wander in the path of a humanistic Pantheism, which can neither satisfy his heart nor his understanding? M. Henri Martin, who stands aloof from Christianity by his philosophic system, has related our history with a benevolent impartiality. The seventh volume of the "Spanish History" (*Histoire d'Espagne*), by M. St. Hilaire, is an exciting description of the great drama of the German Reformation, full of life and spirit. This admirable volume, in which the Protestant convictions of the Professor of the Sorbonne are avowed with noble courage, has, notwithstanding, been honoured by the Academy as it deserves. The historical lectures of M. St. Hilaire are also among the most popular. The audience exhibits the liveliest sympathy for those parts in which he unfolds that Evangelical Christianity towards which our age aspires, although in a vague and unconscious manner. Lastly, M. Mignet, in his "History of Mary Stuart" (*Histoire de Marie Stuart*) has substituted for the imaginative ideal that previously existed the true portrait of this culpable and unhappy woman. History, as it is now written, breaks many an idol of the past. Protestantism cannot but gain by these investigations, which annul the judgments pronounced by passion and maintained by prejudice.

Philosophy is in one of those intermediate states in which it breaks away from the past without distinctly seeing the future. The eclectic school is on the point of dissolution. M. Cousin has withdrawn himself from the field of battle, and devotes the magic of his style to the beautiful women of the seventeenth

century. M. Taine, one of the most distinguished young writers of the present times, has openly declared war against his old master. But what system shall take the place of eclecticism? Shall Pantheism? Some years ago it seemed as if it would possess itself of the French mind. It floated, as it were, in the air which it had tainted; in the aspirations of poetry; in the social dreams over which it presided in the great humanitarian tempest of 1848. Since that period its encroachments have been successfully opposed. The Pantheistic school stands yet in the breach, inclining more to the material than the spiritual, smitten with a passion for modern industry, supremely arrogant in its forms, as if it suspected that which is only too much to be feared, that it will finally triumph. The victory, however, is at least delayed. It has been watched in its work, and it is known that it carries with it the destruction of society. By the side of Pantheism stands the realistic school of M. Comte, who denies necessary ideas, cause, eternity, and the absolute, supplanting philosophy and religion, substituting for the former the positive sciences, and for the latter the worship of ancestors or of humanity. But, after all, French philosophy has much in common with Deism. Impressed with the progress of modern science, it repels the supernatural with the greatest contempt. The most distinguished representative of this tendency is M. Ernest Renan. He has produced an extraordinary sensation by his "*Etude des Religions.*" This work, as remarkable for the delicacy of its analysis as for the beauty of its style, shows us at the same time both that complete scepticism which treats truth as an object of pure curiosity, and the great interest which religious questions have for our age. It seems as if they impregnated the very air; you breathe them while you think. In the foreground of Spiritualism stand MM. Jules Simon and Laboulaye. With them, philosophy is the religion of the conscience, and approaches Christianity; for as soon as we ask the conscience seriously, it must answer—Jesus Christ. A characteristic feature of the tendencies of our own day is the system of M. Jean Reynaud. Starting from these two facts—that the age is thirsting after a religion, and that the results of science have far outstripped Catholicism—he endeavours to satisfy these aspirations. To this end, he mounts on the unsafe wings of dialectics, and travelling among the surrounding worlds, he arrives, with Pluto,



at the transmigration of souls. M. Comte had freshened up the religion of the ancient Chinese. M. Reynaud revives that of the Druids. The necessity of a reconciliation between religion and philosophy has been also expressed in a very remarkable book, and too little known, by M. Allaux, under the title of "*De la Religion au Dix-neuvième Siècle.*" More advanced than M. Jules Simon, he maintains the essential unity of reason and of faith, which, as they are two revelations of the same God, cannot contradict each other. He justifies Christianity in the eyes of philosophy, and philosophy in the eyes of Christians. According to him, truth is found in Catholicism, but that which it teaches under this name is Christianity in its broadest sense. We expect much from M. Allaux, who is yet in his initiative, and promises further investigations.

Of our literature we will speak briefly. It displays deep despondency. Its inspiration appears exhausted; poetry has no longer any ideality. What shall be chosen for celebration? M. Lamartine has just uttered a cry of distress which France has answered with a thankful and sorrowing sympathy. In his "*Entrétiens de Litterature*" we find this bitter sorrow of a great poet, who feels his veins are dry, and who, if we ask him why his lyre is silent, answers—"Can I sing with a broken voice stanzas which must end in sobs?" But here also we find the same preference for religious questions which manifests itself everywhere. We rejoice to recognise in his writings the fall of the human race and the word "sin"—that great word which may later be followed by the word "redemption." Is it too much to hope that, bruised by trials, and instructed by long experience, he may one day become a partaker of the blessings of the Gospel? Two of the great poets of the present day—Alfred de Musset and Béranger—have died within a short time of each other, and nobody appears to fill their place. It is not our task to do honour to these two intellects which so powerfully moved our age; but we must draw attention to this one fact, that these two men, whose poems struck with so much vigour at Christian truth, and even at morality, died, after the former had read the Gospel on his sick bed, and the latter, with the last effort of his genius, had tuned his lyre to the Apostle Paul. These two great intellects were not moved by a thought of Catholicism. What is apparent amidst the mourning and sadness, the last echo of which a dying poesy whispers, is a

longing after moral beauty, which she has too long ignored, and for the unknown God, for whom she had so long asked, and whom she already worshipped, as did the Athenians of old. Poetry disappears with this generation, which, at the beginning of the century, exfoliated, under the influence of grand events, grand ideas and grand passions. At each new tomb, as it opens, we feel an irreparable void. Literature and romance reflect, with frightful truth, the physiognomy of our worn-out and decaying age, sinking into the abyss because there is none to stretch out a helping hand. In the midst of the revolting immorality of the romances of the day, there have been, however, some of a purer character and more benign influence; such as "Uncle Tom," and some other excellent productions of Protestant England and America. In them was to be found again the atmosphere of heaven, moral purity, and spiritual religion. In opposition to this, art develops, without any corrective, the sad degeneracy which characterises our times. Religious art has almost disappeared. The pictures in the exhibition of the present year which Catholicism contributed, have no other type than that of a ludicrous monkery. It is, in reality, easy to explain this contradiction between the intellect which seeks religion and art which is robbed of it. The former demands the restitution of what she has lost, and it is this profound and intolerable void of the Divine element which art attests by her deficiencies. It lives only in the atmosphere of cheerful faith—doubt is its death.

After having interrogated the intellect of present society, shall we now examine its life? Alas! it is just what might be expected in the midst of this conflict of opposing elements, and in the lap of an excessive civilisation which seems to have existed already too long. Carnal pleasures are more valued than those which are spiritual. The noble and generous emotions of the moral life, by which we are related to the Infinite One, give place to the excitement of speculation. Crime increases in a fearful proportion; each day brings us the message of some dreadful murder, and the papers employ the sad monotony of these deeds of shame as a means of dissipating the *ennui* which possesses the public. Some idea of the increase of crime may be obtained from the following statistics: In 1837, the number of youthful felons was 1,337; in 1855, it

was 9,364. There are, then, dreadful evils to be remedied, and it must be said that, with the exception of those optimists, who think that paradise will be brought about by our industrial progress, our age feels it her malady; her heart is disquieted, her ear is open. What a rare moment is this to lead her to the Physician who alone can heal!

We have as yet spoken only of the upper stratum of society. How is it with regard to religion among the masses? It is rather difficult to say what they think, as they are without an organ of communication. It may, however, be asserted that, in Paris, they are favourably disposed towards Protestantism. "That is a good religion," say they; "what a pity that it is not ours." In this enormous metropolis—from which everything is diffused through France, and to which everything returns as to its centre—in this city, the bloody fanaticism of which in the sixteenth century was the chief reason why France did not become Protestant, the tide is now rising fast in our favour; our tracts are read eagerly, our clergy are respected, our places of worship increase every year; at the beginning of this century there were but three; twelve or fifteen years ago, but seven; now we have twenty-nine, and shall soon have thirty-three, belonging to different Confessions. In the departments, we believe we may assert that, with the exception of the extreme west and south, where an hereditary hatred exists between Catholics and Protestants, the sympathies of the inhabitants are in our favour. They feel an undefined necessity for faith, but are convinced that the religion which is offered to them is only a means for enriching the clergy at their expense. Though we have not witnessed, during the past two years, any great external movement in favour of Protestantism, which the present state of the law renders impossible, yet the distribution of the Bible has never been so easy, we have never had so many proofs of approbation, it has never been so evident that a work slow but profound is going on in France, like that of the earth when the seeds generate at the approach of spring. We are not alone in observing this. Catholicism is alarmed at our progress; it has established for its defence a special union, under the protection of St. Francis of Sales. This union has already published three pamphlets, which are a positive note of alarm. We will quote some passages from them. "We are of opinion that we are doing something very important, when

we lead the public attention to the ever increasing influence of Protestant ideas." "The work of destruction in France goes on in an ever extending degree, more so, indeed, than in any other Catholic country." "It is certain that the tide of Protestantism rises, and that a mighty dam is necessary to prevent a still greater evil." "For some years past all sorts of schools, churches, and institutes spring up as if by magic." "Wherever this propaganda finds a footing, it develops an activity, a zeal, a fecundity of resources and delusions, which might inspire us with the greatest disquietude for the future, if we did not believe that we could protect our threatened faith." We answer these confessions of Catholicism by expressing the hope that the progress which disquiets them so much is only the beginning of the beginning. They are astonished at our zeal in making proselytes; we are astonished at our cowardice and inertness. We have a work to take up again which is founded upon the blood of countless martyrs; and from the soil of France, which was sprinkled with this blood, a voice calls us to imitate the faith, the steadfastness, and the courage of our forerunners. We are called upon to work upon a generation which events have wonderfully prepared, and we have on our side that sentiment of confidence which ensures success. Let us not, however, exaggerate our facilities. Premature hopes only prepare the way for discouragement; and of all ages we must certainly say that "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation." Our progress will be at the price of long and patient labour. We have still terrible hindrances to surmount, and we may be certain that the greater the ground we gain the more violent will be the opposition we shall encounter.

This leads to the last subject with which I would engage your attention. Do the external facilities for spreading the Gospel correspond with internal facilities? or, in other words, what, during the last two years, has been the state of religious liberty?

The progress of religious freedom may be regarded from a double point of view. It begins by being realised as an idea; it then passes into facts. In the domain of ideas, religious freedom makes gigantic progress. An incessant strife has broken out upon this point between the *élite* of our periodical press and the Ultramontane journals, and this contest is a continual triumph of right and justice over doctrines the logical consequence of which is "the Holy Inquisition." From different points



voices are lifted up which protest, in noble words, in favour of conscience. But the facts are not in harmony with the intellectual progress. Public opinion is certainly of importance; but if it is of sufficient importance to give us in Paris complete freedom, the case is otherwise in the provinces, where the inferior courts obey the influence of the clergy, and are led into error by the calumnies which are spread against us. But we must here make a distinction. It is not the religious liberty of the individual that is menaced. Thus the Court, in the celebrated process of Orleans, when the right of Captain Goetschy to educate his children in his newly-adopted faith was opposed, defeated the machinations of his opponents. In the process of Mantandre, indeed, one of the charges against M. Massy was, that he had denied the existence of purgatory. But the Tribunal of the First Instance carefully guaranteed the right of discussion, and the Court of Appeal, which modified the first sentence, has done so in an indirect manner, knowing well that it had not public opinion on its side. What they contest is liberty to make proselytes, and I cannot deny that this liberty comes in contact with prejudices that are not easily overcome. Indifference has entered into alliance with intolerance, in order to maintain the principle that a man must not change his religion. It is for this reason that we welcome, with so much delight and admiration, Jules Simon's excellent work upon liberty of conscience. He proves, with unanswerable logic, that to liberty of conscience belongs not only the liberty to believe, but also the liberty to profess that belief openly, and to spread it. It may, perhaps, take time before this principle is generally acknowledged. The Emperor, however, has expressed his conclusive will to allow our public worship, and even in some places newly gained to Protestantism, for he has had some of the closed churches re-opened in the departments of the Haute-Vienne and Alençon. We had ground to believe that we should soon obtain a like right for our other places of worship still lying under an interdict. But this is not the case yet. Local influences have paralysed the Emperor's instructions in some cases. The law-suits increase, and we are always condemned; for the law demands that we should have the permission of the authorities, and this is almost always denied. Perhaps we are standing on the verge of a new conflict, which we hope will be a decisive one. Submitting

to legal authority in all just matters, we will not forget that God ordains that the Gospel shall be proclaimed to all men; and we will do it, whatever it may cost. We pray God to arm us with a humble and immovable determination, and we are sure that in spite of our weakness we shall still, in France, obtain the most perfect liberty. We feel that we are placed in the post of honour. Heirs of those Protestant Churches which suffered so long, we must not show ourselves unworthy of our glorious traditions. As yet the law-suits have, moreover, helped us exceedingly. We are too small in number to attract public attention, but these prosecutions have made us known. Through them our cause has become the cause of right and the interest of all. They have given us glorious opportunities of proclaiming the Gospel in places where we, otherwise, could never have forced ourselves. The public conscience is with us. The air in which we live is full of religious liberty, and severity directed against us would be the surest means of spreading our principles.

One province in which our position is more difficult, is that of the schools. A law passed in the year 1849 has placed them under the inspection of the local authorities, and from their decrees there is no appeal. Under the influence of this new law, our schools have been closed in many places. Now, it is easier to get at the children than at the adults. If a place of worship is closed, we can meet together in the woods, as in the time of the Churches in the desert; but a school is an institute in which stability is an essential element. If a school is closed, we can only resort to private lessons, which require a considerable body of persons, and are altogether inadequate to the moral education of the children. The Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs has declared that he himself has no objection to the re-opening of the schools; but the parochial influences work against the benevolent intentions of the higher authorities. It should be known that in France we have hundreds of parents who are condemned to see their children grow up in ignorance. It is impossible that the Government can wish that the general interests of society should be thus injured; therefore, we are certain that as soon as the evils under which we suffer are made known to it, our demands will be granted.

It is time to bring this report, already too long, to a close. That which results from the whole seems to be that there never

was a more favourable time for the spread of the Gospel in France. A tremendous task lies before us. How great soever our subordinate differences may be in this Assembly, each individual can have but one wish—viz., that France should become a partaker of the same truth that has drawn us together from all the ends of the world.

We can all understand that if this intelligent, active, and sympathetic nation were once to be enlightened with the true light, she would carry it to the ends of the earth. Does not France, almost unaided, support the Catholic missions in the whole world? We are persuaded that we may depend upon your sympathy, encouragement, and prayers.

Still we must ourselves manfully contemplate the task and seek its accomplishment. To this end we must—

1. Increase our missionary activity upon an entirely new scale. Among the 37,500 communes of France, there are very few that have heard Jesus Christ preached as the only salvation of the sinner. The Bible colporteurs have circulated millions of copies of the Holy Scriptures—now is the time to water this seed by sending Bible-readers on the steps of the colporteurs, by uniting in communities all those who are already savingly aroused, and by again undertaking that unwearying individual labour by which the first Church extended itself with so much rapidity.

2. We must place ourselves on a higher level by severer study, that we may act upon the intellectual movements of the times. It is not enough that we should express our opinions, but we must exhibit a positive superiority on all points. This will be especially the duty of the generation that is about to take our place. May it prepare itself for the great mental struggle, may it attain to that independent and large knowledge which the Gospel alone imparts, because it is in itself both liberty and discipline! We must increase our institutions for superior education. We must search for and discover in time really distinguished men, in order to use them according to their abilities. We must arouse all our latent powers, and resolutely propose to ourselves the triumph of the Christian religion!

3. French Protestantism must lastly attain to internal unity, which alone will place it in a position to offer to France that moral support which she needs. This unity can only be acquired

by the development of Christian life brought down from heaven by the Holy Spirit. The Evangelical Alliance amongst us must not demonstrate itself by mere exhibitions, but by the triumphs of love. When Protestantism shall have become a vast reservoir, out of which shall flow the living waters of grace, then it will roll through France in a thousand channels. May our assembling this day hasten this time, for which we all pray fervently !  
Amen.



## II.

ON THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF THE GERMANS  
IN THE CITY OF LYONS.

BY PASTOR MEYER,

LYONS.

As deputed by the Committee of the Alliance at Lyons, I should like to address a few words to you, beloved brethren. What I have to communicate is of three kinds—a bequest, a greeting, a request. A few weeks ago I stood on the place where the blood of the martyrs flowed—of an Attalus, of a Blandina—in that subterranean chapel where peace was announced to those who were far and near. There we assembled, a little company of Germans, and sang that sweet hymn of our Church, “Awake, the voice calls us,” and deeply was my heart moved; beautifully and sweetly did that song resound in the old vaults of Lyons. Then the words of that old Church historian occurred to me, who said: “Not war and battle, but joy and peace, love and unity, did the martyrs of Lyons bequeath to their brethren.” That olive-branch I bring from the city in which Christians first obtained a secure footing in Europe. And to whom shall I bring it? I should like to bring it to the noble house of Hohenzollern, to be by it preserved and transmitted from generation to generation. I should like to bring it to the whole Evangelical Alliance, which the House of Hohenzollern has so kindly taken under its eagle’s wings.

O guard this bequest! May joy and peace, love and unity, ever dwell in the Evangelical Church! This comes from the old Lugdunum. Let me now speak of modern Lyons. We have there a Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, which is composed of members of the free French Church, of the French National Church, and of the Church of the Augsburg Confession. It will not be uninteresting to you to hear that Lyons, the city of the martyrs, has also been the cradle of the Evangelical Alliance. We assemble there twice every month, and endeavour to strengthen each other in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ,

and in mutual brotherly love. And, since 1849, we have annually celebrated the festival of this happy union. I bring you the salutations of the Lyons Committee of the Evangelical Alliance.

Thirdly, a request which, I do not deny, I find it difficult to present to you, and which I heard propounded in this very place four years ago, by the eloquent lips of Dr. Wichern. This is the purport of my request: Help for the famishing German Protestants in the Diaspora! It is not unknown to you that there are 10,000 Germans in Lyons, and that six years ago there was, for the first time, a German pastor there to care for them. From the different towns in the neighbourhood, I have heard the most urgent cries for help, both from the Germans and from the pastors in their name: Do not let the Germans amongst us perish! One of the pastors writes to me: "Two-thirds of my congregation are German, and I do not understand a word of their language." The clergyman at Dijon writes to me: "It moves me, and it has always moved me, when, at our Protestant festivals, Easter and Christmas, the Germans have approached the altar, to see the tears roll from their eyes, because here was something they could not understand, for it speaks all languages."

The misery of the poor Germans in France is extreme. At Lyons I have often seen ten or fifteen passing the night under the first arch of the bridge La Guillotière, which passes amongst us by the name of the German asylum. They fill our hospitals, where they are tormented by the proselytising Sisters of Mercy, till they exclaim, with a deep sigh, "Is there no spot on earth where we may die in peace?" The Romish Church has opened an establishment for young German female servants who are out of place; but it is only that they may draw them over to Popery. Dear German brethren, these are your children who cry to you; they are your flesh and blood. Will you not succour them? Once more hear my request: Help for the Germans in the Diaspora!

COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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III.—SPAIN.

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF SPAIN.

BY DON HERREROS DE MORA,

LATE PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID.





# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

## III.—SPAIN.

### THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF SPAIN.

BY DON HERREROS DE MORA,

LATE PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRID.

GENTLEMEN,—Invited, as I am, to Berlin, by the Honourable Committee of the Evangelical Alliance, I gladly take part in the proceedings of this important Assembly; and that, too, on a day which must ever be memorable to me. On the 12th September, 1856, I was languishing in a prison of the Inquisition. Having seized the banner of the Protestant faith—which our Spanish martyrs had bequeathed us at the foot of the scaffold and the funeral pile—I found myself incarcerated, for the sake of the Gospel of Christ, in a miserable, dark apartment, which had been prepared for me by the chief of the Inquisition and his attendants. “How unsearchable are Thy judgments, and Thy ways past finding out!”

Not far removed from the coast of Africa, a tract of land juts out from civilised Europe, surrounded, as with a girdle, by the proud waves of the ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, while its majestic mountain chain, the Pyrenees, leans on France.

This rich and picturesque land, which has been thus separated from other nations by the finger of God, and which the iron hand of a strange Power has deprived of the advantages of modern progress, and of the blessings of the Gospel of Christ—this glorious and favoured portion of civilised Europe, at the present day so little known and so superficially judged of by other nations—to which an insatiable and unmerciful Theocracy, in its immoderate dominion and secular ambition, was once confined, thanks to its formidable barriers—this division of Europe is the Iberian peninsula, it is Spain.

Noble, high-minded, mentally gifted, magnificent, sublime, always valiant, and at one time at the highest pitch of civilisation, Spain was the first, the richest, the mightiest, and most influential of all the nations of the earth.

Its climate is so bewitching and its sky so clear, it is so attractively adorned by Nature, and has at all times been so favoured by the hand of God, that its noble poets, in their sublime and inspired flights, once said that Andalusia—so beautiful, so incomparable—was the heavenly region to which the blessed came to repose after their toils, and to receive the recompense of their piety and zeal.

This favoured spot, which so resembles the former possession of the unhappy children of Israel, is so fertile in rich productions that it not only suffices for the necessities and wishes of its inhabitants, but affords all that luxury can desire.

The eye cannot grasp the extent of its vineyards, and its olive-trees are planted in thousands of little woods. Fragrant valleys there are, majestic forests, and enormous plains, which, without culture by man, have been adorned alone by the hand of God.

The abundance of fruits of all kinds is so great that its aromatic oranges, its luscious dates, its lemons and sweet pines, are sent far and wide over every sea; as also are its silk and wool. It contains such a profusion of precious stones, marble, corals, and jasper, and of metals of every kind, that old writers, marvelling at the countless treasures that lie buried in its soil, framed the ingenious allegory that Pluto had set up his throne in the depths of its caves of silver. What an aspect does this land present, so rich in monuments, in old and glorious cathedrals, in regal palaces, incomparable fountains, and in its magnificent Alhambra—the envy of the world! How splendid are its churches! What a marvel is the Escorial! What luxuriance of growth in Aranjuez, that garden of Europe! What invaluable treasures are contained in its museums! There are to be found the masterpieces of the first painters—Raphael, Michael Angelo, Rembrandt, Murillo, Velasquez, with many more. Its stately castles are memorials of the dominion of the Roman and the Arab, which seem to clothe themselves in pride as if they would challenge the wear of centuries and the destructive power of Time. In the most remote period, and even while bound in the fetters of tyranny, Spain gave to the world

her share of men who had attained to eminence in learning, in art, in piety, and in the field. One of Rome's most celebrated emperors and profound philosophers, her most enlightened teachers of oratory and of criticism, were born here; Trajan, Martial, Quintilian, and Seneca, are her sons.

Spain was also the cradle of the celebrated Osio de Braulio, of Isidore of Seville, and of many other distinguished scholars and celebrated men, who, by their learning, their piety, and their wisdom, became the leaders of great Christian assemblies. And in times of trial and affliction, in those days of blindness, when the true faith was cruelly persecuted, our noble Spain still proved herself great, in giving numberless martyrs to heaven. Their acknowledged steadfastness in the faith of our Divine Redeemer, and the shed blood of one of our Royal sons, awoke the Goths from the deep sleep in which, since the third century, Arianism had sunk them.

Yes, my fatherland, thou art, indeed, the great epilogue of the Middle Ages; thou wert the admiration of humanity; thou hast broken through the bonds of vast and unknown seas, hast disclosed new horizons, formed enduring paths, and borne civilisation over the proud ocean! Through the blood thou hast shed, through thine astonishing activity and the distribution of thy treasures, thou hast founded nations and raised cities, which remain to this day, and still bear the name that thou gavest them at their foundation! Thou, my beloved Spain, wert the instrument chosen by the merciful God for conveying the Gospel of the Saviour to that unknown land that had from time immemorial been lying in thick spiritual darkness!

After so many distinguished deeds, and with a power that was unlimited—when the thick darkness of night covered some of the many nations which brought tribute and homage to thee as to their queen—when thou didst begin to riot in thy prodigious strength, and the idea of the dominion of the world was smiling upon thee—in the spring-time of thy vigorous life, the monarchy of thine envied possessions was turned to nought by him who played the part of the old serpent in this new Eden. It drank from the impure cup of this great Babylon, satiated itself at its funeral feasts; and, intoxicated at the same time with the possessions and the blood of the Moors and the Jews, and, later, even of Christians, it respected neither age nor sex, but cruelly devoured its own offspring, like an inhuman Saturn.

When religious toleration ceased, thy spirit, and power, and greatness disappeared, thy vitality was extinguished, thine enormous treasures were plundered, and commerce, art, and agriculture, which had been carried on by the Jews and the Moors, received their death-blow; thy glory became as the night; the sources of thine intellectual, moral, and material power were dried up; and thou didst fall from abyss to abyss, buried under thine own ruins, separated from the history of the Christian and civilised world, forsaken by thy friends, the scoff of thine enemies, torn with suffering, oppressed by the heavy yoke that was laid upon thee by thy monarchs, and by the untiring activity of that arm of fire which the Church of Rome has called to her aid—the Inquisition!

My pen trembles as it draws a sketch of the unexampled and frightful picture of that tribunal. How shall I describe that bastard code of laws which Rome sanctioned, and, in opposition to the will of her people, imposed on noble Spain! One trembles as one reads of the proceedings of this terrible tribunal, this devouring cancer of the Iberian peninsula, which stretched its despotic power over all who had the misfortune to draw their breath in this lovely land, from the obscurest person even to the monarch himself; a tribunal possessing nothing that was human, still less that was Christian; a tribunal which seized its victims, bound and burnt them, and which, like the wild panther, disinterred the very bones of the martyrs, when its cruelty could not be appeased with their flesh and blood; which listened neither to the voice of reason, nor of conscience, nor of justice, but which called itself holy, and judged and condemned in the name of Him who is the brightest example of humanity and gentleness.

Indignation seizes the mind as it reads the annals of this horrible Inquisition, the interminable list of summonses, accusations, interrogations, imprisonments, requisitories, tortures, stakes, the burning of bones and the scattering of the ashes to the winds. What an appalling spectacle is offered in the mildest of the descriptions of the *san benito*, the shroud of the condemned, the grey vest and trousers, the halter, the green taper, and the scapulary painted with horrible pictures! The accused, says the celebrated Llorente, were not informed of their sentence until they had arrived at the place of punishment, when they were already almost deprived of life and sense from the fearful



death-struggle they had often just previously undergone. At the time when the power of the Inquisition was at its height, when 2,000 accused persons were in its prisons, scarcely a single victim escaped, and then it was only by means of money which they paid to Rome. The number of the accused was so great that the tribunal had not time to try the cases. What a stream of painful recollections flows over the sad heart on reading the description of those executions! At the shrill sound of the funeral bell, and the incomprehensible murmur of the priests, who were themselves the executioners, the victims were some of them mutilated, some strangled, some bound to the burning pile, and the bones of all those of whom they could not obtain possession during life were cast to the flames.

And the souls of our brethren who, as martyrs for the sake of Christ, soared on the wings of faith to heaven, unceasingly and with one voice, as following the example of their great Master, exclaimed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Notwithstanding that these sainted victims more than once repeated these prayers before their deaths, Rome did not scruple to canonise the monarch who, incited by fanaticism and politics, carried the fuel with his own hands which was to consume the bodies of the martyrs. *Propriis manibus sanctus Ferdinandus ligna portabat ad eos comburendos.* After this frightful banquet of human blood had commenced in the Peninsula, there was nothing more lamentable than the compact made between that great nation and this infamous tribunal. Spain daily lost a portion of her strong and vigorous vitality, and the Sacred Tribunal inoculated her increasingly with its deadly poison.

In the midst of the deep silence that was caused by denunciations, tortures, and incessant executions at the stake, and in spite of all the vigilance of the tribunal, the Word of God, that had so long lain buried in the dust, was brought to light by the great and immortal Reformers, and was printed in our fatherland in the Spanish language.

The doctrines of Luther and the glorious Augsburg Confession were spread in the Peninsula; Seville, the old and, at that time, celebrated capital of Spain, took the lead in this holy movement. A simple room was the first Church. The word of our Redeemer was heard of, not in the Andalusian capital alone, but also in Valladolid, Leon, Toro, Zamora, Logroses,

throughout the whole of Castille, in the ancient kingdom of Arragon, and in the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia.

The Sacred Tribunal was alarmed, and the prisons began to be filled with noble and celebrated men, most of them conspicuous for learning and piety, both in the Universities and among the Spanish clergy. The Hebrew Bible and the translated were cast into the flames, and the hand of the Inquisition seized upon all those who were learned in ancient languages. Johann Ponse de Leon, Franz of Biberio, Cyprian of Valera, and those heroines, Mancianca of Figuera, Leonora of Cisueros, Beatrice of Rebera, and several others whom I could name, all suffered for the sake of the Gospel; some glorified Him in the midst of the flames, while others were driven from the land of their birth because they had confessed and endeavoured to spread the true faith. ▀

Ye noble trophies of the faith of Jesus, ye whose history would now be scarcely known had not that great Christian nation, together with her daughter, taken care that these sacred pledges should be faithfully preserved as a legacy of the fathers—(thanks are especially due to the pious zeal of the learned Dr. McCrie)—your burning faith, your Christian labours, and your deaths, so precious in the sight of the Lord, will yet be narrated in our own language, to the honour of our much-loved fatherland, and to the edification of our living brethren. Your fruitful seed, which was sown in the day of human power by the hand of a cruel and despotic foe, will, in God's time, arise and bear plenteous fruit in our beautiful fatherland.

The sacred tribunal was victorious. In about fifteen years not a single Bible was to be found in Spain, and the ashes of those witnesses for Christ who, through their faith, had brought about the Reformation, were scattered to the winds. Three centuries of persevering persecution have been more than enough to change the faith, to corrupt the public morals, to destroy the social bonds of family friendship and even love, to bring the German dynasty to an end, and, as if in madness, to hail that of the Bourbons; to stupify the people, to dry up the springs of prosperity to the very last drop, and to erase the name of Spain from the map of the civilised and religious world. And this monstrous work of destruction has been accomplished by that scourge of scourges—that worst of all

plagues which can be inflicted upon religion and civilisation—by the Society of Ignatius Loyola.

The dawn of the nineteenth century had scarcely appeared, when the justice of God ceased to execute its judgments on the Peninsula for the shed blood of its martyrs.

How incomprehensible are His judgments! In the midst of that raging storm of infidelity, which seemed as if it would usurp dominion over the universal mind of Europe, the civil liberty of Spain rose again, and at the same time the flame of a Christian regeneration was rekindled. The great Captain of the age, seized with horror at the sight of the cruelties of this inhuman tribunal, destroyed with his mighty hand that apparently unassailable power. But the hand of this modern Alexander was that of a foreigner; and to the honour of our national independence, before which all party questions fall, the solemn act of its final suppression was accomplished by Spanish hands. For whenever the question of an important change in the State arises, or our national independence is attacked, we stand together as one man.

When the nation was united in the Cortes, liberty spread itself over the Peninsula like a river; the frightened tyrants fled, the old Castilian laws revived, and THE INQUISITION DIED UNDER THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE. The noble brow raised itself once more, the silence of thought was broken, the sweet charities of the family circle revived, and men of faith saw plainly that the mercy of God had overcome all obstacles to the spiritual regeneration of Spain.

At this period of happy liberty, the Lord showed himself in the astonishing activity with which the Holy Scriptures were distributed, and the avidity with which they were received. Like the Christians of Berea, the people examined for themselves whether the doctrines of Rome were in accordance with it.

While, however, civil liberty beamed brightly over the country, it was not the same with religion. The people were not prepared for the pure light and the holy freedom of the Gospel. Still the religious reforms which were undertaken bore the character of our nationality. It was not the King nor the grandees that called for them; but the nation itself, with the Bible in its hand, protested against the doctrines and commandments of men.

A few Jansenists, esteemed by the Spanish clergy of that period, armed themselves to the conflict with the pretensions of Rome. But Rome redoubled her efforts in defence of her traditions; and to seize again the power which every day was escaping from her grasp, she relied on the clergy, who were, for the most part, devoted to the Papal chair. But habituated as they long had been to spiritual sloth, they had no strength in the day of battle; and the Papal power rapidly declined. The Villanueras, and Torreros, and other men of enlightened views, who stood at the head of the clergy, broke with human traditions, and, placing their knowledge and commanding influence at the service of the Gospel, had the Bible printed and distributed with a noble-minded liberality, and themselves explained it to the people.

This happy period, however, in which religious liberty began to develop itself, was followed by a hateful reaction. After this eventful period, from 1814 to 1820—during which time, in spite of the favour of a despotic king, the emissaries of Rome had not been able to destroy the rich germ of the Divine doctrine—two tendencies, directly opposed to each other, were seen to unfold themselves in Spain. On the one side, Romanism, with the Vulgate and tradition for its symbol; on the other, the friends of reform, resting on the Scriptures. From 1820 to 1823, the enlightened portion of the clergy, though they were still the minority, had greatly increased in influence and authority. On all sides, the pulpits, the universities, and the press had resounded with loud protestations against the errors and abuses of Rome. Spain had snatched from the hands of the Pope those exactions and imposts which had impoverished the nation. But all this hopeful progress was arrested in 1823 by the force of arms, which served to evince the spiritual weakness of the Romish clergy. The triumph of the reaction was of short duration. The entire nation laboured to overthrow a prince who was the living personification of the holy office, and its tyrannical doctrines. The property of the poor, of which the clergy had possessed themselves, was replaced in the hands of the nation: the Jesuits were rejected, and superstition retired before the general progress of light.

From the commencement of the second third of the century, toleration has made rapid progress. The Cortes, at that epoch, when the holy office was in the ascendant, had declared that



the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion was, as a matter of course, the only true one. Twenty-seven years later, they simply announced the Roman Catholic religion to be the religion of Spain, without adding a single word as to whether it was true or false.

The Word of God spread with greater facility than at any other period by Spaniards and by agents of English societies. The Rev. Dr. Rule, of London, founded a Church in Cadiz, the very same city in which the Inquisition in 1810 was for ever buried. He also opened a school for Spanish children, and preached the Word of God with effect and to the satisfaction of the people and of the liberal authorities, translated the Gospel of Christ into our language, wrote school-books, and published a memorial on the Protestant Missions in Spain.

It can scarcely be comprehended how a nation that had only just cast aside its leading-strings could make such progress, and so rapidly liberate herself from abuses to which she had been accustomed for ages. The fact should satisfy those who consider us as fanatics, that Spain will make great efforts in order to attain to the light of the Gospel. Brought by the strong hand of the God of mercy into a practical school, the people learned how to accomplish great things in a comparatively short time, and history will one day narrate with irrefragable proofs how much it has cost to obtain consecrated Bishops in Spain without the consent or approbation of the Holy Chair.

Rome, meanwhile, remarked with dissatisfaction that Spain rendered to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and that it was quite possible that Spaniards might become real Christians. Rome, which never learns and never forgets, Rome—which will not understand that the Church of Christ will one day be without spot or wrinkle, and must therefore be freed from the ignorant and proud dominion of the Pope, and from his ill-disguised idolatry—in 1841 excommunicated the chief of the State on account of his participation in the desired reforms. The thunders of Rome, worn out with age, fell on a portion of the clergy who, following the example of the immortal Bishop Torres, the translator of the Holy Scriptures, had preached the Gospel.

It was impossible to subject the people again to the antiquated yoke of the Philips. They had acquired a perception of their rights. The discussions which had originated in the

conflict of opinions had elicited public spirit. It was clearly understood that, without free examination and a practical and living knowledge of the Gospel, the Peninsula would have lost its only *point d'appui* for the conquest of other liberties.

This, a question of life and death for all nations, was examined in the Cortes with the greatest attention during twenty-three days. The proceedings were the most suitable, brilliant, and profound, that had ever been heard in a Spanish Congress. What learning and what acquaintance with books was evident in the speeches of most of the members! That good seed that had been sown ages ago had taken deep root, and began to bear fruit. These noble combatants, who feared God and their own consciences more than men, who despised the systematic calumnies, the assaults of the common enemy, and the honourable titles of deniers of God and blasphemers, by which the partisans of the Pope sought to blacken and to brand them, spared no effort to strengthen this godly reform, to forward the searching of the Scriptures, and to make the public recognition of Christianity a law of the State.

The question of religious liberty was discussed in the Cortes for three-and-twenty days with a profundity, a moderation, and a knowledge which had never been witnessed in that assembly before. By three votes only was the right of a free profession of faith prevented from being inscribed among the fundamental laws of Spain. The very defeat was a victory for reform. As to the rest, the Lord, who in His wisdom left us some trials, secured to us a measure of liberty, so that we could meet together, like the apostles and primitive Christians, and print and circulate the Bible if only it were done with caution.

The nation had itself abolished the *autos da fé*, dissolved the Inquisition, and closed its prisons; and the representatives of the land declared that civil and religious persecution should no more be seen on Spanish soil.

The deaths of our brethren were precious in the sight of the Lord, and could not remain without bearing fruit. Under this freedom, which we scarcely enjoyed for two years, new Christians arose from the ashes of those martyrs. Oh! could I but paint what I have myself seen more than once, and describe those Christians who unitedly renounced the errors of Rome, and besought the help and grace of the Holy Ghost in order to lay upon the corner-stone the first foundation of the spiritual

building of the new Church of Spain! During this time we knocked at the door of the Christians of Great Britain, and then of America, and they have answered our prayer. And necessary to us is the helping hand of other Christians, that the Holy Scriptures may be spread, and that our people may be born anew in Christ.

But when we contemplated with joy the rich results of our labours and watchings, not only in the capital, but also in the provinces; when we gave ourselves up to the expectation that full religious liberty would be granted to us, it pleased the Lord to order it otherwise. Under the sudden blow of a furious reaction, the fundamental law fell, and with it our liberty. God permitted that the faith of the cross should be smitten; but thanks to His pity, it came out purified from the trials of the dungeon; and now, even more lively and stronger than it was, we pursue our holy work with our eyes directed to the Lord.

We now come to the present period. Circumstances bind me, as with fetters, and oblige me to be silent on subjects which would at another time be brought into notice. No. I shall not be the man who will unwisely raise the veil that covers the good work which, in spite of all well-known hindrances, is still going on. I shall say nothing of the preparations for better days, which are in progress. It is enough for us to know that the labourers have not ceased to scatter the Divine seed; that the enlightened portion of the people are growing every day in an increasing readiness to throw off the Roman yoke. The pretensions of the Jesuits are detested, and the Government itself, although reactionary, will not destroy the principal reforms which this age has accomplished. It has recently been said by one of the respected and enlightened men in Spain, the former Minister of Justice, President of the Supreme Tribunal, and a senator: "It is impossible that Spain should fall again under the domination of apes." Pray for our unhappy Spain, for our people who are worthy of a better fate; pray with the faith that removes mountains; the Lord, the Hearer of prayer, will make the way smooth, and the Gospel will yet regenerate Spain.





COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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IV.—BELGIUM.

THE PROTESTANTS OF BELGIUM.

BY THE REV. E. PANCHAUD,

BRUSSELS.

V.—HOLLAND.

POLITICO-RELIGIOUS STATE OF HOLLAND.

1. BY BARON VON LINDEN,

MEMBER OF THE SECOND CHAMBER OF THE STATES GENERAL.

2. REMARKS BY M. LOHMANN,

AMSTERDAM.



# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## IV.—BELGIUM.

### THE PROTESTANTS OF BELGIUM.

BY REV. E. PANCHAUD,

BRUSSELS.

BELoved Brethren in Christ,—I, and the brethren who have accompanied me, come from a small country, and as a deputation from a still smaller Church. If your French brethren have complained that they are a minority in their empire, and that with them there is only about one Protestant to twenty Catholics, the proportion with us is still smaller, for in a population of 5,000,000, there are only 10,000 Protestants; that is, about 1 to 400 Catholics. We need so much the more the love and sympathy of our brethren in the different countries of Europe, whose deputies are here assembled. It has been said that, by the grace of God, there shall be no more Pyrenees—that is, no walls of separation between countries possessing the Gospel. But the Belgians are separated from their brethren not only by the Pyrenees, but by higher mountains still. We separate Protestant Holland from those brethren who are labouring with so much zeal in France; and we are the barrier between you, brethren of Germany and you of England. You know that in the map of Africa there is a part in the centre which is marked as unknown country; now, as regards the Gospel, the land from which we come is also central, and it is unknown. It should be the mission of the Evangelical Church to turn this desert into the garden of the Lord. What has been already accomplished by the blessing of God, is a pledge that this parched land shall be transformed to a garden of Eden.

In the year 1832 there was but one Protestant church in

Brussels, now we reckon seven ; and the proportion is about the same in other parts of the country. Instead of seven churches, which were then all that remained of the Protestant Church of Belgium, we reckon, at the present time, between thirty and forty. We are assured of the protection of God, by the mediation of Jesus Christ ; and, as it has been said that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, so we call to mind that the ashes of Tindal, the translator of the Holy Scriptures into English, rest among us. In Belgium, also, lie the ashes of the first martyrs of the Reformation, the Augustine monks of Antwerp, whose death made such an impression on Luther, that he was almost frightened at the work he had begun. Finally, we have the house in which the Elector of Saxony lived, whom Charles V. took prisoner ; and it is in the very same place where that Elector was imprisoned, and where he, no doubt, prayed even for his persecutors, that I and my brother Waldemar have begun and continued our labours for the conversion of the Roman Catholics of Belgium. As members of the Evangelical Alliance, you will hear, with pleasure, that in Belgium there is but one ecclesiastical denomination—namely, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, which is, however, divided into two sections, the National and the Free Churches. But we bear in mind the Belgian motto, “ Union is strength.”



## V.—HOLLAND.

### POLITICO-RELIGIOUS STATE OF HOLLAND.

1. BY BARON VON LINDEN,

OF NIMWEGEN, MEMBER OF THE SECOND CHAMBER OF THE STATES GENERAL OF HOLLAND.

HONOURED BRETHREN,—Holland, the little Holland that was once so great in her conflicts for liberty of conscience, wishes, ere we separate on the morrow, to convey to you her fraternal salutation.

My friend and fellow deputy, Dr. Capadose, has received, with me, the gratifying commission to express to the Evangelical Alliance, in the name of the Dutch Evangelical Protestant Union, our hearty sympathy, and our wishes that the blessing of God may rest upon it, that so it may strengthen our fraternal communion in God and our Saviour, which stretches far and wide beyond the limits of nationality. Certainly it is an honourable commission. Who cannot assent to the principles and objects of the Alliance? For what other foundation has it but the rock Christ? And what other object has it put forth than the furtherance of brotherly love in the different sections of the Christian Church?

The time is too limited for me to be able to communicate much of the political and religious condition of my country. Only a few words.

In Holland we have much that is good; but, unfortunately, the State, which, from its historical developments and the majority of its population, has been considered a Christian State, has in later times ceased to be so, for the law shows itself regardless of the Church, and the Legislature is indifferent to the religion of its subjects. But that this state of things is approved by the great majority of our people, we have ground to doubt. Many believe with me that it would have been very possible to grant to those who are not Christians civil equality, without its being necessary to write a declaration proscribing the interference of religion in State affairs.

Of all public institutions, none suffer so much from the absence of religion in the State as the schools. This we have, unfortunately, seen during this year, when a new law for the schools was carried into effect. Up to this time our schools had a mixed character, and no confessional peculiarity was wounded; and the principle upon which this practice rested might very well meet with approbation, because all public schools were Christian, and the Jews had their own institutions; so that it only concerned the two great Church communities, the Protestant and Catholic.

The new educational law has brought the children of all confessions together, Christians and Jews, into one school, under the lovely image of reconciliation of the common fatherland; it has, indeed, generally speaking, assumed the Christian name, but in such a case the name is but an empty sound. The teacher must respect all religious ideas in schools, too, where all the children are of one confession—that is to say, he must not speak of belief. The Bible is, henceforth, a forbidden book in the schools, and no prayers may contain the name of the Lord Jesus, as the Jews might take offence. The free school certainly exists as well as the State schools, but it lies in the nature of the thing that it can be the refuge of but a few.

It is said that this is done out of respect to liberty of conscience, but essentially it is the most unbearable oppression of conscience. For the sake of civil peace, the religious peculiarities of the great majority of the people are to be ignored, and it is not perceived that by this means bitterness of feeling is roused, and anything but peace procured. They wish for a universal religious instruction, which shall comprehend what is common to all religions; and thus they hope, by strengthening this common ground of religious consciousness, to promote harmony; while Christ is to be regarded only as an historical person, and positive Christianity is thus subverted.

And here may I be allowed to express my full concurrence with the excellent speeches which we have heard this morning from Professor Plitt, of Heidelberg, and his respected colleague, Professor Schenkel, which, with slight exceptions, I should like fully to subscribe to. I remark, in passing, that in Holland the contrary has taken place from that which Professor Schenkel said of the attacks of the Roman Catholic Church in general. With us, this Church, which permits all means to be used for

the accomplishment of its ends, promotes the system of schools without religious instruction, in order to cut off the vitality of Protestantism.

I consider the essence of Christianity is love to God and men, arising from faith in the reconciled Father through Jesus Christ; the teacher who possesses this in his heart is incapable of unloving tolerance, and will exercise a Christian influence upon his pupils without offending their confessional peculiarities for even Jewish scholars will be far better guided in respect to religion by such an one than by a teacher who, for the sake of some Jewish children in the school, denies his Lord and Saviour. But with this case the law has nothing to do. With sorrow I must say that, according to law, God's Word is banished from the State school in Holland, so that the teacher who should read the Bible there would expose himself to legal punishment. It is true that the spirit of the Constitution has been appealed to; but it has been met with the remark, that if this could be accorded, *quod negamus*, nothing else would follow but that the Constitution in this point would be greatly in need of revision. The people do not exist for the sake of the Constitution, but rather the Constitution for the people. It would be impossible to a real love of religious liberty to desire to promote the interests of the Jews by disturbing Christians in their schools, and depriving them of their Christian character. Genuine tolerance would find a much more natural and straight forward way to effect this—namely, by establishing upper and lower Jewish schools, thus preserving to this portion of the citizens their religious and peculiar national development untouched.

And with this, I recommend Holland and its affairs to all who know the Lord, that they may not forget her in their prayers.

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## 2. REMARKS BY M. LOHMANN

OF AMSTERDAM.

Beloved Brethren in Christ,—Only a very, very brief remark, but from the bottom of my heart. It is a greeting for you and a prayer. First, I greet you from 2,000 persons in Amsterdam, from the Hague, and from the Rhine, from the alliance of those

who have united themselves for the spread of the truth ; who are active in home missions, in order to bind together different confessions of faith, who come together to pray that the Lord will pour forth His Spirit upon all nations.

And now the petition ! Holland is far away, is forgotten ; it has once been great, but we Dutch have brought on by our sins its decline ; and we feel ourselves bound and obliged to confess everywhere before the Lord that we must humble ourselves before Him, because we have sinned ; that we must repent because of our sins. But we must also praise the Lord, for He begins to pour out His Spirit upon the people. We are able to say that the Netherlands are experiencing a change since the last twenty years, or even the last fourteen.

When you now come together, dear brethren, be it here or in another place, do not forget to pray for Holland, that the Lord may have pity upon it, and that the work He has begun in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit may be continued to the glory of His name, and to the extension of His glorious kingdom.



COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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VI.—ITALY.

I.

THE PROTESTANT "DIASPORA" THROUGHOUT  
ITALY.

BY THE REV. PAUL KIND,

MILAN.

II.

THE STATE OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION IN THE  
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA.

BY THE REV. DR. MEILLE,

VAUDOIS PASTOR AT TURIN.



# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## VI.—ITALY.

### I.

#### THE PROTESTANT “DIASPORA” THROUGHOUT ITALY.

BY THE REV. PAUL KIND,

MILAN.

A REPORT on the state of the Protestants scattered throughout Italy is attended, in different respects, with considerable difficulties; partly because it is impossible to give exact information as to their numbers and circumstances, and in part because it is not advisable to make known all that might be related concerning them. As the true inner life from God cannot make itself known in its peculiarities, in all situations and atmospheres, without suffering in its purity and power, so Italy is especially unfavourable to the development of religion in ecclesiastical activity and religious services. I shall not, therefore, venture to speak so much of what actually appears as of what ought to be seen; and of the necessities and forsaken condition of our brethren in Italy.

Italy, as you know, exercises, through its scenery and history, a powerful attraction over the inhabitants of northern countries, particularly of the German. Who has not felt an impulse to visit that land which has been the theme of the poet, and become, perhaps, almost a home to them in the course of their education; that land where the numerous and enchanting beauties of heaven and earth, together with the rich life of past centuries, occupy the mind and heart of the beholder; that scene of heroic deeds to the record of which youth listens with wonder and admiration?

Many thousands of Evangelical Christians annually cross the

Alps to enjoy, for a longer or shorter period, whatever the country and its historical associations have to offer to the inquiring mind. Such persons, however, having no permanent abode in Italy, do not come within the scope of that representation of the Protestant *Diaspora* which I have undertaken to paint. But I cannot here suppress a complaint. Of those whose hearts and eyes are open to all that Italy has to offer in nature and art, how few are there who take any notice of their brethren there, or trouble themselves about their Evangelical services and spiritual welfare? They hurry through the towns, and examine what their guide-books point out to them as worth a visit, but they little concern themselves about the religious life of their Protestant co-religionists, and never think of the spiritual encouragement they would afford them by joining in their worship. I speak from experience, and I suspect also that it is the same with most of my ministerial brethren in Italy, with the exception, perhaps, of those in Piedmont—of whom much more is reported in the newspapers—and possibly of the community in Rome, where strangers make a longer stay. Did our beloved brethren but know how it grieves us to feel ourselves forsaken and forgotten, and what joy a visit from them would cause, the blessing they would impart by the distribution of tracts and religious books—which we are unable to procure, but a few copies of which a traveller might easily bring with him—I am convinced that they would not shun the little trouble it might occasion them. A friendly visit to the clergyman would not only be a personal gratification to him, but might lead to brotherly communication with the congregation. Another class seek rest and invigoration for their impaired health in the mild air of Italy. These generally remain for some months in one place, and have a greater claim on the care of the Church. The places they generally visit are Venice, Nice, and Pisa—sometimes Merau, in South Tyrol, and, still more rarely, Palermo. In Venice and Nice they meet with Evangelical religious services—in Venice in German, in Nice in French, Italian, and English, and latterly in German also. In Pisa, Merau, and Palermo, there is nothing of the kind. If, therefore, Protestants who have hoped for the restoration of their health, should, on the contrary, as is very often the case in such places, repair to them only to end their days, they will find there no servant of God to administer the bread and water of



life to their souls. In Palermo and Merau, particularly in the latter town, it is highly improbable that a Protestant service would be permitted, even during the winter months. In Pisa there might, perhaps, be less objection made. The authorities would probably take no notice of private meetings presided over by a Protestant minister, but would regard him in the light of a family chaplain. Who does not feel how much such invalids, more or less anxious and distressed, and far from their homes, stand in need of the consolations of the Gospel?

But what I have principally in view in this paper is, the position of those Protestants who have taken up a permanent residence in Italy.

Although Italy does not offer the same encouragement to commerce and industry as many other lands, yet no inconsiderable number of Protestants have established themselves there for mercantile and industrial purposes. Indeed, it might be maintained that Italy owes nearly all her industrial and commercial advantages to Protestants who have emigrated thither. First, they have established a market for the rich productions of the soil, and have thus encouraged its cultivation; and they have, still further, introduced branches of industry, which are either serviceable to its agriculture, or which go hand in hand with it.

These Protestants are, for the most part, merchants, artisans, hotel-keepers, and sugar-bakers, who also bring with them no small number of younger shopmen, workmen, and servants. Their settlement dates, for the most part, from the commencement of the present century, *i. e.*, since the French dominion introduced more liberal institutions. Previously it was almost impossible, in most districts, for Protestants to establish themselves. Two States only formed an exception—Venice, whose Church politics are expressed in the proverb, *Siamo prima Veneziani e poi Christiani* (by *Christiano* the Italians, to this day, understand a Roman Catholic, so that they find it difficult to know under what name to class Protestants); and Tuscany, which voluntarily opened the port of Leghorn to the enterprise and activity of Protestants. Protestant merchants have been, therefore, settled in Venice and Leghorn for centuries, and have been protected from Rome and its Inquisition by the authorities. In Leghorn, as early as 1607, regular religious services were established by the Dutch and Germans.

Under the Medici and the Princes of Lorraine, this congregation remained unmolested. It still bears the name of the Dutch-German Church, although at this time the Swiss element preponderates; and the languages used in the Church are German and French. This Church is Reformed. In 1650 the Protestant merchants in Venice united to establish a regular service, and they met with no obstacle on the part of the Government. When Austria took possession of Venice, this Church was recognised by authority, and subordinated to the Consistory of Vienna; but the service was forbidden to be celebrated in public. Worship is conducted in the German language in a church that was formerly Roman Catholic, which passed into the possession of a Protestant, who presented it to the congregation—a circumstance which would be no longer possible. Their present pastor is a Hungarian.

At the commencement of the present century, in 1807, the Swiss and French Protestants settled in Bergamo (which was then the principal seat of the silk trade) and founded their Church, which obtained all the rights guaranteed by the liberty of worship enjoyed there. When the Austrians again took possession of the city, the Church was not recognised as such, but was silently tolerated. A short time since, they celebrated their jubilee, when a collection was made for the benefit of the Protestants in the *Diaspora*, and was handed over to the Central Committee of the Gustavus Adolphus Society. The service is held in German and Italian, the latter on account of the number of Grisons who live there. In Genoa, formerly a republic, the Roman Catholic influence had always been so powerful as to prevent the establishment of Protestant merchants. It was only in 1822 that the Swiss, who had established themselves there since the time of Napoleon, united for the regular celebration of Divine worship. They were recognised as a religious association in 1848. The service is in French, according to the liturgy of Geneva. In 1844, the Protestants settled in Messina, organised a Church, and experienced no opposition on the part of the State authorities; it is, however, officially ignored. After waiting for a long time in vain for permission from the Imperial Government, the Protestants at Milan took courage from the events of 1848 to supply the spiritual wants they had so keenly felt, and nominated a pastor. This, however, they did without official consent, although they obtained verbal permission from

the principal authorities. Nine months afterwards, the celebration of their religious services was forbidden, and not until four months later did they receive from Field-Marshal Radetzky, who took the responsibility upon himself, permission to continue them, but under considerable restrictions. Attempts to obtain a recognition from the Government proved unsuccessful. Since that time, however, they have experienced no molestation. The services are conducted in German and French. The two congregations of the Austrian Evangelical Church at Trieste belong also, in a measure, to this sketch. They owe their origin, and also their confessional separation into congregations of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confession, to the Austrian Edict of Toleration under Joseph, and were constituted in 1782-3. The service in the Lutheran Church is in German; and in the Reformed in German and Italian, on account of the Grisons. The churches in the cities of Turin, Florence, Rome, and Naples owe their origin to the Christian care and benevolence of the Royal House of Prussia. They are regarded by the authorities only as chapels of the Prussian Embassy, and were founded soon after the Peace of Paris, between the years 1819 and 1822. In 1848, the Waldenses in Turin received permission to unite for Christian worship; and since that time they have acquired the character of a Christian Church, though their pastor still bears the title and enjoys the privileges of Chaplain to the Prussian Embassy. In Rome, not only is there no possibility of forming a Protestant Church, but the elements themselves are wanting, as but few Protestants have settled there. In Naples, on the contrary, where the congregation is more numerous than in any other Italian city, they have been able to form a complete organisation, and have been richly blessed. They have two ministers, one of whom is a German, and is chaplain to the Prussian Embassy; the other is French, and is chosen by the people. Together with these—which constitute the German, Swiss, and French congregations—there are English churches in Turin, Genoa, Nice, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Palermo. They are connected with the Embassies and Consulates of Great Britain, and are under the supervision of the Bishops of London and Gibraltar. The English have also permission to keep their own registers, and are thereby relieved from many difficulties. The Germans and Swiss, on the contrary, are obliged to have their

baptisms and marriages registered in the Catholic parish registers, to secure their validity; and it not unfrequently happens that these transactions lead to misunderstandings. The appointment of such civil registers, whether at the municipalities or at the representatives of the Protestant States, would alleviate greatly the position of the Protestants.

Among all the Protestant Churches in Italy, that of Venice is the only one acknowledged by the Government, and even in this case the recognition is attended with considerable limitations. The clergyman, for example, is incapable of celebrating mixed marriages, or of instructing Catholics, or of admitting them into communion with the Protestant Church. The Churches of Piedmont have enjoyed, since 1848, freedom of conscience and of worship, together with all those rights which are essential to a Christian Church. The other Churches of Italy possess no civil character; only to those in Leghorn and Florence some few privileges are granted; the rest are regarded by the respective authorities only as assemblies for domestic worship. The places in which they assemble are looked upon as the apartments of a private dwelling, and the clergyman only as any other foreigner; his actions have no more weight in the eye of the law than those of a private individual; he enjoys no more protection than another foreigner, and may be banished by the police. Under all these difficulties, however, the most important objects of the Protestant Churches are attained: as the preaching of the Gospel, the celebration of the sacraments, the care of souls, attention to the poor and the sick, the instruction and confirmation of youth, and the celebration of marriage and Christian burial. The solemnisation of marriage is often hindered through the ill-feeling of the parish priest.

The Gospel is preached every Sunday, and on the Church holydays, in different languages, with the exception of a few weeks during the hot season, when most of the members of the congregation are scattered. There are no evening services. Smaller meetings in the week, for obtaining a more intimate acquaintance with the Word of God, are rare. The Lord's Supper is distributed, for the most part, only on the principal festivals of the Church; in Messina it is only celebrated at Easter and at Christmas. In several congregations, however, the private celebration of this sacrament sometimes occurs. The care of souls has its peculiar difficulties, partly



from local circumstances, but still more from the fact that many Protestants never make themselves known; and that of those families which are permanently settled, not a few belong to that class who despise the spiritual assistance of the pastor, although they expect him to visit them. The care of the sick is in most places confided to the clergy; in Naples, only, is there a diaconate. The poor consist, for the most part, of travelling artisans, and sometimes of families reduced by sickness and want of employment—mostly of those over whom the pastor can exercise no continued spiritual influence. The journeymen who come from all parts of Germany, with scarcely an exception, are without the New Testament. For the care of the sick, some of the Churches have hospitals, as Turin, Genoa, and Naples; there is one also in Rome, but it is very often empty. In other places Protestants are taken into the public hospitals: in those of Leghorn and Bergamo, the Protestant clergyman has access to them at any time; but in others, as in Milan, he can visit only during the few hours when the public are admitted, and he is seldom informed when Protestants are there. The priests are sometimes very troublesome in their attempts at proselytism. It has occurred to me twice that a patient whom I had visited in the hospital of the Sisters of Mercy has been removed to a private room, and access to him denied me, under the pretext that it was by order of the physician. Hospitals are urgently needed in all the large towns of Italy. For the instruction of youth, schools have been established in Bergamo, Turin, Genoa, Leghorn, Florence, Milan, and Naples. In Milan and Bergamo, however, they are regarded by the authorities only as domestic instruction. In Rome, Venice, and Messina, the necessity has not yet been felt. Most of the wealthy families have private tutors, or send their children when young to their native country. In Bergamo and Milan, the congregation pays for the children of poor parents. In Naples there is a School Committee, and, connected with it, an institution which offers both physical and spiritual care. Religious instruction is generally imparted, and in Bergamo and Milan the children are regularly catechised every Sabbath, in addition to the religious instruction they receive in the schools. The children are sent generally to their native land for confirmation. The Protestants possess their own burial-grounds in all these towns, with the exception of Milan. These cemeteries

are generally in connexion with the English, as the English Government, wherever it has representatives, has purchased land for burial purposes. The clergyman can pray and give addresses in them. In Milan, where the cemetery is the property of the municipality, Protestants experience no difficulty in burial. The clergyman is free to execute his functions.

The statistics of the Churches, as far as I am acquainted with them, are as follows; the numbers are necessarily not quite exact. Venice: 300 to 400 souls. Bergamo: 219 souls, in 42 families; annual baptisms, 5; marriages, 3. Milan: 400 to 500 souls, in 65 families, of whom 13 are mixed; annual baptisms, 9; marriages, 3; communicants, 300; scholars, 12. In Genoa, 250 souls. Turin: 200 to 300, without reckoning the Waldenses. Leghorn: 250 souls, in 80 families, among which 15 are mixed; annual baptisms, 8; marriages, 4; communicants, 120. Florence, computed at 300 souls. The number in Rome, according to the census in May, 1853, was 130 souls; in the winter months, however, there are several hundred Protestants staying there; baptisms, 7; marriages seldom; communicants, 232. Naples: 700 to 800 souls, in from 250 to 300 families; baptisms, 24; marriages, 4 to 5; communicants, about 300; school-children, 64—of whom 31 belong to the institution for the poor. Messina: 112 souls, in 26 families, of which 4 are mixed; baptisms, 3; marriages, 1; communicants, about 80. These statistics are almost all given below the mark. The total of 4,000 does not appear to me to be exaggerated. In addition to these there are, we may suppose, 1,500 Protestants in places in which there is no Protestant service, and of whom we shall speak hereafter. There are also about 1,000 English. Thus there are altogether, without including Trieste, with its 1,600 souls, 6,500 Protestants in Italy.

As to the state of religious life among the Protestants in Italy, I have but few particulars. Secessions to the Romish Church were formerly frequent in Milan, and it has occurred that Protestant parents have had their children educated in Catholic schools, because they live in a Catholic country. Now, however, such secessions seldom occur. In six years three instances only have come to my knowledge. Mixed marriages, particularly among artisans, are not infrequent; they cannot, however, be contracted in Italy. If the father is Catholic, the children must also be brought up in the same faith. Should

the father be a Protestant, and also a foreigner, the children are, as a rule, educated as Protestants.

The public services are comparatively well attended. Servants in Catholic families are generally, however, prevented attending. Young tradespeople come rarely to church, and still more seldom to the communion. The number of communicants is, upon the whole, favourable.

As regards morals, it must be confessed that among the female servants and young men too much levity, and often dissoluteness, prevails. It were to be wished that in Switzerland and South Germany young women were prevented going to Italy, unless they had already obtained places in Protestant families, for too many have already been ruined, both body and soul. On the whole, Protestants are well spoken of, and are generally esteemed. Their charities in particular are much extolled. For religious worship, schools, the poor, and for hospitals, they subscribe annually large sums. In Naples, for example, they support the French clergyman (the German pastor is paid by the Prussian Government), the institution for the poor, and the school, the hospital, and a burial place for the poor. Congregational contributions for the poor flow in richly; in Messina alone there are none collected; in Milan more than 200 thalers are annually collected. It is impossible to speak of personal religion. There are many spiritually blind and dead, but there are also the children of God.

I have already observed that many Protestants are living in Italy who are denied the blessing of Protestant services. In the various towns of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom there are about 150 Protestants who apply to the clergymen in Venice, Bergamo, or Milan, if they require ecclesiastical offices, but who otherwise live without the sacraments or the preached Word. In the Duchies of Modena and Parma, there are about 1,300 Protestants—namely, 300 souls in fifty families in Parma, and 700 to 1,000 souls in seventy or seventy-two families in Modena, who are entirely uncared for in a religious sense. They are principally Grisons, who, in order, in some measure, to supply this deficiency, go every four or five years, for one year, to their own country, and send their children there, even when quite young. But their young workmen are, indeed, forsaken and perishing. In Reggio they have their own burial-ground, and one of their number supplies the place of a clergyman at

funerals. Only two secessions have been known in Modena during the last forty years. In Ancona are living forty-four souls in seven families who are able only once a year to enjoy Protestant worship, on occasion of the arrival of the Austrian Protestant Army Chaplain, who also baptizes the children born since the last visit. They have a burial-place which belongs to the English Government, but they are not allowed to accompany the corpse. In Bologna forty Protestants are living without any Protestant care; they have their children baptized either in Leghorn or Florence. In Palermo there are six Protestant families who, not being acquainted with the language, are unable to take part in the service of the English chapel there. Twice it has occurred that a child has remained unbaptized till its third year. A great number of Protestants live in the mines of Tuscany.

What is then to be done? How can the necessities of these scattered Protestants be relieved? Greater religious liberty is not now to be obtained. Attempts to obtain this from the Catholic Governments would not only be useless, but injurious. They regard the unity of their Church and creed as their palladium. They have indeed relaxed their principles, in allowing the Jews the exercise of their worship, but they are so much the stricter with the Protestants, to whom the most that is granted is domestic services. We must utilise the means we already possess. Above all, we must learn to draw more closely around us the bonds which unite the faithful of different Churches; for our communities are not confessional, but founded on the principles of the Evangelical Alliance. Spiritual assistance is much needed, such as might be rendered by dear brethren who could visit and preach in our assemblies, by the foundation of religious libraries, and, above all, by intercessory prayer. Material support is needed for the establishment of hospitals, which may be instituted without difficulty, and are of so much importance for the spiritual care of the sick. One particular want in Milan is a Servants' Home, for the protection of females from corruption. For those Protestants who live beyond the reach of the existing Churches, the institution of itinerant preachers is the only practicable assistance that, under present circumstances, could be rendered. With the requisite foresight and prudence, this is quite practicable, and how small a means it is for so great an end.



Their instructions must be drawn up with the greatest caution and precision, and, above all things, every attempt at proselytising must be prohibited. However hard and unchristian this may seem, yet the circumstances of the case absolutely demand it. Such attempts would certainly be followed by the prohibition of all works of love among the Protestants themselves, and the souls of our brethren in the faith have at least as much claim on our love as those of the Catholics.

The Evangelical Alliance is the only appropriate means for supplying the wants and fulfilling the duties of the Protestant Church towards her scattered children. The activity of a Confessional or National Church is confined within too narrow limits; the Gustavus-Adolphus Union is directed to the help of scattered Protestants in a different manner. A new and peculiar field is opened to the Evangelical Alliance; to it is committed the task of conveying the assistance of which they stand in need to Protestants scattered through Roman Catholic countries, and of supplying the feeble lamp with oil, that it may shine the brighter in the midst of the surrounding darkness.

## II.

THE STATE OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION IN  
THE KINGDOM OF SARDINIA.

BY THE REV. DR. MEILLE,

VAUDOIS PASTOR AT TURIN.\*

Until the last few years, there was no other representative of Protestantism in Sardinia but the Waldensian Church; and, at the present time, the majority of Evangelical Christians in that country belong to it. By its antiquity, and its faithfulness under persecution, it has exercised a great influence upon the fortunes of Protestantism in the Sardinian States, and thus throughout Italy. I am not afraid, therefore, of being charged with partiality, if I draw your attention, in the first place, to that Church.

The Waldensian, or Vaudois Church, consists of sixteen communities, comprising about 22,000 souls. The doctrine which it professed for many years before the Reformation, and which, by the grace of God, it still holds, exactly agrees with the principles of the Evangelical Alliance.

Its organisation is Presbyterian. A Synod, composed of all the pastors, with two lay deputies from each parish, is held every year, to conduct the general affairs of the Church. An Executive Committee, called the Table, is charged to superintend the observance of its rules, to direct the different works which it undertakes—such, for example, as the home mission and evangelisation—and to represent it in its relations with the Government and with foreign Churches. The interior affairs of the parishes—such as the election of pastors, elders, deacons, and deputies to the Synod—are entrusted to the parishes themselves, in the assemblies of which all the inhabitants of twenty-five years of age take part; their decisions are executed by the Consistories, which, in each parish, consist of the pastor, with the elders and deacons. The Consistory, besides this, looks after the poor and the sick, and watches over the purity of

\* This Paper came too late to be read in the Conference.—See p. 27.

doctrine, and life, and manners. In conjunction with the universal priesthood, which belongs, both as a privilege and duty, to every Christian, the Vaudois Church recognises a distinct ministry—which should be especially confided to those who unite knowledge with piety—and admits to it only those who, in addition to personal godliness, have taken a theological degree. The religious life of the Church resisted the pernicious influence of the infidelity of the last century. Indifference, a litigious spirit, and impurity, are the evils from which she at present suffers. But, during the last thirty years, God has pleased to awaken many souls from the sleep of death; the preaching of the Gospel is listened to with interest; and the day will come, as we do not doubt, when the witness which our fathers bore to the truth will be a source of life to their children.

Our relations with the State have of late years been advantageously modified. Formerly, a kind of sanitary *cordon* was drawn round our valleys; a Vaudois might not possess land beyond their limits, which were very narrow. Within these limits, the administration was given to a Council composed of Roman Catholics. The Vaudois were excluded from all public offices; even to become a physician, it was necessary to enter into an engagement to prescribe exclusively for Protestants. When a son had reached the age of fourteen, and a daughter that of twelve, they were immediately liberated from parental authority, if they expressed a desire to change their religion. The Vaudois who died away from his native mountains was buried at the corner of the highway. Whenever fresh Bibles were imported, every pastor was required to give a guarantee in writing that not a single copy should be sold or given to a Roman Catholic. The Vaudois had but one advantage above a Jew—it was the right to shed his blood for his country.

But, since 1847, Protestants possess the same rights as other citizens. The State charges itself neither with the erection of churches, nor the support of pastors, nor the execution of the laws resolved on by the Church; it contents itself with extending the protection guaranteed by the statute to all associations, and watches that the Church does not stretch itself beyond its rights. When a Vaudois dies in a commune in which there is no Protestant cemetery, the supreme authority directs the municipality to appoint him a convenient grave in the common

cemetery, and the funeral service is performed according to the rites of his own Church.

We have not religious liberty in Piedmont; but our Government is more tolerant than our laws. We owe it to the enlightened liberality of the Government, that our worship, which was previously restricted to the Valleys and the chapel of the Prussian Ambassador at Turin, is now established at Genoa, at Nice, and at Pignerol; and in these cities it is celebrated as in Turin, also in large churches, and both in the Italian and French languages. In other places, the Gospel is preached in private houses, in flourishing schools, or in hospitals which were founded at the same time as the evangelisation stations. Let us render thanks to God, who has granted us all these blessings at a time when we were not permitted even to hope for them.

When the Vaudois Church received her liberty in so unexpected a manner, she endeavoured to improve it—in the first place, to awaken a new religious life in her own bosom, and to strengthen her institutions as much as possible. Her statutes, which, in the course of years, had received many modifications, were carefully revised and reduced into a Constitution, which should preserve the conditions at once of stability and progress. The schools were re-organised; 5,000 children are under instruction in 160 schools, all conducted in an Evangelical spirit. Instruction in the Italian language is obligatory. The Lyceum of Latour was enlarged by the addition of a Faculty of Science, and a Theological Academy for the education of pastors and evangelists. Sunday-schools and prayer meetings multiplied. Religious associations awakened the spirit of love. Popular festivals were instituted for reciting to the present generation what our fathers suffered for the faith.

But the Vaudois Church feels that it has once more a mission—it is that of spreading the true Gospel in Italy. As soon as it had effected those reforms which were most pressing, it set itself to this work. Truly never was an agency so feeble applied to so great and difficult a work. But our feebleness was our strength, by compelling us to rely upon Him who can do all things.

I cannot enter into the details of this work, for which the Vaudois Church supports more than twenty pastors, evangelists, schoolmasters, and Bible colporteurs. I must content myself



with explaining the principles which guide us in the evangelisation of Piedmont.

We evangelise because God has made it our duty ; but He is a God of peace and gentleness, and we ought to show as well to the people as the Government that we are animated by the spirit of gentleness and peace. We constrain ourselves to speak as little as possible of ourselves, to occasion as little embarrassment as possible to the Government, that it may have no cause to regret the liberal interpretation which it puts upon a legislation very imperfect in relation to religious liberty.

Further, we always bear in mind that religion must never be used as an instrument for attaining other good things, as, for example, liberty, progress, civilisation—the kingdom of God and His righteousness is the end at which we aim. Among a population which has been for so long a time directed by Jesuitism, and is held in by various restraints, it is important to make the difference palpable between the liberty which Christ gives to souls, and that other liberty after which so many hearts are sighing. This line of conduct has drawn down upon us much reproach. A journal has even censured the proud indifference of the Vaudois to the happiness and glory of their country. But our conscience yields us its testimony, that in remaining faithful to our principle we effectually contribute to the happiness of our fellow-subjects.

In the third place, we desire to convert men to Christ, and not simply to gain adherents to the Vaudois Church. We stretch out a fraternal hand to every Church which labours for the evangelisation of Italy, provided they unite to purity of doctrine order and discipline. If order is wanting, it is our duty to stand aloof, and to wait till the Lord shows what line of conduct is most favourable to the progress of the Gospel. Still, we have never withdrawn from individuals the love which we promised them when they were brought to the knowledge of the truth.

Lastly, we believe that a small Church, composed of faithful members, is more precious in the eyes of the Lord, and contributes more to the advancement of His kingdom, than a numerous Church in which superstition and unbelief stand side by side with faith. We admit to our communities only such Christians as conform in their lives to their profession of faith,

and we suffer a year to elapse between the expressed desire for admission and compliance with it.

The Vaudois Church is not the only Evangelical Church in Sardinia. The work of evangelisation is undertaken by other Churches; and I am able to say, May God bless them! Not that I rejoice in every new rupture in the body of Christ, as if that were progress, but because the existence of these communities is the most convincing proof that religious liberty has taken a great stride in Sardinia.

A certain number of communities, composed of scattered Protestants, to which Roman Catholics will unite themselves, and have done so already, are formed in some of the towns of Savoy, as Chambéry, Annecy, Thonon, and Evian; in which worship is celebrated by faithful ministers, who have come chiefly from Geneva. Many Bibles have been distributed in the mountains, and an excellent journal at Chambéry, the *Glaneur Savoisien*, mingles Evangelical instruction with articles on industry and agriculture. In the Italian part of the Sardinian States, especially in Turin, Genoa, Casale, and Nice, there are communities of Italian brethren, who have lately called themselves Christians of the Free Evangelical Italian Church. These communities have evangelists and Bible colporteurs, who spread the Word of Life in the provinces, particularly from Alexandria, along the Genoese coast to Fara, a village in the province of Novara. The greatest number of the members of these associations, especially their leaders, formerly belonged to the Vaudois Church, and separated from it about four years ago, from motives which need not be mentioned here.

These communities do not differ, in the essential doctrines of Christianity, from other Evangelical Churches; but, as regards organisation, they have no constitution, although the Scriptures give us in clear terms all that is necessary on the point. In the publications they circulate, the Italian Christians express themselves in the following terms on the subject: "The Italian Evangelical Christians are neither Roman Catholic, nor Protestant, nor Vaudois. They are Christians, for they put their whole trust in Christ; and they are Evangelical, for they know nothing of Christianity apart from the Gospel." (Mazzarella, "Letter to Nazari," p. 4.) "The constitution of the different Evangelical Churches hinders the unity of the true Church; these systems are not the Church of God; it is a duty to

separate from them in order to preserve the unity of the Spirit, and to avoid schism" (*Delle Discipline delle Chiese di Cristo*, p. 7). "The different Protestant Churches have fallen into apostacy, even those which hold a pure doctrine; a Church may apostatise as well as an individual, by separating from Christ, and mingling with the world out of which it had been called to be a holy nation, a peculiar people." (*Ibid.*, p. 9.)

The imposition of hands, and the choice of elders, pertains neither to the Church nor to any of the believers, since the Apostles, and those to whom they confided this work, as Titus and Timothy, died. The Holy Spirit himself manifests in a Church, if He has conferred on any one the gifts of the elder or of the bishop; and the Church, who are taught by the Scriptures, and especially by the pastoral epistles, to recognise those whom the Holy Spirit has chosen, ought to honour them as their elders.

As to worship, every person who has a gift ought to take an active part in it. The conduct of the worship by an individual, and the usage of Churches where places of worship are specially consecrated, are contrary to the Gospel. Nobody should administer the Lord's Supper; this is to usurp the prerogative of the Saviour; in the communion every believer should help himself to the bread and wine.

It remains that I should give an account of the state of public opinion in relation to Protestantism. It is necessary, on this subject, to distinguish between born Protestants, and those who have come out of the Roman Catholic Church. Public opinion is favourable to the former. Protestantism is in general regarded as a purer and more spiritual religion. The society of Protestants is sought after; in business they are trusted; many families like to have Protestant servants. But it is not so as to the latter. Men of liberal tendencies—those even who reproach Rome with being the mother of all the vices and the source of all the evils that afflict Italy, the most zealous defenders of liberty of conscience—condemn a change of religion with the same severity as ardent Catholics. Different prejudices account for this anomaly; such as that it is necessary to die in the religion in which you were born; that religion is only changed from interested motives; that every attempt to work a reformation in Italy will only add a new element of discord to a country already so divided. To this must be added the

scepticism which reigns among the higher classes, and the idea of a foreign adverse nationality which the very word Protestantism awakens in many Italians.

Still, within the last five years, many other prejudices against Protestantism have disappeared. In this short space of time, the work of evangelisation has been attended with such success that we are able to count upon a much greater progress in the future. Only we must not expect an Evangelical movement like that of the sixteenth century, which seized upon a whole people at once. Unless a great political change takes place, which God alone can accomplish, it is easy to foresee that, for a long time to come, the preaching of the Gospel will gather in only a small number of souls. But we know that a little leaven will leaven the whole lump. Having an immovable confidence in the promises of the Lord, we renounce ourselves, carefully avoiding divisions and sects, praying always, and the triumph will not be long delayed.



COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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VII.—RUSSIA.

THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN RUSSIA.

BY THE REV. C. A. BERKHOLTZ, D.D.,

CHIEF PASTOR OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, AND CONSISTORY ASSESSOR, BIGA.



# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## VII.—RUSSIA.

### THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN RUSSIA.

BY THE REV. C. A. BERKHOLTZ, D.D.,

CHIEF PASTOR OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, AND CONSISTORY ASSESSOR, RIGA.

IN the ecclesiastical assemblies and conferences which have hitherto been held in these last years, no voice has been heard publicly from the Protestant Church of Russia, and yet there are about three millions of Evangelical Christians in that great empire.

Having now the honour of speaking to you, I do it in the conviction that, however much I may consider myself bound by conscience, office, reflection, and experience, to the confession of my own Church, I find no hindrance in all this to my stretching out the hand to fellow-Christians from other parts of Evangelical Christendom, if they are ready to do so too.

From the North Cape to Ararat and the Black Sea, and from the shores of the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean, and the colony of Sitka, on American soil, the Evangelical Church has her brethren in the faith, and carries to them the Word and the sacraments under the protection of the State.

There are, first, the three provinces of the Baltic, Livonia, Courland, and Esthonia, which, all having the same historical basis, form the chief support of the Evangelical Church in Russia; then, the Lutheran Church of Finland, with her peculiar constitution and language; further, the two capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, with their large Churches, and those territories that immediately adjoin these centres; then, the German Evangelical colonies on the Volga, in Bessarabia, on the Don, and in Trans-Caucasus; and, lastly, the Churches of

the cities in different governments, with their pastors and their associated stations, often widely scattered.

Laws are never able to breathe life into a dead Church ; yet no one who is acquainted with the matter will deny that there has been a fresher spirit of Evangelical life in the Churches, both taken as a whole and individually, which must be regarded as a consequence of the ecclesiastical law ordained by the late Emperor Nicholas I., in the year 1832. With it came order, organisation, and unity. It placed the Lutheran Church once more upon the Confession of the Reformation in preaching and the sacraments ; it awakened the united feeling of the Church by giving it a constitution, and stimulated the clergy to a mutual participation in their duties by annual synods. A General Consistory at St. Petersburg is now presided over by Baron Meyendorff and the clerical vice-president, Dr. Ulmann, both of them men who watch for the welfare of the Church with warm interest and prudence. This ecclesiastical superior authority, which, in particular cases, is subordinate to the Minister of the Interior, has under it eight consistorial districts with their consistories, general superintendents, superintendents, and provosts : 1, Courland, with the adjoining governments, Kowno, Witepsk, Wilna, Ninsk, Mohilew, Gradno, with 118 preachers ; 2, Livonia, with 106 preachers ; 3, Esthonia, with 45 preachers ; 4, St. Petersburg, with Ingermanland and the surrounding governments, as well as the whole extent of country from the Neva to the Crimea and Odessa, with 75 preachers ; 5, Moscow, with the colonies and all Siberia, with 36 preachers ; 6, the town of Riga, with 15 preachers ; 7, the island of Ocsel, with 14 preachers ; and, 8, the town of Reval, with 7 preachers ; besides Trans-Caucasus, and Tiffis, and the German colonies there, and their preachers. This is the external division of the Lutheran Church. The Reformed, equally enjoying the protection of the State, have a much smaller number of churches in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Mittan, and Odessa. Those of the Reformed, who emigrated as colonists from Hesse to Bessarabia, are spiritually cared for by the Lutheran pastors established there ; while at Archangel, a United Church of Lutherans and Reformed celebrate their public worship together under one pastor.

The provinces of the Baltic, to which for the last 700 years a common history belongs, have always been regarded by the



nobles of German descent with great favour; and, for the last 150 years that they have been subject to Russia, they appear in a still more favourable light as compared with other countries. A glance at the unhappy fate of Protestants in Bohemia, Silesia, Upper Austria, Alsace, and Brabant, shows what might have happened to the Baltic provinces if the Romish Propaganda had been able to set its foot there. But this was not permitted. With what sentiments Peter the Great incorporated these provinces with his empire, may be seen in a manifesto published by this enlightened man the 16th of April, 1702, for the benefit of his Protestant subjects, which sounds so different from those which dictated the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In this document, which is not nearly so well known as it deserves to be, he says: "And as already in Moscow, where we reside, the free exercise of religion has been introduced for all Christian sects, although they may be opposed to our Church, we confirm for ever, by these presents, that measure, in such a way that we will never, by the power given us by the Almighty, use any force over the consciences of men, but willingly leave to every Christian the care of his salvation on his own proper responsibility." So spoke Peter the Great in 1702! And his successors in the throne of Russia have trodden in the footsteps of their ancestor. We see, indeed, that the Government has never taken measures to prevent those of another belief from coming into the provinces, but rather to favour it. While in France thousands have been compelled, for the sake of their faith, to forsake their native country to find a second in Brandenburg and Saxony; while Spain guards her subjects from heresy by funeral pyres at which kings have warmed themselves; while in the Austrian Hereditary States, in Hungary, Salzburg, and other parts, the Protestants have suffered most horribly; while the large-hearted and noble Joseph II. made attempts at toleration, which even Protestant writers have not been ashamed to treat with ridicule; while it is still impossible in the Tyrol for a Protestant to maintain possession of landed property, in Russia Protestants are willingly received, churches are built for them, no rights are infringed, and every Protestant subject may enjoy unmolested the ordinances of his faith; while in the countries of the Roman Church Protestants speak of the happiness of being left unnoticed, in Russia every post of honour, in war and in peace, is

open to them, provided that by their talent, fidelity, and uprightness, they make themselves worthy of it. And this is the case up to the present day. The Greek Church, it is true, reserves to itself the right of baptizing the children that are born of mixed marriages, but in other respects Protestant sects are not less tolerated, and sometimes they are even succoured by the Government. In St. Petersburg, Divine service is celebrated in fifteen languages, and according to twelve different confessions. In the same city, not far from the Kasan Church, on the Nevsky Prospect, there is a remarkable and, perhaps, a unique spectacle; within a three-quarter square verst, five different religious confessions have built their eight temples and hold their religious worship peacefully in close contiguity—the Greek, Armenian, Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman.

The public worship of the Evangelical Church of Russia, the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the sacraments, is carried on in different languages according to the nation. German predominates in the towns, and is exclusively used in the colonies. In Courland, and half of Livonia, the language of the Lutherans, who belong to the peasant class, is the Lettish. Esthonian is preached in the districts inhabited by that people and in the islands. For the Lettish and Esthonian's of the army and navy belonging to the Lutheran Church, churches and pastors have been provided at the cost of the Government, both in Petersburg and Cronstadt. On the Neva and in Ingermanland there are many Evangelical congregations speaking the Finnish language, whose preachers receive, for the most part, their education at Helsingfors. In St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa, there are churches and preachers for the Reformed French residents. The Dutch Embassy, too, supports a Dutch clergyman by means of some old foundation from the time of Peter the Great. The English National Church has both churches and preachers in St. Petersburg and in Riga; and the best understanding exists between them and the Lutherans. The preaching also of the Bishop of the United Brethren, Nielsen, and of the Reformed clergyman Iken in St. Petersburg, was attended by Lutherans. In modern times the newly-awakened strictness of confession has occasioned many discussions, especially in the Evangelical Churches of Bessarabia, where Lutheran preachers had misgivings as to the propriety of administering the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the

originally Reformed members of their Churches, on their request that it should be according to their own rites; yet the affair might have been settled amicably and for the good of the Church, since, really, among the so-called original Reformed there exists only a most imperfect statement of their peculiar doctrines. There are also a few Mennonite Churches on the borders of the Black Sea, at and near Berdiansk, who, living isolated, lead, according to all reports, a peaceful and quiet life in all godliness and honesty.

In the Evangelical Church of Russia, moreover, all those ecclesiastical questions have found an echo which have occupied Protestant Germany for the last ten years, and which await a further development—such as those relating to the liturgy, the hymn-book, and the catechism. Luther's smaller catechism is the basis of our elementary religious instruction.

The missionary work among the heathen has been for many years a subject of our prayers and of our love. There is no want of missionary prayer-meetings exciting sympathy in its behalf; and, certainly, the institutions at Basle, Barmen, and, last of all, at Leipzig, preserve a friendly remembrance of the sympathy which their words of faith found among the Protestant brethren of Russia. The missionary Hugo Hahn, from the institution at Barmen, is from Riga. His presence in his native country in the summer of 1855, after thirteen years' residence in South Africa, increased our interest in missions, and he received the Imperial permission to return to his station in Africa without prejudice to his rights as a Russian subject.

The name, too, of the Inner Missions has been heard amongst us, and the thing had existed long before this name was used. Our many benevolent institutions, such as Houses of Refuge, Orphan Asylums, Penitentiaries, Female Associations, Infant Orphan Asylums, Benevolent Institutions for the care of the poor and the sick, and also for the poor of the Church, can only thus be hinted at.

Public worship is, on an average, well attended; though with us, as elsewhere, there is a majority of females in the congregation. Rationalism, in the popular sense of the word, has always been a stranger to our Churches; Pantheistic speculations have made no ravages amongst us; but we have incessantly to contend against a coarse materialism.

In the towns, a want has been felt of something more than the

Sunday services, and weekly Bible lessons have found ready sympathy, and especially on the Sunday evening. Liturgical services also take place on the vigils of the feast days, at the close of the year, and other occasions. Only in exceptional cases, members absent themselves from the yearly enjoyment of the Lord's Supper. In many, especially in country parishes, it is customary to administer the sacrament twice a year. Baptism among the higher classes is, almost without exception, celebrated in the house. The confirmation of the young, which, according to the ecclesiastical law, can only take place between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, is, with us, a very quickening ceremony; and our Church attaches great importance to the instruction preceding it. Marriages take place principally in the church, though, now and then, there are some who like to give to the ecclesiastical act the character of a family festival. And with regard to interments, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary in Germany, not even the corpse of a child is carried to the grave without the presence of the pastor being invited, and without a hymn being sung, the reading of the Scriptures, and prayer.

On the whole, it must be said of our Churches, that they wish every Christian act to be performed solemnly; nothing is further from them than coarse outbreaks of scorn and the ridicule of Divine things; we have rather to complain of religious indifference.

Lately there have been many new Protestant churches built in Russia, as well as old ones restored and rebuilt, which the want of time prevents my noticing particularly. The means have, God be thanked, as yet been ample. No doubt the new edifices have not the imposing grandeur of the cathedrals of former times, such as those we have at Riga and Revel; they are, however, not without tasteful ornament, and, according to law, they are built of stone wherever the means allow of it. Who that has been in St. Petersburg does not remember the beautiful Protestant church on the Nevsky Prospect, erected principally by Imperial munificence? Who is not told, on landing from the steamer at Revel, in view of the lofty tower of St. Olai, that more than thirty years ago, when it was destroyed by lightning, the late Emperor ordered it to be rebuilt, and contributed half a million for this purpose? Not long ago, in Novgorod, Smolensk, and Kiew, the foundation-stones of new



Protestant churches were laid ; and this summer Provost Kyber, at Zurickthal, in the Crimea, also begs for contributions for the brethren to build a new church there. This prayer, I feel sure, will not be heard without a response.

Scarcely forty years ago, the country churches were only sparingly supplied with organs ; there are, at the present time, but few churches which have not seen their public worship ennobled by the exalted art of music, and organs are transported beyond the Ural Mountains. While but one generation ago the religious instruction of the schools knew nothing, or little, of the Lutheran Catechism, and still less of the learning of good hymns and their melodies, it is now a pleasure to hear the youth of the present day giving honour and glory to God in hymns of praise.

If we advert to the external circumstances of the preachers, they are, on an average, of a kind that does not warrant such a heart-breaking description as is forced upon us from particular districts of other countries. If there are none in a position to vie with many a rich beneficed clergyman of Old England, yet, on the whole, they are in such circumstances as that, with reasonable management, they cannot want, though often it is with great difficulty that they can bestow upon their children the expensive education necessary with us. The preachers in the towns and colonies are dependent partly upon their land, partly upon their tithes, which they receive in kind ; while the town clergymen, for whom with us there are no legally regulated surplice-fees, have, as yet, been supported solely by the voluntary gifts of love of their congregations. In a country where the dominant State Church knows that the great majority of the inhabitants are attached to her, the idea might easily arise that they would regard the Protestant Church with dislike, if not with positive contempt. But this is not the case. There is but one opinion as to the esteem and respect with which the Russians treat the Protestant Church. The Protestant pastors have the full confidence of both high and low, especially if they understand Russian, and are also conversant with French. The Protestant clergymen thus enjoy the favourable reputation of being educated men, which opens to them an entrance into all circles.

The congregations are often very large, too large ; the usual number is from 6,000 to 8,000 souls. But sometimes the number

rises, in spite of everything, to 12,000 and 16,000 and more. The preachers, with the increasing demands made upon them, have to contend with many troubles, difficulties, and grievances, if they will honestly fulfil the duties of their office; and, therefore, the desire is often expressed for an increase of spiritual labourers; and in many places, as in Livonia, the institution of pastoral vicariats is thus to be accounted for. That the so-called pilgrimages in spring and autumn from dwelling to dwelling, examining children in reading, in the Catechism, in Bible history, and in singing, administering the Communion to the sick and weak, and such like offices, exhausts the strength of the pastor, cannot be denied; when, too, added to the above, there is the instruction preparatory to confirmation, when hundreds sit for hours together in close class-rooms. In many districts, moreover, the administration of the Lord's Supper takes place weekly, as well as the preparation on the previous day. The pastor of Novgorod has a parish nearly as large in extent as from Trieste to Hamburg, and from Treves to Tilsit, through which he travels every year dispensing the means of grace. Many pastors live in a state of complete isolation, surrounded by circumstances of discomfort; as those, for example, at Tobolsk, Irkutsk, and Barnaul, who occupy the furthestmost out-stations of the Protestant Church. What faith and prayer do they need! Others, again, in the German colonies, are encompassed by a Russian and Tartar population, and have continually to contend with the prejudices and opposition even of their parishioners, who are rich peasants accustomed to confide the care of the congregation to the so-called praying brethren, chosen from amongst themselves, and who do not always receive with satisfaction a theologian fresh from a Lutheran faculty.

There is little room for the formation of sects, and the evil which, according to foreign reports, the intrusion of religious novelties has produced, is, thanks to the higher powers, impossible in our Churches. The battle about the Union, or a separate, or strict, or old Lutheranism, only affects us so far as we would not withhold the feeling of sympathy, and are theoretically inclined to one side or the other, without any practical consequences resulting from it. It cannot, however, be concealed that, besides the so-called "Jumpers" in Ingermanland—probably immigrated from Sweden by way of Finland, and who

limit themselves to a small circle—some trouble has been occasioned by a peculiar usage of the Moravians in Livonia and Esthonia, especially among the Lettish and Esthonian peasants. I speak, however, the more briefly upon this much talked of subject, because we already possess an historical description of the matter by Professor Harnack, D.D., of Erlangen, formerly Professor at Dorpat, which is written with equal knowledge, copiousness, and exactitude. I share with many the respect felt for this venerable Protestant brotherhood, and thank God for all that these faithful witnesses to the truth, with God's help, have effected, and still do effect, on both sides of the ocean, which does not need any further remarks from me, as it is written imperishably in the annals of Church history. And had the brethren in Livonia continued to be a help in the pastoral care of the Churches, to which alone they were authorised by a charter of the Emperor Alexander I., in the year 1817, they would still have been a great blessing to the Lutheran Church of that province. Unfortunately, this has not been the case; for they have established rules—for instance, admission by lot to the communion—which are thoroughly illegal, and really ought not to exist, since they only tend to divisions in the Church. The lot is raised to a sacramental, liturgical, and mystical act of grace, by which the Lord Jesus, as chief elder, makes His personal influence evident in every single case, as by a miracle, and solemnly divides the merely baptised Lutheran from those chosen by lot to be partakers of the covenant of grace, and who, as such, form a higher class of expectants for heaven. These things are strange to our Church, they violate its harmony, and produce distraction. If the dear brethren who could do so much good were only to adopt another line of conduct, they might still work most beneficially among us, instead of sowing the wind and reaping the whirlwind. Where there are strict Herrnhut Churches, no one would prevent them from training souls for the Lord by their own peculiar means; but the Lutheran Church believes itself authorised to desire that, when foreign elements place themselves in her service, they should submit to the regulations which her constitution has ordained.

Russia has two universities where there are Lutheran faculties of divinity, Helsingfors in Finland, and Dorpat in Livonia. At Helsingfors scarcely any but the native Finlanders study, pre-

paring for their office in Finland. Dorpat, on the contrary, embraces all the branches of education, and prepares preachers, physicians, lawyers, Government officials, teachers, naturalists, agriculturists, for the whole of Russia; and not infrequently military men of high standing have received the foundation of their scientific education there. The University at Dorpat was founded by Gustavus Adolphus, in the year 1631, and was restored by the Emperor Alexander I., in 1802. The theological faculty of Dorpat, which did not escape the general influence which affected all the universities of Germany, entered upon a new era with the coming of Dr. E. Sartorius. The Christian confession has been reinstated, and for the last twenty years there have been distinguished professors, and this new development of Christian life has not been without a blessing to the Lutheran Church of Russia.

At the suggestions of Dr. John Patterson, a Bible Society for the Russian Empire was established, under the protection of the Emperor Alexander I., in the year 1813, and though its activity suffered an interruption of some years, it is now flourishing and much blessed in its operations. With fervent gratitude the Protestant Bible Association of Russia must acknowledge the truly generous and frequent support of the British Parent Society in London, which more than once has made us considerable grants of Lettish and Esthonian Bibles. Bible festivals have become amongst us in the country a kind of national festival, and from far and near crowds gather to hear from the lips of favourite preachers the word of the Gospel.

If we now advert to the state of the interior and spiritual life of the Church, it cannot be denied that some signs of improvement appear, although there is much to make us sad. Some afflicting instances of deflection have taken place, and the report of them has found its way into foreign countries. The times are bad, and temptations are powerful; the increasing value of property, the new position of agricultural labourers, the number of manufactures, the military levies, the tendency of the population to increase in the large towns, the facilities of locomotion, the increase of population—these and similar causes exercise a powerful influence, and turn the mind of man to material and worldly objects; and worse than all this, among the disciples of the same Lord and Saviour, enemies are but too often found in the camp; so that we sorrowfully search on all sides for the pre-



cursory signs of the time in which those words shall be accomplished, "One Shepherd and one flock."

In that ground-work of Divine truth, wherein Protestant Christians know themselves to be one, may they in prayer and love strive after the abundance of these things, strong in the common feeling of adoption into the family of God. It is thus that the assembling of Protestant Christians here appears to the brethren in Russia as a praiseworthy effort; and, therefore, we do not fear to confess that we joyfully unite in this demonstration of the genuine Christian Protestant spirit. There has been enough of controversial theology, enough of a quarrelsome spirit. Far from the fanaticism of sect and party, let us now make the attempt to express, in peaceful and mutual acknowledgment, that something is gained by causing the principle to be acknowledged, that the Church of Christ may build itself up in separate divisions, according to the various gifts and strength, while yet there is but one Lord and one Spirit working all in all. Each represents one form of the truth which it has found, and, using only for our weapons the Word of God, we may overcome one another in works of love and of fidelity. For such language our age is susceptible in very many hearts. It is not my duty to work in the centre of the movement of Protestant life. But that has not prevented me from appearing here as a Protestant Christian of the Lutheran Confession, who loves his Church, and will work for her as long as it is called to-day, and thanks, from his inmost heart, the respected friends who have courageously overcome all considerations which could in any way oppose themselves to such a united representation of Protestant Christians. If, in many respects, we have not yet arrived at a unity in worship in the constitution of the Church and the deeper development of Christian doctrine, yet it is one road that we tread, and one is our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. Well will it be for us if we do not waste our time idly in the light of the day; happy if it is granted to us to have co-operated in anything for the accomplishment of that glorious object which Christ the Lord has established and sealed with His blood.

While attempting to direct the attention of this Assembly to the Evangelical Church of Russia, I feel that I have not given a complete view, and have not touched upon many things, while I have but casually mentioned others. My desire has only been to testify to the fact that, among us in that great northern

empire, there is not an insignificant number of Protestant Christians attached to you—our beloved companions in faith and feeling. The Evangelical Church of my native country feels itself to be too much one with all the ecclesiastical and spiritual interests of the great universal Protestant Christendom, not to beg a remembrance in the pious supplications of all true believers, who are looking for that great day when the Lord will deign to honour those, whom He has found faithful in a few things, by an entrance into His glory. May God graciously grant this! Amen.

COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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VIII.—GREECE.

CONDITION OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION IN  
GREECE.

BY THE REV. DR. KING,

AMERICAN MISSIONARY AT ATHENS.





# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## VIII.—GREECE.

### CONDITION OF EVANGELICAL RELIGION IN GREECE.

BY THE REV. DR. KING,

AMERICAN MISSIONARY AT ATHENS.

WHILE giving you a report of the condition of Evangelical religion in Greece, I must make a declaration of my full adhesion to the nine articles of the Evangelical Alliance. The doctrines contained in them are the same that I taught when I was a missionary in Palestine, and which I have endeavoured to inculcate during the thirteen years I have laboured in Greece. In that country, as well as in all Eastern countries, there is no lack of religion; for the Greeks are, as a people, very religious, and I can only confirm what was once said of them by St. Paul. Among many other things, the Greeks especially venerate the Virgin Mary, although they repudiate the modern doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. They believe in the Divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures and in their efficacy; but both as a people and a corporation attached to the œcumenical doctrines, all private investigation of the Holy Scriptures and the right of private judgment are unknown to them. They believe in the Three Persons of the Trinity, and from this point of view they must be regarded as Evangelical Christians. They believe, as they confess, in the sinfulness of the human race, in consequence of the fall of our first parents; at the same time they maintain that baptism washes away original sin. They believe in the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour, and His sacrifice for us on the cross, and His mediation for us with God the Father; but not to the exclusion of the mediation of the Virgin. They

believe in justification by faith, but consider the giving of aims, fasting, and such like observances, as necessary to salvation. They are taught in their catechism that baptism and confession to the priest takes away all sin. Their catechism says, further, that the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the one means by which we receive in the bread the real body of the Lord, and in the wine the blood of our Lord and Saviour, for the forgiveness of sins and the resurrection of the body. With respect to the Holy Ghost, they appear to have no other idea of His agency than as it is connected with baptism and the Lord's Supper. They believe in the Divine appointment of the priestly office, and in the apostolical succession in their Church alone. They consider their Church as the only veritable and real Church of Christ, and they designate the great Church at Constantinople their Mother Church. Further, extreme unction is administered for the salvation of the sinner. They do not say that they believe in purgatory, but they present offerings for the dead, and pray for the souls of the departed. They acknowledge Jesus Christ as the sole Head of the Church. They acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the Word of God; and they are therefore distributed and used in the schools, with the permission and approbation of the Government. The importance and influence of what I have now said will be more clearly seen when touching upon the schools.

According to a report which the Minister of Instruction has laid before the King, it appears that there are 450 schools in Greece, in which 41,975 children are educated, of whom 6,500 are of the female sex. In these schools 495 teachers are engaged. Besides these institutions, there are about 300 elementary schools, which have been founded and are maintained by the voluntary gifts of the parents of the children who attend them, and in which 10,000 children receive instruction. The total number of the schools, then, is 750, in which 51,975 children are taught by 795 teachers. There are also eighty-eight Hellenic schools, in which 4,999 scholars are instructed. These schools form a higher class of educational institutions. Besides these, there are eleven gymnasiums, and one in particular for those who are destined to the priestly office. I could name other educational institutions, such as those for agriculture, polytechnics, and other objects. But of all these, the Univer-

sity of Otho holds the first place, in which there are forty-two professors, and which is attended by 590 students, of which number 350 are from Free Greece, and the rest from other parts of Greece. They have admission to a library which contains nearly 100,000 volumes. But there are also a large number of young Greeks, who are sent, at the expense of the Government, to the more highly cultivated countries of the West, particularly to Germany, in order to pursue their studies.

All this tends to prove that the Greeks of the present day search after wisdom, as in the time of St. Paul. Great results may be anticipated from the freedom of the press and the free circulation of the Word of God. Neither must it be forgotten that all these schools and educational institutions are to be found among a population numbering not more than a million souls, and in a country in which, thirty years ago, I was scarcely able to find one person of the female sex able to undertake a school; and where, but a short time ago, the priests made all possible efforts to exclude and forbid the use of the Word of God in schools and in the family circle. The well-known and celebrated Count Capo d'Istria said to me, in the year 1828, that the greatest difficulty he had to encounter was to find females inclined and suitable to place at the head of schools. Fortunately, the hindrances which then opposed themselves to the development of an interest in schools are now removed, and to accomplish this the missionaries in the different parts of the country have laboured. One of these schools, under the superintendence of Mrs. Hill, and established by the missionaries at Athens, is now in full operation; and children from the best families and with good mental endowments are educated there. This is an institution which is not inferior to the best in other countries. One of the oldest schools in Greece which the missionaries have founded is in Syra. There Dr. Kork and Dr. Hill are labouring with great assiduity. All the missionaries who are actively engaged in Greece, to whatever confession or denomination they may belong, have introduced the Holy Scriptures as a school-book, which is daily read in the schools.

For a people so anxious for knowledge as the Greeks, it has appeared necessary, from the very beginning, to prepare books of instruction, and to introduce them into the country. To this end, the missionaries have called the attention of various

societies to this subject. The number of the various works—large editions of which have been printed by them in Malta, Syria, and in Athens—must amount to more than a hundred. First of all, the permission of the Government was obtained to distribute the Holy Scriptures, as a whole, and also in separate parts, and religious tracts, in all the towns and villages of Greece. The American Missionary Society alone have circulated about 400,000 copies of the Bible and other religious publications in Greece and some parts of Turkey. This shows that Greece—God be praised!—is in a much better position than many countries of Europe where the distribution of the Bible is still a crime. Some Greeks, distinguished for their learning, have not hesitated to declare their opinion that the day is coming in which the Holy Scriptures will be exhibited as the foundation of all truth. And yet, from political motives—for the flesh is weak—they regard it as their duty to remain as they are.

All Greeks remain firm to what they call the great idea, that Constantinople is destined to be the metropolis of their country; and they consider it is not allowable for them to accept of anything which could separate them from their brethren.

There is also a party in Greece, represented by a journal, which is well known in Europe. This party believes that the Greek nation alone possesses the light of knowledge, and that by her means alone it can be diffused over other lands.

I am, however, rejoiced to say, that the advocates in Athens, about seventy-five in number, are positively in favour of religious freedom; some of them have declared openly in Free Greece and Macedonia that they are of one mind with Evangelical religion in the sense in which it is understood by the Evangelical Alliance. Some of them have begun to promulgate the Gospel, and, as I believe, in all its purity.

With regard to the efficacy of the books which have been distributed, I have often had occasion to notice the fact that, by the perusal of these alone, persons have been led to alter their opinions entirely. Only a few days before I left Athens, a man called on me, who told me that his views of religion had been entirely changed by reading Barth's "Church History," which has been printed and distributed under the direction of the Bishop of Jerusalem.

Great preparation has thus been made in this country, in the



magnificent language of which the New Testament was written, and in which the Apostle Paul preached the Gospel. In a short time, we may hope that such men as Timothy, Polycarp, and Justin, may again be found in Greece; that Greece, Macedonia, the Piræus, and the remaining parts, may, in times not far distant, see a great light, which shall shine over mountain and valley, and illuminate all the people who dwell in those lands, and who are yet sitting in darkness.

And now, in drawing to a close, allow me a single word in reference to the object that has called us together. As I travelled by rail from Trieste through the Steiermark, and dashed now under, now over the mountains, I thought of the Prophet Isaiah, and of what he said of the preparation for the great work: "Every valley shall be exalted, and every hill shall be made low, to make a pathway for the Lord." For what object are these railways, which unite country and nation with each other—for what object are these electric telegraphs, which convey the thoughts and feelings of men to distant lands—for what other object than to prepare for the advent of our Lord? A king of former times, who dwelt in Zion, the blessed Psalmist, exclaimed: "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" And a king of the present time, the Sovereign who reigns over these lands, who has so kindly received us, and who, in taking such an interest in our Assembly, exerts his influence for the spread of the Gospel, shows us that it is his earnest wish to bring to pass what was sung by that king of old. Is this the beginning of the fulfilment of that prophecy, where it is written, "And kings shall be their nursing-fathers, and queens their nursing-mothers?" May the blessing of the Lord rest upon this nation, its king and his house, both now and for evermore! Amen. [All the Assembly cried with one voice, "Amen."]



# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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## IX.—THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

### I.

#### THE STATE OF TURKEY.

1. BY THE REV. DR. SCHAUFFLER,  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

2. BY THE REV. DR. DWIGHT,  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

### II.

#### PRAYER OFFERED IN CONCERT WITH CHRISTIANS IN AMERICA.

BY PASTOR KUNTZE.

### III.

#### WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA AS MISSION FIELDS.

BY THE REV. DR. HAMLIN,  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

### IV.

#### THE ARMENIAN CHURCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY ITS PASTOR, M. CATUJIAN.





# COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

## IX.—THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

### I.

#### THE STATE OF TURKEY.

1. BY THE REV. DR. SCHAUFFLER,

AMERICAN MISSIONARY IN CONSTANTINOPLE.\*

*Wednesday, September 16, 1858.—Afternoon.†*

President: Pastor FISCH, Paris.

ALLOW me to draw the attention of the Assembly to the Osmands and Slavonians of Turkey as the subject of this written report, which its writer regrets that he is not able to deliver in person, in consequence of having to undertake a voyage to America. The pressure also upon his time obliges him to make the request that the report may be received indulgently.

The social transformation of the Turkish Empire is considered by many to be impossible. That it is a very difficult task, and only to be effected gradually, is universally acknowledged.

We consider the social and religious regeneration of Turkey possible, but the difficulties are great.

A monograph which not long ago appeared upon this subject, though looking at it from a purely human standpoint, says correctly: "Turkey will not go to ruin from the incapacity of the individual to receive cultivation, nor from the general degeneracy of the races, but rather from the opposition of the Koran to Christianity. In the influence of the Koran on the morals of the people and on the form of the Government, may be sought the real and only cause of decay." Let us add that

\* Dr. Schaufller being in America, this paper was read by M. Schlien, of Basle.

† Their Majesties the King and Queen of Prussia being present.

the Koran has been commented upon in innumerable works—theological, juridical, practical, and even poetical. The pretensions it sets up render any sort of reform impossible, while a new prophet only, who, according to its dictum, can never come, could venture to alter a single letter; neither the Sultan, therefore, nor the Scheick-ül-Islam, nor the learned Corporation of the Ulema, possess the smallest right to effect any reform.

But Divine truth has never yet encountered an invincible hindrance; the omnipotence of God wants not for ways and means, and therefore the Christian never grows faint-hearted. Thus must it be here in Turkey.

Meanwhile, every Mohammedan does not believe in the Koran, and the general confidence reposed in it diminishes daily. At all times its laws have been transgressed, and Harun al Reschid himself confesses quite naïvely that the Mohammedans drank wine. The establishment of the quarantine by Mahmud, in 1836, was in direct opposition to the Koran, but was carried into effect without opposition. After having declared in the Imperial manifesto that the doctrine of fatalism is undoubtedly true and orthodox, he speaks of the experience of other nations with regard to the quarantine, declares it to be his duty to preserve the lives of his subjects by all possible means, and therefore ordains, by his sovereign power, the institution of the quarantine. The Tanzimat is plainly incompatible with the Koran. And so also was the intimacy of the Mohammedans, and their fighting in common with Christians during the late war, not to speak of the acknowledged fact that the Christian Powers have saved Turkey from destruction, and preserved the throne for the caliphs. The Hatti-Scherif especially stands in flagrant contradiction to the Koran, and yet the Scheick-ül-Islam has blessed it, and given to it theological and ecclesiastical authority. The New Testament and the Bible are publicly bought and read, by high and low, scholars, theologians, and the laity, in country towns and villages. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has been presented by the American Ambassador with a Bible, which he accepted, and for which he thanked him in a friendly note. Soon after this a copy from the British and Foreign Bible Society was presented to the Sultan himself, and that same evening he perused its contents. All this is so “anti-Koronical,” that we scarcely know what more may not be done. Samson carried off the gates of the city which were to

have kept him a prisoner. In the abnormal state of this country and people nothing can be reckoned upon beforehand. Facts and Divine promises are a thousand times more valuable than the best human calculations.

I proceed now to general facts; those of a special nature are too numerous to be mentioned.

1. The Hatti-Scherif, which was regarded by many as the greatest act of emancipation which was ever heard of, and by still more decried as an intentional deception, or idle Oriental verbosity, is neither the one nor the other, but certainly, in the manner in which God makes use of it, one of the most important State papers which the world has ever seen. As expressing the principles of the monarch himself, it may be received in good faith. The liberal Government of the Tanzimat regards the Hatti as practicable. At the same time, no one who knows anything of Turkey can look upon its immediate execution as possible. That which is most remarkable and really grand in this document is, that it could be promulgated at all, and that, translated into all languages of the kingdom, it is read in the mosques, churches, and law courts; that it has scattered the seeds of ideas over the entire country, which, striking root everywhere, awaken thought from one end of the empire to the other, nourish principles and hopes, and prepare a future which, as it seems, no human power can smother or destroy. From the mountains of Albania to those of Kurdistan, the moral power of the Sovereign's proclamation is felt, and with equal astonishment and joy we can perceive that the uncultivated masses, as well as the more educated, comprehend, not only the moral power of the Hatti, but that (with the exception of the strict orthodox Mussulman class) all look with new confidence and warmer attachment to the philanthropic and enlightened Ruler. Want of time and the limits of this paper forbid my entering into details. I must, however, add, that on several occasions, and such as were most tempting to the Government, in the metropolis and even in the country, the authorities have so conducted themselves as to show that they are in earnest in their gradual recognition of the Hatti. There is certainly still no want of abuses, and in the future there will still be hard and bloody struggles for the confessors of the Gospel.

2. The distribution of the Scriptures, and especially of the

New Testament, among the Turks is a remarkable sign of the times. When, during the war, almost all barriers between Christians and Mussulmen seemed to have given way, we might be less surprised that the latter should try, from curiosity, to get hold of the principal book of their mighty deliverers, as at that time they might do so unpunished. But it might have been expected that, after the withdrawal of the troops and the gradual return of affairs to their former position, a reaction would take place, since, on the one hand, the more curious were already satisfied, and, on the other, the guardians of Islam would be likely to rouse themselves to stay the progress of the Gospel which the Koran condemns. But nothing of the kind occurred. The sale of the New Testament increased, till the entire supply was exhausted. During the years 1855-56, nearly 6,000 copies of the Bible and New Testament were sold. Soon after the commencement of the year 1857, there were no more Testaments to be had. No kind of opposition was to be perceived. We await the next edition with impatience.

3. A remarkable result of the spread of the Bible is, that the doctrines of the Koran and of the Gospel may now be compared. Mohammedans often defend the latter. Formerly, the slightest doubt respecting the Koran was punishable by death; caution is still necessary when it is spoken of openly, because the feelings of others are not to be wounded, and rude outbreaks might be feared; but there is no longer any danger of being summoned before the tribunals. Not only here in the metropolis, but far away in the mountains of Kurdistan, the question, "Koran or Judschid?" (Gospel) is openly discussed. Further, it is not only a fact that the New Testament is read by hundreds in secret, but that there are also cases where thirty or forty persons meet with the New Testament open before them, and make its truths the subject of conversation. Not that all these persons are Christians; many do not allow themselves to imagine whither their investigations will lead them. But the leaven is in the kneading-trough, and the work of fermentation has begun.

4. Another remarkable circumstance is this, that those people whose ancestors were compelled to accept Mohammedanism—and to these belong entire and half races both in Europe and Asia—have only acquired enough of this faith to make the picture-worship of the Oriental Churches distasteful to them. They are secretly inclined to the Gospel, and thousands long



for the day when they may be able to shake off the yoke and call themselves Christians. May they not only be called Christians, but be such in reality!

The return of the Crypto Christians of the island of Crete to the Greek Church is a fact well known. The movement among the Mohammedan inhabitants of Turkey is not more remarkable than that among the Slavonian races and the Albanians of European Turkey. Besides the growing interest of these nations for the Scriptures—the most important consideration for the Christian—they make increasing endeavours to free themselves from the painful dependent relation in which they have so long stood to the Greek Church, or rather to the Greek clergy. The history of this strange relation is a simple one, and even of a late date, but is most likely not sufficiently present to the memory of the Assembly. It may, therefore, be allowed a place here.

From the time that the Bulgarians (for they are the leaders in this strife) conquered the provinces which they now inhabit, they were in constant conflict with the Byzantine empire. The character and customs of the Greeks and Bulgarians are so different that, in the unhappy circumstances of an armed invasion, there could be little hope of reconciliation and mutual accommodation. But this quarrel, which cost many a life, was advantageous to the Osmans. In the year 1396, the kingdom of Bulgaria was incorporated with the Osman empire as a province; at the same time the Bulgarians retained their municipal privileges and ecclesiastical rights untouched. Their Church governed itself and chose their own bishops and archbishops, which was accorded to them by Justinian and confirmed by the Sultan. They enjoyed the most perfect ecclesiastical independence, and were subjected to no sort of inspection on the part of Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, or Alexandria. They recognised the œcumenical councils, and Jesus Christ was the acknowledged Head of the Church. But when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Osmans (1453), fifty-seven years after their own subjection, the Bulgarians were placed, with regard to their civil rights, in the same position as those who belonged to the Greek Church. Their ecclesiastical organization, however, remained, and their independence was not violated till 1764. At that time Samuel I., Patriarch of Constantinople, persuaded the Bulgarian Patriarchs of Ipek and Ochrida to abdicate; and

he then obtained a "Hatt" from the Sultan, by virtue of which the flocks forsaken by their shepherds were made subject to the Greek Patriarch. Treachery and usurpation united to enslave an unsuspecting but free people. The excitement was very great throughout Bulgaria, especially as it was soon seen what sort of treatment they had to expect. Greek bishops were appointed who banished and drove away their predecessors, and only the lower clergy, whose ignorance and submission made them useful instruments of the Greek hierarchy, retained office. Simony was the order of the day. A priest's office cost seventy-eight dollars without the yearly taxes. Public worship was performed only in Greek. All Bulgarian books were destroyed, their schools closed, and Greek schools established, superintended by Greeks. It was only by repeated exertions that some mitigation of these oppressions was obtained. Greek bishops and Turkish officials worked into each other's hands for the oppression of the poor Bulgarians, and shared the booty. In many places the oppressed people, with whom Christianity had long since been but a form, were driven to despair; they threw themselves into the arms of Mohammedanism in order to have a little earthly rest, and increased by thousands the number of renegades. Entire villages went over from Christ to Mohammed; others gave themselves up to their Christian oppressors and became Greeks. The same thing may be said of the Slavonian races in Turkey in general; and from this cause it is that almost all Mohammedan and Greek families in Bulgaria are of Slavonian origin.

In order to render it impossible for the oppressed people to shake off the yoke, the Greek authorities have always accused this peaceful nation of being about to rebel. Samuel I. charged them with Roman Catholic tendencies, and spoke continually of Austrian emissaries. Latterly it is pretended that it is from Russia they expected deliverance, and that for Russia they were ready to revolt against their rulers. And these accusations came from the Greeks and the Greek clergy of Constantinople! And yet Turkish officials always allow themselves to be misled by this accusation to co-operate in their oppression, as if the fidelity of the Greek Church only and her supervision could prevent the revolt of the Slavonians.

As the printing of Greek books by the Bulgarians is either not permitted or rendered very difficult by the Greek Patriarch,

they have lately had Prayer-books and New Testaments from Russia. In the former, as is reasonable, there are prayers for the Russian Emperor, his house and army. These books were seized by the Greeks, confiscated, and shown to the Turkish authorities as a proof that the Bulgarians prayed for the Russians and against their rulers. The Bulgarians, of course, protested against this accusation, but the Turks either did not or would not see the connexion of the affair. Here, however, that we may not be tempted into the thorny province of politics, and that we may ourselves avoid the shadow of partiality, we stop. Only we must add for the sake of truth, and as a proof of the loyalty of the Bulgarians, that, first, during the Servian Insurrection; second, during the Greek Revolution; third, during the Russian Turkish war of 1828-29; and, fourth, during the last war, they have sufficiently proved with what true and touching fidelity they are devoted to their rulers.

That which must especially interest Christians in this people is their great love for the Word of God. However many boxes of the New Testament have been brought into the interior of European Turkey by Bible colporteurs, they have, as yet, not been able to transport one copy across the crest of the Balkan. Long before they reach the Hæmus, their Bulgarian Testaments, and whatever else they may have, are all taken, and they return with empty boxes, sadly joyful that the spiritual hunger on the one side of the mountains has not allowed them to reach the other. This desire for the Bible is also felt by the other Slavonian tribes as well as by the Albanians and Bosnians, only the demand among them is not so great; and as to the Albanians of the interior, who speak the Pelasgian dialect in its purity, an edition of the New Testament is only now being prepared. The Albanian New Testament now distributed is designed for that part of the population among whom the language is mingled with Greek elements. Books might be written upon the awakening in these countries. At a future meeting of the Alliance, the interior of Asia Minor may deserve attention.

I will conclude by remarking upon the noble devotion with which the British and Foreign Bible Society cares for the welfare of these millions.

At the present time 90,000 copies of the Scriptures are being printed for Turkey, partly in London, partly at Constantinople,

and partly at Bucharest. Of Bulgarian Testaments, 15,000 copies; of Genesis, 5,000; Psalters, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, 5,000; Psalters only, 5,000; Wallachian New Testaments, 10,000; modern Armenian New Testaments, with parallels, 5,000; ancient Armenian, 3,000; Armenian-Turkish New Testaments, in 12mo, 5,000; ditto, in 24mo, 5,000; modern Armenian pocket edition, 5,000; entire Bible, Armenian-Turkish, 5,000, large 8vo; ditto, New Testaments, 5,000; ditto, Psalms, 5,000; Turkish New Testaments, 5,000; Kurdish Gospels, 2,000 to 3,000; Old Testaments, Jewish-German and Hebrew (in Vienna), 5,000. There are in preparation the Turkish New Testament in the popular language, the pure Albanian New Testament, and the Wallachian and Bulgarian New Testament. After this survey, a complete Bible and book report may be excused.

That which has been said—though little, and written in imperfect and scanty outlines—may be sufficient to incite all the friends of the Gospel to gratitude towards the wonderful, powerful, rich, and gracious God and Saviour of the universal vineyard, to revive their hopes, strengthen their faith, and to kindle their love to the Lord and to one another, till, in one great sacrificial flame, it reaches up to heaven. The Lord bless those who meet together! Brethren, be thankful with us and pray for us!

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## 2. BY THE REV. DR. DWIGHT,

AMERICAN MISSIONARY AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

My Friends,—I come from a benighted land, but from a land which, twenty years ago, was still more benighted. Allow me, at the very beginning of what I have to say, to direct your attention to the fact that already in Turkey there is the commencement of an Evangelical Alliance, and I rejoice to be able to convey to you the greetings of the brethren from that benighted country. There are such unions in ten different cities in Turkey: in Constantinople, Smyrna, Toka, and other towns. The different nations of Turkey which are to engage our attention are—the Mohammedans, the Jews, the Armenians, the Bulgarians, the Romanians, and others of the Slavonian race. Among these nations there are, again, different religions.



Among the Greeks, there are Orthodox and Catholic Greeks ; among the Armenians, besides Protestant, there are Catholic and Orthodox Armenians. Conversion from Mohammedanism to Christianity was punished with death. But among the Christians the liberty has existed from the most ancient times of going over from one sect to another. It is true that they have always been oppressed in Turkey, but they have had their own church, and could meet together without restraint. The Turks have never interfered with the approximations which have taken place between differing confessions, and that is one of the causes why Protestant missionaries have had, from the beginning of their labours, liberty to work among these Oriental Christians.

When, last year, the Dutch Ambassador at Constantinople complained to the Turkish authorities of some violation of religious liberty, he was answered that the American missionaries had liberty to labour as freely as missionaries in all towns throughout the kingdom. In certain cases, when the priests of the Oriental Church have practised some pious frauds, the Turkish Government has interposed, but this has happened only in extraordinary cases.

The principle on which the Turkish Government has hitherto acted is to consider all Christians, whether they belong to the Greek, Armenian, or any other Church, as infidels, and to treat them accordingly. Ten years ago a persecution broke out against the Protestants, who, before that, were unknown, and formed no recognised sect. This persecution, however, was not from the Turkish Government, but from the Armenian clergy ; the Turkish Government, indeed, took the part of the Protestants. Since that time, it has forbidden all persecution on the score of religion among Christian sects. I can testify that the Protestants now enjoy much peace and quietness, and only now and then the Romish clergy succeed in getting up persecutions in remote corners of the empire.

At present there are twenty organised Protestant Churches in the Turkish Empire ; some in the principal and some in smaller towns. In more than 100 different places Protestant public services are already held, and more than 5,000 persons have publicly entered their names as belonging to that confession. But this statement by no means gives an adequate representation of the progress of Protestantism in the empire. Its in-

fluence has penetrated much further, and has affected the minds of thousands, so that there are now in the bosom of the Armenian Church many who, from having been fanatical opponents, have become its friends.

There are thirty-three American missionaries in Turkey, and with them thirty-five female fellow-labourers, so that altogether there are sixty-eight persons from America alone who are labouring for the evangelisation of Turkey. If to these are added those who are actively engaged in the service of the Gospel, in countries subject to Turkey, particularly in Syria and Assyria, there are 125 persons employed in the Protestant Mission. Besides these, there are twenty native assistants, and more than 100 colporteurs, who, by the distribution of the Scriptures, essentially forward the spread of the Gospel; and I rejoice to be able to assure you, from rich experience, that the success attending our activity is, above all, to be ascribed to the Word of God itself. Forty years ago, the British and Foreign Bible Society sent their agents with Bibles into the Turkish Empire, before missionaries had entered upon that field of labour. God blessed that work of Bible distribution, and prepared the way for the missionaries. Numerous cases testify that the Word of God alone is sufficient to direct man to God. An agent of the Bible Society presented a person in Nicomedia with a New Testament, which became the means of creating him a new man to the glory of God. Again, in another place, an agent left a New Testament, which had been printed in Paris, with a person to whom it was so blessed, that there is now in that place a Protestant community of 1,000 people. I can show you a copy of the Holy Scriptures in the Armenian character and language, which is just now published. Praise God with me for this great benefit which He has been pleased to grant to the Armenian people! With peculiar joy, I may add that the demand for this book among the Armenians is so great that we are not in a position to satisfy them. We have also a psalter and hymn translated into modern Armenian, which may serve as an introduction to Christian psalmody among the Protestants. Most of the converted Armenians hold their services in private houses, as they have not yet churches enough for public worship. The Turkish Government makes no objection to their erection; the only reason that there are not enough is, that money is wanting. Upon this occasion, I may venture to say that the Armenian

clergyman who is here present would like to draw your attention to this circumstance, in order to interest your benevolence for the erection of a church.

I now turn to the Turks, and can only confirm what has been already said with respect to the Hatti-Scherif. When the Government was asked for an explanation of this decree, the following answer was given: "The Supreme Government confirms what it proclaimed in 1843, at the time of the execution of the Christian Obadin." This man was first an Armenian, afterwards he became a Turk, and then again returned to the Armenian religion, and for this he was beheaded. This was the occasion of the decree. The assurance given by the Turkish to the French and English Governments, is in these terms: "The Turkish Government confirms, by these presents, that what it now decrees shall be applied to all future cases." The question now is, whether this Hatti-Scherif will really be carried into effect, and what guarantee the Christians have for it. It has been very correctly stated this morning, that one who was formerly a Turk is now engaged in proclaiming the Gospel in Constantinople. It is scarcely three weeks since I saw him in Constantinople; he not only preached the Gospel, but distributed Christian pamphlets to the people in the public inns. This man, with his wife, his sister-in-law, and five children, is an ornament to Christianity. Not long before I left Constantinople, a Turkish woman was baptised, whose husband had, not long before, been received into the Christian Church. At the time the man became a Christian she was not with him, but lived in a distant part of the Turkish Empire. When she returned to Constantinople, and observed his Christian walk, and perceived the wonderful change which had taken place in him, she, too, became a Christian. She was publicly baptised, and thirteen persons were present who were interested in her baptism. She has a mother, who is still a Mohammedan, and is violently opposed to Christianity, and employs every means in her power to induce her daughter and grandchild to return to the Mohammedan faith. She went to the authorities, and complained that her daughter was living with one who was uncircumcised. The answer of the Turkish Government there was, "We can do nothing more for you, now religious liberty is the law of the land." Yesterday, I received a letter from Constantinople, in which I am informed that the

woman has renewed her complaint, and declared that her daughter had been compelled to become a Christian while she was staying at an American missionary's. The American Ambassador was drawn into the affair, and the Government sent, in connexion with him, to the place at which the woman was staying, with the simple question, "Are you a Christian, and were you at the place specified?" She answered in the affirmative; but the Government declared her at liberty to act for herself. All the cases which I could bring before you prove that the Turkish Government is in earnest in allowing religious liberty. I must, at the same time, expressly remark that these cases have occurred in Constantinople; but that in the provinces, and among the less educated people, the development of Christianity does not make such rapid progress. Further removed from European influence, and more especially from the firm administration of justice on the part of the Government, such speedy success among a bigoted people is not to be expected.

Before the last war, the Turkish Bible was scarcely circulated in the Turkish Empire; it had certainly been published long before by the British and Foreign Bible Society; but a short time ago one of the agents of that society said, that during forty years scarcely thirty Bibles had been disposed of; while during and since the war, from two to three thousand copies have been put in circulation. The colporteurs go through all parts of Constantinople—indeed, into the porches of the mosque, and even in the sacred mosque of St. Sophia. From this, however, it must not be concluded that the work of conversion is making any remarkable progress among the Turks; the converted may be numbered, but a development of the Turkish mind, which is exceedingly interesting, may be observed. This religious liberty is something marvellous to the Turkish mind; it will develop itself more and more; and we may hope that, as with the Armenians, so also upon the Turks, a glorious future will dawn.

A few words in reference to the Jews in the Turkish Empire. There are, perhaps, more Jews in Constantinople than in any other city in the world. For them there is a mission from the Scotch Free Church, which has established schools, as in Galata, for about 100 German Jewish children of both sexes. Another school in the same place is attended by about forty Italian girls; and a third school is in another part of the city.

The present Mission publishes religious pamphlets, and dis-



tributes them in the city. The Jews are, however, so inordinately desirous of making money, that this weakness in their character is particularly disadvantageous to the missionaries. As soon as the missionary approaches one of them, the thought directly arises in his mind, "Here comes some one with whom I can do business."

The London Missionary Society has also a school there of from fifty to sixty children. In Thessalónica, the Scotch National Church has a school which has been greatly blessed.

I conclude by adverting to the principal object of our mission. It consists of the preaching of the Gospel and the distribution of religious publications. But preaching, particularly, has produced the most blessed results.

## II.

PRAYER OFFERED IN CONCERT WITH  
CHRISTIANS IN AMERICA.

BY PASTOR KUNTZE.

After the reading of the preceding papers, the PRESIDENT said: I have now to mention that the missionary, Dr. Schauffler, who, as you have heard, was obliged to leave for America, is to-day to attend the great American Missionary Society Meeting in the town of Providence. He has requested that we should unite in prayer with them at the same hour. The brethren in Providence will do so at eleven A.M., agreeing with our six o'clock P.M., now commencing. Pastor Kuntze will offer the prayer.

PRAYER OFFERED BY PASTOR KUNTZE.

Thou hast, O Lord our God, given us the gracious permission to look up to Thee from every place, and hast said that all people shall be assembled before Thy throne. We come at this time, with our brethren in America, in prayer before Thy sacred presence. We thank Thee, O Lord, for the blessings of Thy salvation, which Thou hast bestowed upon us; for the light of Thy sacred truth which Thou hast shed upon us; we thank Thee that, by the power of Thy Holy Spirit, Thou hast changed us from lost sinners to children of God. For all this we thank Thy mercy, love, and grace. And, as Thou has permitted us to approach Thee as Thy children, we would supplicate Thy rich blessing for the spread of Thy kingdom. But, above all, we beseech Thee to send down Thy Holy Spirit into our hearts as a Spirit of love, grace, and of supplication. May people with people, and heart with heart, become more united, that they may be sanctified together by Thy Divine truth. O grant what our hearts so earnestly entreat of Thee! Ah, Thou alone canst give to our Church what she needs! Grant it, and may the out-pouring of Thy Holy Spirit come upon us, that Thy name may be glorified among us. But, above all, we beseech Thee that

Thy blessings may descend upon the East, upon which Thou didst first make the light of day to shine, and which Thou, O Lord Jesus, hast consecrated by Thy footsteps. Let the word of Thy truth and the kingdom of Thy love spread over it, so that again the sun may rise in the East, and spread its light over every land, and that all people may see the day and rejoice and be glad. Bless the consultations of our brethren who are now assembled together in America; and may Thy blessing rest on him who would now have been in our midst, but who, in another hemisphere, seeks to promote the glory of Thy name and the welfare of the East. And now, Lord, we put our trust in Thee, for Thou doest all things well. Amen.

## III.

## WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA AS MISSION-FIELDS.

BY THE REV. DR. HAMLIN,

AMERICAN MISSIONARY AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The Principalities on the left bank of the Danube are worthy of all the attention that they are now attracting. Their position between Turkey, Austria, and Russia, and on the shores of a great sea and river which are now open to the commerce of every nation—their extraordinary resources, which are not yet all developed—their population, which is not, as in Turkey, a strange mixture of races and religions—are circumstances in view of which the Christian philanthropist cannot but acknowledge their claims to the Gospel of Christ.

I will mention only a few facts which relate, more or less directly, to the present position of these provinces and to their accessibility to the Gospel.

1. The inhabitants of the Danubian Principalities never were a conquered people, like the Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, and other Christian subjects of Turkey. Of Roman origin, they have maintained their liberty with Roman manliness. They were incorporated with the Turkish Empire by treaties in which are reserved to them all the great rights and privileges of an independent people. Not as subjects, but as under the protection of Turkey, they paid a moderate tribute to the Sultan. By diplomatic means and by European influence, and not by force of arms, Turkey has acquired her present measure of supremacy over these provinces. These facts are important in the description of the character of the people.

2. They have remained faithful to their language, and have a literature of which they are proud, and which has made great progress during the last forty years. The efforts of Pan Slavism to rob them of their language have proved entirely fruitless. In its character it is of Latin origin, and the Greek, Turkish, and Slavonic expressions with which it is mixed disappear with extraordinary rapidity. According to Vaillant's statement, the



foreign, Hungarian, Greek, Turkish, and Slavonic elements do not amount to more than the tenth part, and this coincides with the declaration of M. Heliode, one of their distinguished writers. The Slavonic alphabet, commonly called the Cyrillian, was introduced in the eleventh century; but although this is the ecclesiastical alphabet, and the books used in the churches are still printed in these characters, the Roumaine people will have nothing more to do with it, as they consider it foreign to the nature of their language.

The newspapers are now nearly all printed in Roman characters, and the few Slavonic marks that still remain will soon be no longer found. Thus they are a people of intellectual life and character, and not the mere remnant of a sterile race. The observation of M. Heliode shows the importance of printing the Bible in the Roman, and not in the Slavonic, or ecclesiastical character.

3. This leads to another interesting fact—namely, that the people are not, like the Bulgarians, under the yoke of the Greek hierarchy. Upon the whole, they are free from bigotry. They have kept themselves independent of the Greek Patriarch, and their bishops and priests are Roumaine.

The Holy Scriptures, so far as they have been supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, have been received with great eagerness, although they were printed in Cyrillian characters. There are already Lutheran Churches in the Principalities, and the preaching of the pure Gospel would, in all probability, meet with fewer hindrances there than among other nations which are yet strangers to the Gospel.

4. Although the national character has its marked peculiarities, and possesses much patriotic pride, yet it is not prejudiced against what is foreign, whether it be in art, science, or religion. The country people are hospitable, industrious, and strikingly unprejudiced towards the stranger, who is always welcomed among them. The instruction of the young is prized by them, and the establishment of schools is everywhere joyfully hailed; and the doctrine of Evangelical Christianity in its relations to social life is, as may be imagined, more suited to the national character than any other form of Christianity.

5. Again, the number of the population of the Roumanic people is another claim to the consideration of the Christian philanthropist. The population in the Principalities alone

amounts to 4,000,000 souls, and there are as many more in Austria and Russia. They all speak the same language, and their origin is the same. It may be easily perceived what would be the result if Evangelical Christianity were introduced among a portion of these eight millions.

6. The importance of Roumania in reference to the Greek Church is very great. Although it is not directly under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, it contributes to the importance and influence of the Greek Church—that Church which has corrupted Christianity, and depraved Mohammedanism, and which is the great hindrance to all reform and to all political progress in the East. When her spiritual and political influence is broken, and when the masses are emancipated from her control, then we shall see hope for Turkey.

## IV.

## THE ARMENIAN CHURCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

BY PASTOR CATUJIAN.

The PRESIDENT: Before we listen to the address of Pastor Kind, from Milan, the Evangelical preacher M. Catujian, from Pera (Constantinople), will deliver the salutation of his brethren in the faith in his mother tongue, the Armenian, and Professor Schlottman, from Zurich, will translate it into German.

## PRELIMINARY REMARKS BY DR. SCHLOTTMAN.

Honoured Brethren,—I have been requested to say a few words respecting the congregation which this brother represents. In Constantinople, and in many other places of the Turkish Empire, Protestant Armenian congregations exist, which have been established partly by the Armenian nation itself, and partly by the co-operation of the Armenians [Americans?]. These congregations deserve our love and sympathy in a high degree. They have suffered much for Christ's sake. It may be said that they are communities which have been faithful to their confession in the sense of the ancient word—communities of confessors. They have regarded the spoliation of their goods as nothing, and have suffered much from imprisonment. They form, however, at the same time, a small community from which much may be expected in the future. They belong to the people who, in language and customs, are nearest allied to the Turkish nation. They have, besides this, maintained friendly relations with the Germans in Constantinople. They are now on the point of building a church, just at the same time as, under the gracious support of the King of Prussia, a church is about to be built for the Germans at Constantinople. The pastor of this Church will now address a few words of brotherly communion to the Assembly.

PASTOR CATUJIAN.

Beloved Brethren in Christ,—I am very much delighted to

be able to speak to such a large and esteemed Assembly. I am rejoiced, because it is the first instance in the history of the Church in which a representative of the East, especially of the Armenian Church, appears before the representatives of the Western Churches, and can address to them a word of brotherly communion. Especially is it a pleasure to me to speak to an Assembly like this Evangelical Alliance, which is composed of representatives of different communities and nations. And yet this instance is not altogether a novelty; for, since the time when the Armenians first received the Gospel, they have always united in loving communion with all the brethren on earth, and they are therefore now afresh inspired with the same spirit of love by which they embrace all here present—Germans, English, and French.

After these words of salutation, I wish to say a few things respecting the community to which I belong. Assuredly the news has often reached you that in Turkey, among the Armenian people, the work of the Lord is going on—that the Gospel there is continually extending itself. It is in Constantinople. What sort of work is that of which I will speak to you? It is a work which consists in a complete alteration of the minds of several nations, but especially among the Armenian people; and, in fact, it is a movement which not only induces an outward change of disposition, but affects the deepest recesses of the mind. It is something which is going on in the inmost heart. There are not, indeed, many who have experienced this deeper emotion of which I speak; but there are, in many places in Turkey—here some, and there still more—who have experienced the grace of God in their hearts. I can speak from my own experience, and convince you that, during the ten years that this awakening has been going on, many have been deeply touched by the grace of the King of kings; and with this is united the earnest wish to become more and more partakers in the love and the prayers of all believers—of all who are brethren in the same Saviour. I recal the severe persecution which for more than ten years threatened our faith, and I remember, too, that the Ambassador of Prussia was the first to come forward and speak in our favour; and up to the present day there is a hearty feeling of brotherly communion, love, and union between us and many Prussians and other Germans. Nor can I help mentioning that the Sultan has been induced, by the mediation



of this Power and that of the Sovereign of this kingdom, to grant to all Protestants in Constantinople a new and more suitable burial-place. From these remarks you will perceive that the Evangelical Alliance is not altogether a new thing to us, but that the spirit upon which it rests has been a living principle amongst us for some time past. The speaker begs now, in conclusion, for your prayers, and apologises that he has spoken without much preparation, but says that he has spoken from the inmost depths of his heart. He concludes with the promise that both he and the community to which he belongs will remember in their constant prayers all the communities here represented, especially the Prussian people and their Sovereign. He must also express the hearty prayer and wish that the Lord may extend His kingdom to the ends of the earth.



COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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X.—UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

I.

CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA.

BY THE REV. DR. SCHAFF,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT MERCERSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

II.

GERMAN METHODISTS IN AMERICA.

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OF THE EPISCOPAL METHODIST CHURCH.

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BY THE REV. R. BAIRD, D.D.,

NEW YORK.





## COUNTRIES REPORTED ON.

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### X.—UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#### I.

#### CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA.

BY THE REV. DR. SCHAFF,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT MERCERSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA.

SINCE the introduction of Christianity, which constitutes the Divine-human centre and turning-point of history, no facts have occurred which exceed in importance the invention of the printing-press, the discovery of America, and the reformation of the Church. The one is the boldest conquest of the Romanic, the other two are the greatest deeds of the Germanic mind, for the benefit of the entire family of Christian nations. They bring to a close and sum up the last meaning of the Middle Age, while they break the way at the same time, and control the course of modern history. Though independent of each other, and separated by one or two generations, they were yet intimately connected, especially in their prospective bearings. The press is the main lever of modern civilisation; Protestantism is the chief bearer of modern Christianity; America is the largest theatre for both. There is no country under the sun—England hardly excepted—in which the press, at least the periodical press, is so free and independent, so ramified and powerful, over public opinion; and where Protestantism is so fully and consistently developed, not only in the religious, but also in the whole political and social life of the nation, as in the United States of North America. Here we see already, as in a second Europe, all the good and bad elements of the Old World in chaotic fermentation, but placed under new conditions and

relations, invigorated by their very amalgamation, and preparing for a new era in the ever-progressing history of the race.

Without detracting from the just merit and importance of any nation, we may boldly assert that the deepest intellectual work of Protestantism, and the solution of its theological problems, have been mainly, though not exclusively, committed by an all-ruling Providence to the Germans; while the social and political organisation of Protestantism, the solution of its moral problems, and the spread of modern civilisation, in all colonial countries and new territories, to the ends of the globe, is the peculiar mission of the English and Americans. In view of such great objects, the two main branches of the same Teutonic stock may well extend to each other, across the Channel and the Atlantic, the hand of brotherhood, and celebrate a free Christian love-feast in the metropolis of German science, at the invitation of a monarch who protects them both on the strongest Protestant throne of the Continent, and who earnestly desires the unity of all true believers in faith and love, and the victory of the Heavenly King over all the princes and nations of the earth. Germany owes to England the introduction of Christianity, and gave to it, in return, the reformation of the Church: why should they not unite their efforts in carrying out the last mission of the glorious Gospel in its triumphal march to the ends of the world?

The significance of the discovery of America was felt to some extent even by the celebrated Genoese, who reared by this deed an imperishable monument to his name. "Let processions be made; let festivals be celebrated; let temples be adorned with branches and flowers. For Christ rejoices on earth as in heaven, in view of the future redemption of souls. Let us rejoice, also, for the temporal benefit which will result from the discovery, not merely to Spain, but to all Christendom." Thus wrote the bold navigator to the treasurer of Spain, on the return from his first voyage to the New World, when he had attained the object of his noble ambition, and established, beyond a doubt, his theory, after eighteen long years of suspense and solicitation, in the face of prejudice and superstition, scepticism and sophistry, sneer and ridicule. He was now to enjoy the honeyed draught of popular and Royal favour, to be followed, alas! so soon by the bitter cup of envy, calumny, and insult. His journey from the port of Palos to Seville and Barcelona

resembled the triumphal march of a conqueror, the eager multitudes thronging the streets, the windows, balconies, and housetops, and rending the air with shouts of acclamation. The nobility and cavaliers, together with the authorities of Barcelona, escorted him from the gates of the city to the royal presence. Ferdinand and Isabella, seated under a superb canopy of State, and surrounded by all the splendour of the proudest days of the Spanish monarchy, received the distinguished stranger, who, a short time before, had been derided at this very Court as an enthusiast and a madman, with the most gracious condescension, and listened with tears of joy to his glowing description of the Western islands, illustrated by several living representatives of the simple-hearted natives, and specimens of unknown birds, aromatic plants, and shining gold, which he had brought with him as harbingers of greater discoveries yet to be made. When the Admiral had finished, the King and Queen, together with the flower of the nobility and the dignitaries of the Church, sank upon their knees, and raising their clasped hands to heaven, they joined in the solemn *Te Deum* of the royal chapel, in pious celebration of so glorious a conquest to the crown of Spain and the kingdom of Christ. Nor was this joy confined to Spain. The whole age, as far as it expressed itself in a few leading intellects, shared in the delight at the startling news. At the Court of Henry VII. of England the great event was pronounced "a thing more divine than human." Peter Martyr gave expression to the feelings of scholars, when he wrote to Pomponio Laeto: "You tell me that you leaped for joy, and that your delight mingled with tears, when you read my epistle, that assured you of the hitherto hidden world of the antipodes." The whole civilized Europe was filled with wonder at the discovery of another world, which burst upon it with such sudden splendour, and anticipated from it untold additions to the wealth, knowledge, and happiness of mankind.

And yet Columbus and his age could have but a very imperfect idea of the immense bearing of this event. He died in the conviction that he had touched simply on the extreme borders of Asia, that Hispaniola was the ancient Ophir visited by the ships of Solomon, and that Cuba was connected with Spain by *terra firma*. He could not dream of that still greater discovery of a new world of thought which followed on the very

heels of his material discovery; nor could he foresee the future dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race, which, in consequence of the Reformation, and in spite of the bulls of Alexander VI., that divided the Western hemisphere between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, became master of the destinies of America.

We would not detract in the least from the merits of Catholicism and of the Romanic nations in Christianising and rivalising the barbarians of the Middle Ages. But no unprejudiced observer can deny for a moment that the whole intellectual and moral weight of America is conditioned by the English nationality and the Protestant religion. The most superficial comparison of the Northern, *i.e.*, the predominantly Anglo-Protestant half of this Continent with the Southern or Romano-Catholic half, teaches the immense superiority of the former in every branch of political, social, moral, and religious life. The contrast here presented of national prosperity and misery, progress and stagnation, life and death, is even more striking than that which is admitted to exist between the Northern or Anglo-Protestant and the Southern or Celtic-Catholic part of Ireland, between the Reformed and Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland, between Portugal and Holland, Italy and Prussia, Spain and England. Even from Mexico, which is so highly favoured by nature, we hear nothing, alas! but priestcraft and military despotism, ignorance and superstition, revolution and anarchy, in unbroken succession. The South American sham Republics prove to a demonstration that the mere forms of Republic without the moral basis of self-government can secure the prosperity of a nation as little as the forms of monarchy, and that political freedom without religious freedom (which is altogether unknown there) amounts to an empty delusion and falsehood.

North America came under the control and fostering care of the English nationality from the very beginning of its history, when Cabot touched on the shores of Labrador and Newfoundland, A.D. 1497, one year before Columbus set foot on the mainland of South America. But its most important part has outgrown the era of colonial dependence, and is evidently the chief representative of the new world; hence its citizens are emphatically called Americans.

The unexampled external and internal development of the United States of North America is the wonder of modern history. Hardly more than eighty years have elapsed since, by the



declaration of independence of England, they took a place among the nations of the earth; and their present chief magistrate was born several years before the death of the venerable patriarch and first President of the Republic in the retired village where I write these lines, and where his father, a plain but honest citizen, originally from the North of Ireland, lies buried. In this short period the Confederation has grown from thirteen States, with hardly three millions of inhabitants, to thirty-one States (there will soon be thirty-four) and nine territories, with more than twenty-seven millions. It extends now over an inexhaustibly rich country, of about three millions of English square miles, and rules unconquered and unconquerable from the lakes of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, from the coasts of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, thus stretching one arm of its conserved influence towards Europe and Africa, the other towards Asia and Australia. This extension of territory and population is not the result of bloody wars of conquest, but of the peaceful purchase of Louisiana (1803), Florida (1820), Oregon and Texas (1846), California, Utah, and New Mexico (1848), and of a peaceful migration of nations from nearly all parts of Europe, especially from England, Ireland, and Germany—an emigration which, in 1854 alone, amounted to nearly half a million of souls, and which, though it has since considerably declined, will go on more or less without interruption until the boundless prairies and forests to the base of the Rocky Mountains and the golden shores of California shall be inhabited by civilised men, and made available for those purposes for which Providence has created them. Equally astounding is the internal growth of the Republic in all departments of industry, arts, and education, and betrays an energy and spirit of enterprise which knows no difficulty, from the mowing and reaping machine to the colossal undertaking of the transatlantic telegraph, and makes America already a successful rival of England. This inward progress is to be attributed, next to the favours of Providence and nature, to the rich inheritance of European civilisation with which the States entered upon their career, instead of having to begin with barbarism and heathenism; to the spirit of freedom which animates their civil and religious institutions; and, finally, to the contact of different nationalities on an Anglo-Saxon basis, which convey new nourishment from year to year, to be converted into national American flesh and

blood by the digestive power of this fresh and vigorous people. And yet this nation is evidently yet in its early youth, full of youthful hopes and dreams, courage and presumption, virtues and follies, and has, according to human calculation, a long and brilliant career before it, unless—what God may prevent—internal distraction and decay should lay the giant youth in an untimely and inglorious grave.

But here arises the question, full of interest to every educated and Christian man: Has the moral and religious development of the United States kept pace with their gigantic material and political progress? Is the present condition of Christianity and the Church as flourishing and promising in this Western land, as the state of its commerce, agriculture, and secular arts? May we look forward to as brilliant a period of Church history in this land of freedom and promise, and to the final victory of the peaceful reign of Christ, which will outlast all the kingdoms of this world?

As I thus enter upon my proper task, I ask you not to expect from me, on this occasion, a variety of geographical and statistical notices, which, in so young and rapidly changing a country as America, would become obsolete in a few months; nor a detailed account of the different denominations of the land, which would require several volumes instead of a few sheets, since it would have to embrace all Churches and sects of Christendom, from Romanism down to Irvingism and Mormonism. I have attempted such a detailed account in my work on America, which appeared three years ago at Berlin; and also in an English translation at New York in 1855. I shall attempt nothing more than an exposition of the *leading characteristic features of American Christianity as distinct from the European.*

Before we specify the separate traits which constitute the general religious character and condition of the American nation, we must remember that England is the bridge from the Continent of Europe to that of America, and hence furnishes the key for a genetic knowledge of the latter. The United States are—not only as regards language, manners, customs, laws, and literature, but also as regards religion and the Church—the daughter of that remarkable island from which the Puritan Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts, the Episcopalian cavaliers of Virginia, the Quakers and Presbyterians of Pennsylvania emigrated two hundred years ago, there to

lay, in the fear of God, the foundation of a new nation. But they go in principle—an important step beyond the mother country, in religion as well as in politics. I say, in principle, which is quite compatible with the acknowledgment of the present superiority of the older English over the younger Americans, in all that makes up the actual condition of a matured and well-organised national life. The American Republic aims at a far more complete realisation of the idea of religious and civil liberty and equality, on the basis of self-government and popular education, or of that general priesthood and kingship which seems to be the ultimate end of the history of Church and State, though it can never be fully attained till the second coming of Christ as the glorious King of nations and of saints. To this must be added, as modifying influences, partly stimulating, partly restraining, the different national elements from the Continent of Europe, especially the Dutch and French in New York and New Jersey, and the German in all the Middle and Western States. America is, as yet, in every respect less mature, compact, and solid, but more elastic, expansive, and more capable of universal development than England. It rules not merely over an island, but over a Continent and two oceans.

1. *Church and State*.—If we take into consideration, first, the legal and social basis on which all the denominations and sects of the United States stand, we are confronted at once with what constitutes the most characteristic feature of American Christianity—namely, the complete separation of Church and State, and the absolute freedom of religion. Here the United States have indeed opened a new chapter in Church history which differs widely from the ante-Nicene heathen persecution of the Church by the State, from the mediæval Roman Catholic dominion of the Church over the State, and from the modern European Protestant subjection of the Church to the State. Here they have made the first bold attempt to carry out to its last consequences the Protestant principle of religious subjection and toleration, and to make it the basis and guarantee of civil and political freedom. Here they have already exerted a powerful influence upon public opinion in Europe, as the steady progress of similar principles in England not only, but also on the Continent (think, for instance, of the Prussian decree of toleration of 1847 and the 12th Article of the new

Prussian Constitution of 1850), and the rise and progress of the Free Church of Scotland, the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud, and a considerable number of works of such men as Vinet and others, sufficiently testify. The more important it is that this point should be placed in its proper light, and carefully guarded against frequent misrepresentations of European writers, who can see nothing but culpable indifferentism and hostility to Christianity in any attempt to emancipate the State from the Church and the Church from the State.

It is true, already Constantine the Great gave to his subjects full liberty of religion in his famous edict of toleration of 313; but this was simply a temporary measure of political expediency, and a natural transition from the persecution of Christianity to its exclusive dominion in the old Roman Empire. It is true, the Reformers of the sixteenth century claimed and exercised the liberty of protest against the Papal uniformity and tyranny of conscience; but they inconsistently denied the same right to others, as soon as the new faith was fairly established by law. It is true, a Voltaire of France, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Jefferson of America brought forth and defended, in the last century, the principle that morality is independent of religion—that religion belongs exclusively to man's private conviction, and that everybody shall be permitted, to use Frederic's favourite expression, "to save his soul according to his own fashion." But these distinguished men were more concerned about the liberty of irreligion than the liberty of religion; and that a toleration resting on indifferentism and infidelity may, under circumstances, pass over into the fiercest intolerance to religion itself, is amply shown by the horrible scenes of the French Revolution and the absurd blasphemy enacted under Robespierre of dethroning the Almighty in favour of fallen reason turned mad. With such wicked follies America has nothing to do whatever.

Its liberties, both civil and religious, are of English growth, and resulted from those severe and earnest struggles, commencing with the Reformation and continued through the greater part of the seventeenth century, in which the Protestant principle, under its most rigorous Puritanic form, was arrayed against the Catholic traditions of the past, and the principle of individual freedom against the principle of general uniformity, until, in 1688, they came to a compromise in an Established



Church representing the majority simply of the nation, and tolerating, with certain restrictions, the Dissenting minority; still excluding, however, the Roman Catholics and the anti-Trinitarians from the offices of Government. As matters now stand, since the abolition of the Test Act in 1828, and the passage of the Reform Bill, the English Dissenters—both Catholic, Protestant, and Unitarian—enjoy practically the same amount of freedom as the various sects in the United States; and, according to the Census Report of 1854, they now even outnumber, in their combined force, the membership of the Church of England and the Kirk of Scotland. But England still maintains, in theory and in fact, the principle of a religion established by civil law—*i.e.*, the Episcopalian in England and Ireland, and the Presbyterian in Scotland, and regards the toleration granted to all who dissent from it as concessions simply which may be withdrawn again by the same Government who gave it (think of the anti-Papal Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill of 1851). But the Federal Constitution of the United States, formed by the combined wisdom and experience of the revolutionary fathers and patriots under the presiding counsel of Washington, disowns all idea of an ecclesiastical establishment, and proclaims the liberty of religion as a sacred right of nature and permanent principle by the famous declaration: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."\* The connexion of religious liberty with the liberty of speech and of the press, and with the right of public assemblage and petition, points out the true interpretation of this article. Religious

\* The original Constitution, as made by the Convention of Philadelphia in 1787, says nothing of religion except in the third clause to Article VI., which excludes all religious test as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. But this is simply negative, and secures the independence of the State, but not of the Church. The law, as given above, is the first article of the Amendments which were proposed in the first Congress, Sept. 25th, 1789, and, after having been approved of by three-fourths of the thirteen States, were ratified by Congress on Dec. 15, 1791, and thus became parts of the Constitution. The article on religion was first proposed, it seems, by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, in this form: "The Legislature of the United States shall pass no law on the subject of religion, nor touching or abridging the liberty of the press; nor shall the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus ever be suspended except in case of rebellion or invasion." See Elliot's Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, Vol. V., p. 131.

liberty in the sense of the Federal Constitution, which may be called the political Bible of the Americans, is not negative only, but, above all, positive; not freedom from religion, but freedom of religion and its actual exercise; just as the freedom of the press is not the negation or absence of the press, but its real existence and active operation. In a sinful world like ours, the full freedom of religion does imply indeed the freedom of irreligion; nor can we expect the right use of liberty of any kind to exist without the possibility of its abuse by bad men. But the question is, whether the abuse of religious liberty, so far as it is strictly confined to the sphere of religion, and does not violate the civil and political order, belongs to the jurisdiction of the State or not. The American Constitution answers this question in the negative, and does so, we wish it to be distinctly understood, not from indifference or contempt of religion; but, on the contrary, from high regard for the same, as a sacred affair of man with God, that lies far beyond all physical force and political legislation, and has no value before God and men unless it be the free expression of the inmost conviction. It was felt that it would be best for the interests of religion, as well as for the secular Government, to keep them altogether distinct; that this separation was the legitimate result of the freedom of conscience; that the confounding of the spiritual kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of this world would lead to endless difficulties; that their peaceful separation would be the distinctive feature of America, and the safeguard against both ecclesiastical and political despotism. The Government, then, has tied its own hands from the very start as regards religion and the Church, by declaring them equally independent of its legislation and jurisdiction, as it claims to be independent in turn of any particular profession or creed, whatever may be the religion of its members in their private capacity.

From the European point of view, especially the Hegelian deification of the State, this may appear as a dissolution of the sacred and time-honoured alliance of Government with Christianity—as a degradation and contraction of the idea of the State, by sundering it from all higher moral duties, and confining it simply to the secular and material interests of the nation. But it should be remembered that it was a voluntary self-limitation, and that in favour of personal and ecclesiastical rights and liberties. What the State lost, or,

rather, what it never possessed in North America (excepting a few colonies before the Revolution), accrues to the benefit of the individual, of free association, and of the Church itself.

This, it seems to me, is the true sense of that article, from which must be dated a new epoch in the history of the relation of Church and State. It is not a sanction of irreligion and the infidel philosophy of Voltaire, but a solemn protection and guarantee of religion against undue encroachments of the civil power, both legislative and administrative. If time permitted, I might prove this at length, I think, from all the official documents bearing upon the subject, such as the "Madison Papers," the "Congregational Debates and Proceedings of 1789" (Gale's Edition, Vol. I., p. 729 ff.), the "Debates of the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution" (Elliott's Edition, in five vols., 1845), and the private writings and the personal religious character of its principal framers, especially Washington, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay.

I know well enough that Jefferson, who took such a leading and efficient part in the separation of government from religion in Virginia, as early as 1779—nearly ten years before the formation of the Federal Constitution—was a Deist of the French school; and that he meant religious liberty, as he says expressly in his autobiography, to be absolutely universal, and to "comprehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mohammedan, the Hindoo and infidel of every denomination." But he had nothing to do with the framing of the Federal Constitution, being then absent in France; nor could he ever have succeeded in the overthrow of the episcopal establishment in Virginia, had he not been strongly supported by the unpopularity of the Church of England—arising from its connexion with the English Government—and by the united influence of all the Dissenters of Virginia, especially the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Quakers, who had no sympathy, of course, with his infidel sentiments.

The framers of the Constitution of 1787 were all Christians, at least in name; and the religious sects which then existed in the land were all Christian sects, with the exception, perhaps, of a few Jewish synagogues. The liberty, therefore, which they secured to religion, presupposed Christianity as the general basis; and it never entered their minds that Heathenism, or Mohammedanism, or Judaism, or any other religion, would

ever take the place of the Christian, or assume any importance in the country sufficient to justify a restoration of that liberty. Nor were they mistaken in this expectation. Christianity is now far stronger, and more deeply rooted in the American people, than it was in that sceptical age, and yet there is not a single denomination which would advocate a repeal of the first amendment to the constitution. Congress, moreover, appoints chaplains to this day, and opens its sessions with prayer—differing widely, in this respect, from the unfortunate German Parliament of 1848-49, which voted down a proposition to that effect with sneering contempt—and the President of the United States fills the chaplaincies in the army and navy (mostly with Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Methodist clergymen). All this, as well as the customary appointment of days of public prayer and thanksgiving by the governors of the several States, may be unconstitutional, as Jefferson maintained; it certainly is not prescribed (though still less prohibited neither) by the constitution; yet it is a voluntary, and for this very reason the more sincere and valuable tribute to Christianity, as adhering not, indeed, to the State as such, but to the nation, and, consequently, also to its representatives, in the highest spheres of legislation and administration. I venture to say, that with all the absence of constitutional disqualification, it would be far more difficult in the United States than either in Germany, or France, or Russia, to elect an open enemy of Christianity to a high office of State; and if he should be elected, it would not be on account, but in spite of his infidelity, and from purely political considerations. Whatever may be the abstract merits of the question here under consideration, it must be admitted that religious liberty, and what necessarily precedes it, religious toleration, is not an artificial growth in the United States, nor the violation of any established historical rights, but natural and unavoidable. Whatever may best suit other countries, it is the only possible state of things here, and no other could be established without a radical revolution and the grossest injustice. This land was, from its first settlement, a hospitable asylum for persecuted Protestant Christians of every denomination, Puritans, Huguenots, Quakers, Irish Presbyterians, Moravians, Salzburg Lutherans, Reformed Palatinates, also English Catholics (in Maryland), who, under the pressure



of persecution, had learned to appreciate religious liberty, and exchanged their home for the then unbroken wilderness of a new world, in order that they might enjoy this highest, most important, and most sacred of liberties. It is true, in several of the colonies who were quite independent of each other before the Revolution, the Government was identified with a particular denomination—in Virginia and other Southern States with Episcopacy, in Massachusetts and the greater part of New England with Congregationalism. It is only too true, moreover, that the Puritans in the seventeenth century inconsistently enough persecuted Baptists, Quakers, and Papists, almost with the same, though short-lived, intolerance which had driven them across the ocean. But in other colonies, such as Rhode Island, Maryland, and especially in Pennsylvania, in whose first settlement not only Quakers, but Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Lutherans, German Reformed, Moravians, &c., took part, the principles of toleration obtained from the beginning.

When the time had arrived for the colonies to become an independent confederacy of States, there were so many religious denominations in the land that the governmental patronage extended to one would have been injustice to the others, while the toleration of one implied of necessity the toleration of all. Hence the Convention of those patriots, who framed the Federal Constitution at Philadelphia in 1787, were sacredly bound by every consideration of justice and regard to the rights of the various States and religious parties represented by them, to proclaim perfect liberty of religion and its public exercise. This again could not be done without a complete separation of Church and State, since the degree of the union of the two powers always implies consistently a corresponding amount of exclusiveness and intolerance against all Dissenters. There was, therefore, no other just course left for them to pursue, but to deny Congress, from the very start and for ever, the right of interfering either negatively or positively with matters of conscience and public worship, and to leave them with the various Churches and sects of the land.\* The co-existence of these denominations, nearly

\* From this empirical, common-sense point of view, the matter was regarded by James Madison, one of the chief framers of the Constitution, and afterwards President of the United States. In the debate of the Convention of Virginia, on the adoption or rejection of the Federal Constitution, he disposed of the objection that Congress might assume power over religion in these words: "Happily for the

all of which sprung directly or indirectly from the great Protestant movement of the sixteenth century, and which were forced in part by persecution to seek a common asylum in this Western world, is the historical condition without which the bond of union between Church and State would probably never have been broken, but continue to exist in the United States, as it does, in fact, in all the Central and South American Republics. The North American toleration and freedom of religion may therefore be called the sweet fruit of the bitter European, especially English, intolerance and persecution.

As matters now stand, no denomination in the land wishes a change in the relation of Church and State, not even the Roman Catholic. They feel that the liberty of their neighbours is the best and only just security of their own. But whether the same degree of religious liberty be desirable and applicable to Europe, especially to those countries where the majority of the population belong to but one or two confessions, is a very different question, with which we have nothing to do here, being confined simply to the task of giving an objective exhibition of the state of things in America. One remark only I think it proper to make, in order to avoid hasty inferences, that I regard it as one of the most difficult problems of Church government and statesmanship to define the exact limits of religious toleration, *i.e.*, not simply the liberty of conscience, which no despot can deny, but the liberty of public worship, with the right of proselyting in such countries as still hold to the principle of some official connexion of the Government with the Christian religion, and a national Church establishment. This problem, I believe, cannot be solved abstractedly by theory, but only practically and gradually by the irresistible course of events, as was the case in England and in this country. There are questions which are too knotty for philosophy and theology, and can only be satisfactorily answered by history itself.

States, they enjoy the utmost freedom of religion. This freedom arises from that multiplicity of sects which pervades America, and which is the best and only security for religious liberty in any society; for where there is such a variety of sects, there cannot be a majority of any one sect to oppress and persecute the rest. Fortunately for this commonwealth (Virginia), a majority of the people are decidedly against any exclusive establishments. I believe it to be so in the other States. There is not a shadow of right in the general Government to interfere with religion. Its least interference with it would be a most flagrant usurpation."—Elliot's Debates, Vol. III., p. 330.

With the exposition, however, of the relation which the general Government of the United States sustains to religion, we have not yet fully disposed of this point. The Federal Constitution does not prohibit the union of Church and State in the single States. Such a union may exist even in the territories, at least since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, which makes them entirely independent in all internal affairs. In Massachusetts the Puritan Establishment continued for many years after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and was abolished only by degrees, as the exclusive dominion of Puritanism gave way, partly to an internal apostasy to Unitarianism, partly to the immigration and increase of other denominations. Even to this day, there exist in most of the States severe laws against blasphemy, the profanation of the Lord's-day, attacks on the Bible and the Christian religion. In the public schools the Holy Scriptures must be read, or may be read. In one or both of the Carolinas, if I am not mistaken, the Universalists, who deny the doctrine of future punishment, are even excluded from the witness-box. But, with this last exception, perhaps, all these regulations are concessions simply which the States make to Christianity as the religion of the people, and restrictions which they put upon the abuse of religious freedom; but not violations of this freedom itself, as little as laws against theft, murder, and adultery can be said to be violations of civil liberty. All State Constitutions place the different Christian denominations on a basis of perfect equality before the law, require no religious tests from civil office-holders beyond the customary oaths, and levy no taxes for the support of religion. There can be no doubt that the genius of American liberty, left to its natural tendency, must lead, in every member of the Confederacy, to an entire separation of the spiritual and secular power, as being the most advantageous condition for both.

The only exception to this rule at the present time is the Mormon State, or rather Territory, of Utah; for it has not yet applied—and, probably, never will apply, with its present population and institutions—for admission into the Union as a regular member of the confederacy. In the “theo-democratic” government, as the Mormons call their wretched despotism, religion and politics are inseparably interwoven. The civil head (at present Brigham Young, Joe Smith's successor, who was unwisely appointed Governor of Utah under Mr. Fillmore's

Administration) is also the spiritual head, or high priest, of the whole tribe.

But this Mormonism is a monstrous anomaly in America, at war not only with its religion, but equally so with its whole policy and civilisation. Its deluded followers hate all Christians as heathens; they recruit themselves mostly from the offscouring of foreign countries, especially England and Wales, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; they refuse even to be naturalised as citizens of the United States; they stand now in open rebellion to the American Government, which is just sending an armed force against them; and they will have soon to yield to this armed interference, unless they should destroy themselves by internal distractions, or quietly leave once more the territory of the States before the matter comes to a bloody crisis. The settlement of the Mormon trouble is one of the most important and interesting questions now before the Administration at Washington, and may possibly lead to a practical and official definition of the American idea of a Republic, and the precise limits of religious toleration.

At all events, the irreconcilable antagonism between the American nationality and the pseudo-Christian, polygamistic, deceitful, rapacious, and rebellious Mormonism is one of the many proofs for the assertion which we made above, that American liberty of religion is no hostility or indifference to religion, and that the separation of Church and State is by no means intended to be a separation of the nation from Christianity, but simply a peaceful emancipation of two distinct, though equally necessary, Divine institutions from mutual interference, in order that they might be enabled to fulfil the more successfully their peculiar mission.

We have now gained the standpoint from which alone we can properly understand and appreciate the condition of Christianity and the movements of the Church in the United States of America.

2. *Christianity and the World.*—In consequence of this separation of Church and State, we have in America a marked distinction of believing and professing Christians from the unbelieving world, which disappears almost entirely on the Continent of Europe, where every citizen is *eo ipso* also a baptised and confirmed Christian, and fully entitled to all the rights of Church-membership, at least in the eyes of the law. Among the



parishioners, again, another distinction is made, especially in New England, between the Church proper, *i.e.*, the communicating members and the congregation or society, which includes all who attend preaching and contribute towards the support of the pastor. The former may be compared to the "fideles," the latter to the "catechumens" of the ante-Nicene period. The separation is carried out most fully among the Puritanic denominations, but very imperfectly among Roman Catholics and congregations of Continental immigrants.

The separation of Church and State does away, of course, with all compulsory baptism and confirmation. Here the public profession of Christianity and connexion with a particular Church is left altogether to the free choice of every individual. Now this profession is by no means a disgrace, or in any way a disadvantage, as it was in the days of martyrdom. On the contrary, it belongs to social respectability in America far more than, for instance, in France, where, not long since, the very reverse was the case, and even in Germany or anywhere on the Continent, to attend at least the preaching of the Gospel and to contribute something towards the support of the ministry. Then we must make allowances for all the educational influences of the family, which determine the will of every child more or less, for the high position and influence of woman, who cannot live without religion, and for the zeal and rivalry of the many denominations; so that probably very few native American families may be found who are in no connexion whatever, even as occasional attendants, with any Church or sect.

Nevertheless there are many thousands—yea, millions—in the United States who never received Christian baptism—not only descendants of the numerous Baptists, but also of indifferent Pædobaptist parents—who never make a public profession of religion by confirmation or otherwise, and who leave this mortal life without having ever received the holy communion. The number of Church members, even if we include all the sects, hardly amounts to five millions, or about one-fifth of the whole population; and even from these five millions must be deducted thousands who profess religion from impure, mercenary motives, and are, perhaps, much worse at heart than many men of the world.

This is a gloomy fact, indeed, and must startle, at first sight, every European who is accustomed to regard his whole land and

nation as Christian. But I respectfully ask you—not in a polemical but historical interest—is the proportion of true disciples and followers of Christ to the great mass of purely nominal Christians more favourable in any State Church of Europe, not excepting even the Church of England, the Kirk of Scotland, the Prussian Wupperthal, and the kingdom of Wurtemberg, highly favoured as they are with all the means of grace? Or has the proportion ever been more favourable in any previous period of Church history, except in the first three centuries, when a hypocritical profession was indeed by no means very rare, but far less common than afterwards, on account of the persecutions? I ask, moreover, which is the greater anomaly and a more monstrous contradiction—millions of unbaptized and unconfirmed Christians, or millions of baptized and confirmed heathens? The fact that there are cities in Christian Europe where, of a hundred thousand inhabitants, hardly more than five or six thousand ever attend church, at least as a habit, exceeds everything which the *chronique scandaleuse* of America can produce. If the celebration of the Lord's-day, the frequentation of Divine service, and the liberality for religious purposes, are reliable criteria of true Christianity, the Americans, as far as my observation goes, must be called the most Christian nation on earth.

The whole difference, then, in this respect, resolves itself to this: in America the unbelievers and indifferentists are mostly out of the Church proper, and confine themselves to making money, to politics, and other secular pursuits; while in Europe they are all in the Church as to the body, and not seldom even preach from the pulpits, rule in the Consistories, and teach from the chairs of theology. It is the difference of the snake out of the grass, and the snake in the grass—the devil in the world, and the devil in the house of God. We may regard it as the great advantage of the State-Church system, that it secures to the Church the whole population for baptism, instruction, confirmation, marriage, and spiritual care; and thus gives her an opportunity of doing her whole duty to the whole people. On the other hand, however, every enlightened Christian of Europe must admit that all compulsion in matters of conscience which is the peculiar province of God, does more harm than good, and tends almost of necessity to promote hypocrisy and secret opposition to the Church as a supposed tyrannical power. “Faith is

a free thing," says Luther somewhere, "which cannot be forced on anybody." Even Tertullian, amidst the persecutions of the second century, told the heathens who tried to force the Christians to offer sacrifices to their idols, "It belongs to the human right and natural power of every one (*humani juris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique*) to worship that God in whom he believes. It is not the nature of religion to enforce religion, for it must be freely accepted, not imposed by power. Even the sacrifices must proceed from a willing heart. If you, therefore, compel us to offer sacrifices, it will be of no advantage to your gods." This is precisely the American theory and practice.

The defects and abuses of American Christianity which abound in every sect prove, indeed, that the voluntary principle cannot do away altogether with those evils which are often falsely attributed to the system of compulsion and State-Churchism as such. For fallen human nature is substantially the same under all governments; it revealed its corruption even in the apostolical congregations, in spite of the extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit, as every epistle of the New Testament and the state of the Seven Churches, as described in the Apocalypse, abundantly show. But the natural tendency, at least, of the voluntary principle is undoubtedly to ward off from the Church that odium which invariably arises from its alliance with the police; to diminish hypocrisy, to prevent the monstrous profanation of the Holy Sacraments so common in religious establishments, to separate heterogeneous elements, to facilitate discipline, and to promote the unity and the purity of the various Churches within their own limits. Whether these advantages outweigh the defects of the voluntary system and the advantages of the State-Church system, I must leave to the European brethren to decide.

3. *Self-Support of the Church.*—Another consequence of the separation of Church and State is what is more particularly called the voluntary principle—that is, the necessity of the Church to provide for its own support by the free contributions of its membership, without any taxes imposed by the State; for by depriving itself of all power of control over the Church, the civil Government regards itself relieved also of the duty of supporting it, except in the few cases of military and naval chaplaincies.

In this respect American Christianity is placed on the same

footing with the Apostolic and ante-Nicene Church, with that important advantage, however, that it is not *religio illicita*, but has a legal existence, and enjoys the protection of the State as to its property and the public exercise of its functions.

This task, too, like every other characteristic feature of religion in this country, has two sides. The disadvantages of the voluntary principle are innumerable vexations and annoyances to ministers and theological professors at least in such congregations as are weak and poor, or illiberal and mean, of which not a few; or whose membership consist mostly of European emigrants, accustomed to look to the State for the support of religion; the great disproportion in the contributions, as compared with the wealth of the donors; and finally, the overloading of ecclesiastical assemblies and synodical minutes with financial business, which, instead of tending to edification, exerts unquestionably, more or less, a secularizing influence. The advantages, on the other side, are the absence of the odium connected with State-Church taxation; the promotion of attachment of the supporting members to the Church of their choice, on the principle, where their money is there is their interest; and, above all, the development of habitual systematic benevolence, which should be regarded as an essential duty and privilege of the Christian, as much so as prayer and attendance on the means of grace.

The objection which is frequently made to the system by Europeans, that it makes the ministry disgracefully dependent on the congregation, I must deny as, upon the whole, unfounded; for the American admires no trait of character more than manly independence and consistency, and esteems, loves, and supports a minister in the same degree in which he discharges the solemn duties of his office faithfully and conscientiously as an ambassador of Christ, without fear and favour of man. This, at least, may be regarded as the rule in all the respectable denominations of the land. The tone of preaching in America is, upon the whole, more free and bold, I think, than in Europe, and yet no profession is more esteemed and more influential here than the clerical. The greatest sufferers of the voluntary system under this aspect are the clerical mercenaries, idlers, and loafers, and they deserve to suffer, so that the individual loss is a general gain to the congregation and the reputation of the ministry. So much, however, must be ad-



mitted, that the successful discharge of ministerial duties in a Republic like the one we speak of, requires a far higher degree of prudence and caution in the treatment of the individual members of the congregation, and in abstaining from all improper intermeddling with secular affairs, such as party politics, than is the case under monarchical governments.

As to the practical execution of the voluntary principle, America presents, of course, the greatest contrasts. There are congregations in every denomination, who, as far as in them lies, literally "starve out" their pastors, as the phrase is; and I know many a worthy German minister, especially in the new settlements of the West, who has to make greater sacrifices with his family than the foreign missionaries who can at least depend upon a regular support from the Society in whose service they labour. On the other side, there are congregations, though "few and far between," who give the ministers, in addition to a regular salary of from three to five thousand dollars, quite a handsome Christmas or New Year's-gift; buy him a fine house or farm, and pay all his expenses for an occasional trip to Europe for the benefit of his health. Some congregations, as the Episcopal Trinity Corporation and the Dutch Reformed Collegiate Church of New York, have come into possession of an immense income by legacies, the rise of real property, or perhaps by speculation of more than doubtful propriety. Experience, however, teaches that large wealth is rarely favourable to the spiritual prosperity of a congregation, and has a tendency to lower the standard of liberality among the members. There are rich Americans who give nothing, or a mere trifle, to God in return for His innumerable daily blessings; but there are also others who cheerfully devote more than the tenth of their income to religious and benevolent purposes, and prosper only the more for it. I could mention not a few names who have immortalised themselves, not by legacies on the dying bed, but during their lifetime, when they could enjoy their wealth, by truly princely donations of thousands and hundred thousands to the Bible, the Tract, the Missionary, the Colonisation cause, to theological seminaries, colleges, the building of churches, and other good objects. It must be admitted that, so far, New England has stood at the head in the virtue of liberality. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Unitarians of Boston are fully as liberal as their orthodox

neighbours, not, indeed, for the Church and theology, which is a subordinate interest with them, but for education and philanthropy.\* It would be idle to deny the restless and inordinate thirst for wealth, the over-valuation of temporal prosperity and comfort, the large amount of wild speculation and dishonest swindling which characterises American life, especially since the annexation of California and the unexampled rise of the new States in the West. But it would be equally unjust to deny the Americans the glory of a very large amount of liberality, benevolence, and generosity; and if it was not for this and the power of Christianity generally, the cursed worship of the golden calf would undoubtedly ruin the nation in a short time.

The average salary of the Protestant clergy in the United States is supposed to be from 400 to 500 dollars per annum. There is at present much complaint made about the inadequate support of the ministry in these times of expensive living. Innumerable newspaper articles and several books have been written on the subject. It has also been discussed and acted upon in ecclesiastical assemblies. So much may be said to be certain—that the same amount of talent, education, zeal, labour, and moral worth, which characterises the American clergy, would command a much higher temporal reward in any other profession or occupation in so prosperous a country as this.

Taking, however, all things into consideration, we may perhaps be surprised rather that so much is done in this respect. The comparative success of the voluntary system may, upon the whole, be regarded as the greatest glory of American Christianity. The Free Church of Scotland alone, with its heroic sacrifices, deserves the same, perhaps still greater, praise. Next to it come the Dissenting bodies in England, especially the Methodists, who are reported to raise larger sums annually for missionary purposes than the entire Church of England. But

\* Quite recently, the London banker, George Peabody, a native of Massachusetts, and now on a visit to this country, donated, besides a number of smaller sums to various objects, 350,000 dollars to the city of Baltimore, where he laid the foundation of his immense wealth, for the erection of a scientific institute. Another American, Mr. Cooper, a Unitarian, I believe, erects at present—not with the stiffened hand of bequest, but in the vigour of life—immense buildings in New York for a sort of University, which must have cost him already not far from half a million.

the Continent of Europe has nothing to be compared with it. I was told a few years ago by some of the most distinguished men in Germany, France, and Switzerland, that the withdrawal of the Government support would bring perhaps more than one-half of the preachers and theological professors to the brink of starvation, at least for the moment. Now, in contrast to this admission, I ask you to consider the fact that the Americans not only sustain with their voluntary contributions, without any aid from the Government, all their ministers, domestic and foreign missionaries, the operations of the Bible, Tract, and other societies, but erect and repair also innumerable houses of worship, establish theological seminaries, colleges, academies, support poor students for the Gospel ministry, and encourage a hundred other benevolent objects of a local, sectional, and general character.

I beg leave to prove my assertion by a few statistical facts. You have heard, no doubt, of the great spiritual destitution among the hundreds of thousands of German immigrants, especially in the new settlements of the Western States. The same complaint is made by the Roman Catholics with regard to the equally numerous Irish immigrants. This is all perfectly true, and has its simple reason partly in the enormous tide of immigration from Germany and Ireland, with which the education of ministers in a few feeble seminaries cannot possibly keep pace, and partly in the poverty of these foreigners, a large number of whom have first to struggle for a material existence. But no inference should be made from this as to the average supply of the country with the means of grace. This, on the contrary, surpasses that of many Established Churches in Europe. According to the official census report of 1850, there were, at that time, in the United States 26,842 ministers of the Gospel (not including the numerous local or lay preachers of the Methodist bodies), *i.e.*, more than one for a thousand souls, 38,183 houses of worship, estimated at 87,446,371 dollars, and furnishing accommodation for 14,270,139 persons, *i.e.*, for more than the half of the population, which, in 1850, numbered 23,191,875; while even the rich and highly-favoured Church of England, according to the census report of 1851, had accommodation only for 5,317,915 souls, to which must be added 4,894,648 sittings of dissenting chapels, thus making the total number of sittings, at the highest estimation, 10,212,563 for a

population of 17,927,609 for England and Wales.\* A comparison with the Continent of Europe gives a result still more favourable to the United States. Paris had, in 1855, only 46 churches for a population of 1,100,000 souls; this, on an average, would hardly give one house of worship to 23,000 souls; but the disproportion was so great that the fourth district numbered 45,900 inhabitants, and only one church. In Berlin, with all its recent zeal for church extension, the state of things in this respect is not much better; in Hamburg, perhaps, still worse. Let us now take some statistical facts of a few American cities from Lippincott's reliable Gazetteer for 1855. In 1853, the City of New York had a population of 515,547, and no less than 254 houses of worship (viz., 44 Episcopalian, 37 Presbyterian, 19 Dutch Reformed, 37 Methodist, 32 Baptist, 6 Congregational, 6 Lutheran, 22 Roman Catholic, 2 Unitarian, &c.; Brooklyn had 66 churches for 125,000 inhabitants; Philadelphia, with 408,782 souls, numbered 275 places of public worship—viz., 62 Presbyterian, old and new school, together with the smaller branches, 38 Episcopalian, 66 Methodist, 27 Baptist, 12 Lutheran, 10 Dutch and German Reformed, 21 Roman Catholic, &c.

We may, therefore, boldly assert, that so far the system of ecclesiastical self-support has fully justified itself in the United States. Church extension has kept pace with the increase of population in the cities and villages and the new settlements of the West. A few years ago, the Congregationalists alone raised in one day, if I recollect right, 100,000 dollars for the building of churches in the missionary charges of the great West. A year afterwards, the New School Presbyterians did the same, and thus one general effort of two denominations facilitated the erection of several hundred houses of worship in the new States and territories. It is true our houses of worship are not Byzantine and Gothic cathedrals (although even such have been erected within the last ten and twenty years, not only by Roman Catholics, but also by Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and even Baptists and Unitarians); but they are generally better adapted to the wants of Protestant worship, which addresses itself mainly to the ear and intellect, through the preaching of

\* Religious Worship in England and Wales. Abridged from the Official Report made by Horace Mann to George Graham, Registrar-General, London, 1854. P. 57 ff.



the Word, than the colossal structures of mediæval Catholicism, which makes much account of imposing ceremonies, and operates chiefly upon the eye and the imagination. The American churches, whatever be their defects in an artistic and æsthetic point of view, are generally comfortable, and kept warm during the cold season. This, no doubt, contributes to secure a regular attendance, while the chilling cold in the huge churches of the Continent keeps off thousands of people during the winter. In addition to this, the American, with characteristic freedom and boldness, frequently converts schoolhouses, streets, market-places, meadows, and groves into temples, and stones, steps, store-boxes, and stumps into pulpits.

As to the numerical relation of pastors and churches, the collegiate system, so frequent in Europe, is very rare here, and where it exists it is apt to foment envy, jealousy, and party spirit. Generally speaking, a charge has but one minister, who then feels the whole responsibility resting on him. Experience teaches that this is, upon the whole, the best system. But in communion seasons, where the services are generally protracted for several days, it is customary to invite the assistance of neighbouring brethren. It is also a part of clerical courtesy to offer the pulpit to a travelling minister in good standing, though he be of a different denomination. The writer of this, for instance, has preached often in Reformed, Lutheran, Presbyterian, occasionally also in Episcopal and other churches. There is far more freedom and friendly intercourse in this respect in America than even in England, where, till quite recently, not even a foreign Episcopalian was permitted to officiate in the Established Church, not to speak of the Continent, where similar prohibitions, more or less rigorous, exist to this day.

In regard to church extension and the multiplication of parishes, German Governments, especially in the growing capitals, might learn a good lesson from the zeal and activity of American Christians. But it would be altogether premature to make the comparative success of the voluntary principle in America an argument for its introduction in Europe. For it must be kept in mind that the reward of labour and the general prosperity of the people is much greater in the United States than in the Old World, with its thicker population and less rapid motion; secondly, that the Americans, by the nature of their young and growing country, and by long habit, are more accus-

tomed to pecuniary contributions for all sorts of public improvements than the Continental Europeans; and, finally, that the Protestant Churches of Germany, for instance, have a just claim upon the State for support, because the Government secularised their large property, and thus, of course, assumed the sacred duty of allowing the Church at least a part of her own original revenue.

4. *Self-Government of the Church.*—For the trouble of self-support the American Churches enjoy the full right of self-government, and thus differ widely from the various forms of Cæsaropapism, or, as the English generally call it, Erastianism, which, in every Protestant country of Europe, lodges the supreme government of the national religion in the temporal head.

Here, American Protestantism runs parallel with the political self-government of the nation, and is considerably influenced by its parliamentary forms. We must, therefore, say a few words on the latter in order to place this important feature in a clear light for the European mind.

The American Republic rests throughout on the basis of *self-government*, and would not last six weeks without it. This truly English word\* signifies, in a general way, the political maturity of the people on the basis of the moral self-control of its individual citizens. It enables and entitles them to take an active part in the legislation and administration of public affairs, but in an organic way and by a proportionate number of representatives—not as a chaotic mass, like the degenerate Athenian market-democracy after the time of Cleon the tanner, or the

\* Dr. Francis Lieber, an Americanised German, who, strange to say, wrote the best work on "Civil Liberty and Self-Government" (Philadelphia, 1853, in two vols.), directs attention to the fact (vol. I., p. 267), that this "proud word," doubtless an imitation of the Greek autonomy, was originally used in a moral sense by the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; that subsequently it seems to have been dropped for a time; but reappeared again towards the end of the last century, both in England and the United States, and is now used as far as Anglican liberty prevails. You look in vain for it either in Johnson's or even in Webster's Dictionary, among the many words compounded with *self*. Dr. Worcester has it, but marked with a star, which denotes that he added it to Dr. Johnson's, and gives Paley as authority, which Dr. Lieber assures us is an error. The *self* in this word signifies the object of government, and has, therefore, a reflective meaning; while in *autocrat*, and *Selbst-herrscher* (self-ruler), as applied to the Russian Czar, it is used in the substantive and exclusive sense (he who rules himself, or alone, and nobody else).

French *peuple-empereur* of revolutionary memory, which is only a boastful name for mobocracy. Self-government always implies two apparently opposite, but, in fact, complementary elements—liberty and loyalty, sense of independence and love of order, manly self-respect and respect for others, co-operation in the making of new laws and obedience to the existing laws until they are constitutionally repealed. It secures the rule of the majority, but fully as much, also, the sacred rights of the minority, and a lawful opposition; for this, in a free Government, like the English and the American, is generally the guardian of the popular liberties, and puts a wholesome restraint upon the majority—thus keeping it from the abuse of power to which weak human nature is always exposed. It goes on the assumption that there is no right without a corresponding duty, no liberty without the supremacy of law, no power without self-limitation. For this reason self-government, in its various ramifications, from the general departments down to the municipal and domestic, which, like the tender fibres of a living organism, reach to the extremities, constitutes the firmest—yea, the only—base of free institutions, and a bulwark against revolution; while centralised despotism, whether individual or collective, monarchical or republican, is indeed the simplest and, as long as it lasts, the strongest, but at the same time also the unsafest form of government, which may be overthrown by the shot of a pistol successfully aimed at the despot's brain.

Self-government has its natural root in the Germanic, especially in the Anglo-Saxon nationality, and was developed and matured under the influence of Protestantism during the severe struggle which agitated England for the greater part of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which gave rise to the first and most influential settlements in North America. We may say self-government is Protestantism itself, viewed as a social and political principle, or the general kingship as an emanation of the general priesthood of true Christians. It is the soul of the Anglican liberties and their guarantee against anarchy and dissolution. It is the secret of the gigantic power of the English nation, which now rules, from its island-fortress, over five millions of square miles and more than two hundred millions of souls—that is, one-fifth of the population of the globe. It is the strength and glory of the Anglo-Saxon Republic. It explains the astounding fact that the people of

the United States of America enjoy the highest degree of security for their lives and property without a standing army—for the immense country has not half the number of regular troops that the city of Paris alone has, or even Berlin; and these 10,000 soldiers are mostly stationed on the Indian frontiers, so that you might travel for days and weeks through the States without seeing a uniform or a bayonet. They cannot do without a police, of course; but the policemen of American cities, like the constables of London, are not armed, and not even distinguished by peculiar dress. They are there for no other purpose than “to assist the people, and the people are ever ready to assist them;” while on the Continent of Europe the military and the police seem to maintain a threatening attitude to the people, as if they needed the constant watch and superintendence of the cocked hats. The words which Napoleon III. spoke at what is called the Fête of the Eagles in 1852—“The history of nations is in great part the history of armies”—may be true of France, but, fortunately, it is absolutely inapplicable to the United States.

The American self-government celebrates its greatest triumph every four years, on the 5th of November, in the universal calm which succeeds the storm of the Presidential election. During the summer and autumn of last year, the thirty-one States from Maine to Florida, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, were divided into three hostile armies—a Democratic, a Republican, and a Know-Nothing or native American. Each of them strained every effort to secure the vote of the people for its own candidate; the most retired villages, as well as the cities, were carried away with the national excitement, and resounded with political speeches; some ministers even—though not to their credit, of course—“took the stump” and mixed in the wild warfare; and many false prophets foretold the inevitable dissolution of the Union, unless the candidate of their choice were elected. But, when the fourth of November arrived, the people marched in quiet majesty to the polls to decide the battle; and when, on the day following, the result became known through countless telegraphs, the beaten minority submitted to the *vox Dei* as it had spoken through the *vox populi*, without dreaming of a revolution or even the possibility of a *coup d'état* after the French fashion, and every branch of business went on as if nothing had happened. And, yet, not only was a new Presi-



dent elected, but, according to the doubtful maxim, "To the victor belong the spoils"—which, by Marcy's suggestion, has been in operation since Jackson's Administration—the whole army of federal office-holders was placed upon the resignation list to make room for a ten-fold greater army of office-seekers. I doubt whether any country, England excepted, could stand every fourth year such an unbloody general political revolution without running into anarchy, and without falling at last into the iron grasp of military despotism as the only means of restoring public order.

We freely admit that the American self-government is often put to the severest test, and that, with the fullest enjoyment of rational freedom, we have also a large amount of libertinism, its hideous counterfeit. It is a painful fact that most of our large cities, especially New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, abound in lawless "rowdies," who not only give vent occasionally to their wild passions in bloody street-riots, but control even, to a certain extent, the fire-companies, and exert a considerable influence at the primary meetings in the nomination (which, as far as the party is concerned, is tantamount to an election) of candidates for the municipal offices, for seats in the State Legislature—at times, perhaps, even in Congress. It is a fact that disgraceful excesses frequently take place at our elections, and that the politics of the country generally, at least in its lower branches, without distinction of party, is awfully corrupt, and contaminated by the meanest selfishness, bribery, slander, and falsehood. No wonder that thousands of the best and most orderly citizens turn away from it in disgust, and abstain even from voting to the injury of the public interests. Many occurrences of the last few years—above all, the scandalous troubles in the newly-organised territory of Kansas, which, owing to the interminable slavery question in connexion with the approaching Presidential election, was, for some time, on the very brink of civil war, and demanded the interference of the military force—are indelible spots in the annals of this proud nation. While I am writing, the peace of New York—where "*cuncta undique atrocias aut pudenda confluent celebranturque*" to a greater extent even than in Rome at the time of Tacitus—is jeopardised by a serious conflict between the old city police and the new State authority; so that, possibly, the orderly citizens may be forced at last—like those of San Francisco in 1856—

to the desperate remedy of a vigilance committee and temporary suspension of the ordinary wheels of government.

Such phenomena must fill the heart of every American patriot with humiliation and grief, and may well undermine, for a moment, his faith in the capacity of the masses for self-government and the ultimate success of this Republic. So much is certain, that nothing can permanently secure the American liberties but the Christian religion and its moral influence on the people.

But, on the other hand, we should never form our judgment from momentary impressions and single events. These anarchical outbreaks, compared to the general state of society in America, are, after all, but as the drop in the bucket. The great mass of the American people are unquestionably conservative, orderly, and peaceable. Yea, if we take into proper consideration the awful corruption of human nature, and the fact that the large cities and new settlements of the United States, where by far the most of these excesses occur, contain, in connexion with the best elements of society, the very offscouring of all nations in Christendom including the American, unrestrained by a standing army or even a sufficient police force, we should be surprised rather that the violations of the public order are not much more frequent and of a far more dangerous character. If we observe, moreover, that order and peace are always restored after every such outbreak of a disorderly spirit—that the sound sense of the people speedily and successfully reacts against these excrescences—that, in spite of unprincipled and selfish demagogues who disgrace the city councils, the legislatures, and, at times, even Congress itself—the country prospers, progresses, and enjoys, upon the whole, as much security of person and property as Germany, France, or England; the desponding fear concerning the future should give place to cheerful hopes and the firm conviction of the steady, though often interrupted progress of history in the path of true liberty. Sober reflection and impartial consideration will lead at last to the conclusion that self-government is, after all, no empty dream or vain boast, but a fact—the greatest and most imposing fact in the social and political life of the English race, and especially of the Republic of the United States.

The same judgment may be applied to the religious and ecclesiastical life of America. However numerous the instances

of disorder and confusion, especially among the more radical sects, it is nevertheless a fact—a most important fact—that the Protestantism of this country is characterised upon the whole by a degree of self-government, a capacity of managing its own affairs in a popular way, and taking care of its general interests without any assistance from Government, such as no Protestant Church in Europe exhibits, unless it be the Free Kirk of Scotland.

There is here, first of all, a free, well organised, Christian congregation, consisting of voluntary professors of religion, as distinct from an accidental heap of passive nominal Christians which meets us so often in the State Churches of Europe under the name of a congregation or parish. There are in America innumerable congregations with a constitution based upon the Bible and one of the great confessions of the Reformation period; electing their pastor from the regularly ordained ministers of the denomination to which they belong, not as a hireling, but as their Divinely appointed and ecclesiastically sanctioned spiritual head; associating with him, as assistants, a number of elders and deacons from the most worthy and zealous members; exercising discipline against gross offenders; managing their affairs in the fear of God, with prayer, calmness, and well-drilled business tact, under the official presidency of the minister, and according to the constitution; and taking an active part in all the general interests of the kingdom of God. Contrast with this a congregation of German immigrants, especially one that is independent of any Lutheran or Reformed Synod, assembled to consult on their local concerns: and there you will behold a motley mixture, representing the various shades of belief and unbelief of the mother country, suddenly emancipated from the maternal control of the State Church system; compelled to take care of themselves without the capacity of doing so; every one anxious to rule and none willing to obey; a chaotic mass, destitute of public spirit, talent, organisation, and parliamentary tact—hiring some clerical mercenary or vagabond, yet suspiciously excluding him from a seat in the Consistory; and after much useless and pointless talk, breaking up in hopeless confusion, unless some prudent and self-denying German minister or some benevolent American friend should succeed, by his cool self-possession, meekness, and patience, to keep them together, and lead them in the path of order, until

they are Americanised in the best sense of the term—*i.e.*, enabled to rule themselves.

This contrast is not overdrawn. It is a singular fact that, while the German stands unrivalled for freedom, independence, and boldness in the sphere of science and speculation, and excels also by peculiar excellencies in a religious point of view, he should be so far behind the Englishman and American in all that pertains to political and ecclesiastical self-government. But the simple cause lies in his want of training in that direction; for self-government, like every other art, must be gradually acquired. It is impossible to learn to ride without handling horse and bridle, or to swim without venturing into the water.

It may be a dangerous thing to emancipate the congregation in those countries where the civil community, and not the voluntary profession of religion, is the basis of the Christian congregation; and the danger is increased when indifferentism and infidelity prevail. The above contrast shows that a sudden emancipation from the accustomed control of the higher authorities would lead to endless confusion. But, on the other side, it will hardly be denied that the Protestant idea of the general priesthood of believers, if true at all, must lead to a certain degree of congregational independence or self-government, and to an active co-operation of the laity with the ministry. The American experience proves beyond contradiction that such kind of Congregationalism (I take it here in its theological, not in its technical, denominational sense), instead of injuring the interests of the Church and religion, and undermining the influence of the ministry, greatly promotes them. Here we heartily wish God's blessing to descend upon all the efforts now made by the Church authorities of Prussia, and other parts of Germany, to revive true Congregational life by introducing the office of lay-presbyters and lay-deacons where it does not already exist. The process may be slow; but every solid building must begin with a foundation. The effect will be good in the end, and may greatly benefit also the German Churches of America through the improved character of the immigrants. Already there is a marked difference between those Germans who come from a free Congregational life—as it prevails, for instance, in the Wupperthal—and those who were brought up in the system of absolute passivity.

For this capacity of popular self-government in the Church,



America is indebted, no doubt, to the consistent development of the Reformed element, partly in its Presbyterian, partly in its Congregational form.

In connexion with this Congregational maturity and activity, we have also in the United States a true synodical life. Our regular annual or semi-annual meetings of Presbyteries or Classes, Synods, and General Assemblies or Conventions, serve the same purpose as the free pastoral Conferences and the Church Diet for Germany, being advisory bodies for the promotion of unity and all the general interests of the kingdom of God, in and through its different branches or visible Churches. But in addition to this, they are also, at least in the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches, legislative bodies, and thus answer, at the same time, the Consistories and other ecclesiastical tribunals in the German State Churches. Their resolutions are not recommendations simply, but legal enactments, to be obeyed by all the ministers and congregations represented. To them belongs the final settlement of disciplinary questions, the control of the theological schools, the examination and ordination of candidates for the ministry, the support of the education cause, of domestic and foreign missions, and the encouragement of every enterprise that pertains to the external and internal prosperity of the Church. These meetings give annually a powerful impulse to the activity of ministers and people, and are a special blessing to the communities in which they convene, and from which they receive in return the kindest hospitality.

The same self-government, parliamentary tact, love of order, and public spirit, which characterises the meetings of the local congregations, attach in a still higher degree to these synodical bodies, together with a very considerable amount of oratorical talent. It is true, the weakness of human nature reveals itself here also in various ways. There is always danger of an excess of legislation, of hasty resolutions which remain a dead letter, and a useless display of eloquence. But have ecclesiastical assemblies—not to speak of political ones—ever been free of such excrescences? Does not Gregory of Nazianzen, who himself presided for some time over the Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, bring more serious charges upon the great synodical meetings of the Nicene age? Was there not “much disputing” even in the apostolical council at Jerusalem, before they reached that wise conclusion concerning the relation of

the Gentile converts to the law of Moses? And did not even St. Paul get into an open collision with St. Peter before the assembled congregation of Antioch? Human imperfection enters into the very sanctuary of the Church militant, and the celestial treasure is committed to earthen vessels, that no flesh should boast, and all glory be given to God alone.

One of the most important features in the Evangelical Synods of America is the lay-element. It flows from the Protestant idea of the general priesthood, and forms the best check upon the hierarchical spirit which Gregory of Nazianzen charges as one of the worst faults upon the old Catholic councils, and against which even St. Peter found it necessary to warn the elders of the apostolical congregations. The fundamental principle of Anglican liberty—no taxation without representation—is characteristic also of American Christianity; it thoroughly disowns the view that the Church is identical with the clergy, and that the congregation is doomed to blind obedience. The ministers take the lead, of course, in all ecclesiastical matters except the financial, and will always do so, because of their superior knowledge and zeal. But the lay deputies are by no means passive spectators; they have generally the same number of votes, and often take the most lively interest in all synodical transactions, even those of a purely theological character. They are chosen from the most worthy elders of the congregation; and a genuine American congregation, I must repeat it, is not a motley heap of a few dozen converted disciples and several hundred baptized heathens, but a well organised body of living Christians. Such laymen are never dangerous in synods, but exert almost invariably a salutary conservative influence.

The lay representation in connexion with the Presbyterian form of government is most fully carried out in the various branches of the Reformed communion of Dutch, Scotch, English, and German origin. But even the organisation of the Episcopal Church, which, of all Protestant denominations, approaches nearest the Roman hierarchy, has undergone a very significant modification in this country by admitting a regular lay delegation, equal in number to the clerical representation, into its diocesan conventions, and into the Lower House of its Triennial General Convention (the Upper House is exclusively composed of bishops). As far as I know, the American Episcopa-

lians are not likely ever to give up this popular feature in their ecclesiastical polity. Even in the Mother Church of England it has recently found warm advocates, and it is more than probable that it will be incorporated at some future day in the contemplated reorganisation of the convocations, which at present have a mere nominal existence, the government of the Church being in the hands of the Parliament and the Privy Council.

There are, however, two important exceptions from this rule in America, which we cannot pass by unnoticed. Methodism and Romanism, although diametrically opposed to each other, agree in the exclusion of the laity from all participation in the government of the Church.

The former gives rise, for this very reason, to occasional protests and secessions in the United States as well as in England. Of these seceders, the Protestant Methodists are the most important. But the purely clerical government of the Methodist Episcopal Church does not rest on a hierarchical basis, and is merely a matter of policy connected with its missionary character. Moreover, what it refuses the laity in the sphere of discipline, it restores to them in the department of worship by the important institution of lay or local preachers, class leaders, and in the weekly prayer-meetings, where the laymen are permitted to make the largest use of the general priesthood. Hence its peculiar and very efficient organisation does not prevent it from being one of the most numerous and popular denominations of the country; it marches in the van of the great westward tide of American emigration, preaching everywhere, with great earnestness, repentance and faith, and exciting the flame of practical piety.

Very different is the position of the Roman Catholic Church. This ancient and unchangeable body maintains, of course, also in the United States, its old ground, that the clergy is the Church, and regards the Christian people merely as the sandy plain on which the colossal pyramid of the hierarchy rests. As the first Napoleon, the greatest and most genial incarnation of absolute despotism, made it his maxim: "Everything for the people (*i.e.*, in his sense for himself, *L'état c'est moi*), nothing by the people;" so Romanism says: "Everything for the congregation, nothing by the congregation." But by this very principle it stands in direct opposition to the national genius of

America, which, in religion as well as in politics, follows the maxim: "Everything for the people, nothing without the people." The absolute Papacy, as well as the Napoleonic military despotism, which sees only common soldiers under the Emperor General, may, indeed, easily connect itself with a certain kind of democracy. The hierarchical pyramid requires a dead level to show off its grandeur. But the people here are not a living organism with inherent rights and liberties, but a dependent mass, moving only at the absolute command of the priesthood. In her relation to the State, the Roman Church enjoys in this Republic perfect liberty and independence, and can exercise her hierarchical self-government, if we may so call it, to the fullest extent. In this respect her condition is even more favourable than under the Roman Catholic Governments of Europe, which are all more or less tinctured with Gallicanism. But she meets here with a more powerful opponent in public opinion and the genius of free America, which is thoroughly Protestant with all its religions, social and political institutions, sympathies and tendencies. Here we need not be surprised that Romanism, with all its undoubted growth, has not been able to keep pace with the immense immigration of Irish and German Catholics, which, within the last twenty years, was, perhaps, twice as large as the entire present membership of this Church. Still less has it been able, with all its imposing cathedrals, sisters of charity, and well organised benevolent institutions, to gain the sympathies of the people. On the contrary, just in proportion to the extension of Popery, the American spirit has risen against it, and recently produced even a powerful political party, called the Know-Nothing or American party, which is professedly based upon hatred of Romanists and foreigners, and has for its object to destroy their political influence. This Know-Nothingism spread, in 1854, with lightning rapidity all over the Union, and threatened for awhile to absorb the old Whig party and to annihilate the democratic party then in power, until it was most signally defeated in the last presidential election, being forced to succumb to anti-slavery Republicanism in the North and to Democracy in the South. Its proscriptive spirit is directly opposed to the fundamental American principle of the political equality of all Christian sects. But, for this very reason, it reveals the more strikingly the irreconcilable antagonism between Romanism and native Americanism, as intelli-



gent Catholics—especially the able dialectorian Brownson, the only really important American convert to that Church—have on several occasions reluctantly admitted. It would be absolutely impossible to organise a political party against any Protestant denomination of the country; for Mormonism, which is still more unpopular than Romanism, does not belong to Protestantism in any sense whatever, and has much more affinity with Mohammedanism than Christianity. The future must show whether the Roman Church, with her unyielding tenacity, will be able ultimately to resist the powerful Protestant current of this country, or whether she will be carried away by it and undergo an important process of transformation.

The United States of North America is the most Protestant country in Christendom. Even its toleration, which Romanism likewise enjoys, and should by all means be permitted to enjoy without the least molestation, is a legitimate fruit of Protestantism, and operates upon the whole more against than in favour of Romanism. The United States is the greatest world and Church historical conquest which was made by the genius of the Reformation since the sixteenth century, and which far outweighs all the Roman acquisitions of baptized heathenism and barbarism in South America. North America is, therefore, emphatically a land of hope for Protestantism, not negative, Rationalistic and Pantheistic, but positive, scriptural, Evangelical Catholic Protestantism, which takes its stand on Christ and His everlasting Gospel as the only source of salvation, and the only guarantee of true social and religious freedom.

Here we must bring our report to a close. We sensibly feel its imperfections and incompleteness in view of the mass of material which might claim our attention. Much might be said on American theology, which for German taste is rather too dry and mechanical, somewhat unchurchly, and, as to the doctrine of the holy sacraments, even rationalising, but which, in other respects, is strictly Biblical and confessional, better adapted to the intelligence of the people and the wants of the congregation than the German, and promises to produce a new phase in the sacred science, by combining German learning and research with English orthodoxy and solidity; on the many theological seminaries and the method of theological study, which, in the United States, is not as thorough, comprehensive, and free as in Germany, but safer and more practical, since it is not entered

upon simply as a profession, and for a decent support, but from religious motives, and hence conducted with the view to a growth in piety as well as in learning, and with constant regard to the pastoral office in a particular denomination; on the innumerable religious papers, magazines, and reviews, which represent all possible shades of piety and fanaticism, and carry, in hundreds of thousands of copies, truth and falsehood to the most distant dwellings; on the Christian life, which has a predominantly Reformed stamp, full of vigour, energy, and enterprise, and presents all the excellences and defects of a practical, common sense Christianity, more broad than deep, strong in outward action and weak in inward meditation, laying hold of the understanding and will rather than the imagination and feeling, running frequently into the errors of Phariseeism and Legalism, but very rarely into the opposite extreme of Sadduceeism and Antinomianism, to which the German mind is exposed; on the American celebration of the Lord's-day, which, with all its Judaising and legalistic features, is an imposing weekly testimony of the nation's reverence for God's holy law, a mighty bulwark of public religion and virtue, and, in its practical workings, infinitely preferable to the European pseudo-Evangelical laxity; on the American pulpit, which, whatever be its defects as compared with the European, is, upon the whole, perhaps superior to it, and must be said to be free, bold, and energetic, and decidedly Evangelical in its tone—rousing the conscience with great earnestness and power, urging repentance and faith in Christ and a holy walk and conversation, shedding the light of God's Word upon all the important questions of society, and exerting more influence for good upon public opinion than the combined power of the press; on the extensive activity of the free associations, as the Bible, Tract, Sunday-school, and African Colonisation Societies, which rise superior to our sectarian divisions and distractions, and present a field for united action to the various Evangelical denominations; on the growing missionary zeal of the leading Churches, which follow the Western tide of emigration to the base of the Rocky Mountains and the shores of the Pacific, supplying the new settlements with the means of grace, and which sends at the same time the messengers of the Cross to the heathens on the Sandwich Islands, in China, and the East Indies, to the negroes on the Western coast of

Africa, and to the stagnant sects of the decaying Turkish Empire, extending to the venerable seats of primitive Christianity, and binding thus the extreme West to the ancient East by the Gospel of love and peace;—all this, and many other things, I can merely allude to, for a detailed account would not only far transcend the limits of this report, which I would like to condense still more if I had time, but also lead me into the field of the inner divisions and controversies of Protestantism, and these the Evangelical Alliance would rather forget for a moment in the enjoyment of that deeper unity and harmony which, after all, underlies the various branches of Evangelical Christendom.

For the same reasons I can only make one short remark on the most difficult problem of American statesmanship and philanthropy, which, in addition to its political and social bearing, presents also a very important moral and religious aspect, and connects itself with the ultimate Christianisation and civilisation of Africa. Although there is little prospect of a speedy cure of the sore evil of negro slavery, which preys upon the very vitals of the American Union and threatens its dissolution, it will as certainly be healed in due time, as its root, the African Slave Trade and slavery itself in all the Northern States, was abolished. This desirable result, however, will not be attained by any undue foreign interference, which a nation as sensitive and high-minded as the American will either indignantly repulse or ignore; nor by political agitation, which, so far at least, has rather thrown back the process of emancipation and called forth a fanatical pro-slavery reaction in the Southern States; nor by a dissolution of the Union and terrors of a civil war, which God in mercy prevent; but it will be brought about partly by the silent influence of physical and material causes, such as climate, agriculture, industry, railroads; partly by the irresistible progress of Christianity, humanity, and freedom; and especially by the adorable wisdom of the Almighty Ruler of events, who makes even the wrath of man to praise Him, who delivered Israel from the bondage of Egypt and of Babylon, and who will in His own good time gloriously solve this dark mystery by the elevation and salvation of the entire African race.

Yea, Jesus Christ, by whom all men were created and redeemed, will, according to the sure word of prophecy, raise at last His banner of freedom and peace over all nations and races,

over all continents and islands, and heaven and earth shall resound with the triumphal song, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." His visible Church is still unfortunately divided by human guilt, though not without wise Providential designs, into many hostile camps; yet in the deepest source of its spiritual life, and in her invisible Head, she is but one; and when each division, be it Protestant, or Roman, or Greek, shall have fully accomplished its separate mission, the hidden unity of life will also visibly appear, arrayed in the beauty of infinite variety. Before this paper can reach the capital of Prussia, the transatlantic telegraph will bind the two hemispheres together, and Europeans and Americans will be no more antipodes, but neighbours. Who would have dreamed, twenty years ago, of such wonders in the natural world? And why should not the invisibly omnipresent power of Divine Love be able to unite the most distant parts of Christendom, for which it bled on the cross, into one holy catholic brotherhood of faith and love?

May the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance strengthen the consciousness of present unity in the midst of strife, give a fresh impulse to Christian zeal and activity, and help to prepare the way for a true and abiding union of believers of all countries and generations, all tongues and confessions, in Him who is their common Lord and Saviour!

With this wish and prayer, I transmit to you, dear brethren, being unable to appear among you in person, this written contribution to your feast of love, hoping, that under the blessing of God it may contain some comfort and encouragement to the faith of the Evangelical Churches of Europe, which we Americans shall always gratefully revere and love as our mother. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all the children of God!



## II.

## GERMAN METHODISTS IN AMERICA.

BY PASTOR NAST,

OF THE EPISCOPAL METHODIST CHURCH, CINCINNATI, NORTH AMERICA.

The wish expressed in the invitation from the Committee of the North German Branch of the Evangelical Alliance to hear a particular account of American Methodism and its operations, doubtless—especially in reference to the German part of the population—was to the German Methodists in America a most delightful proof of brotherly love, for which we feel that we owe our sincerest thanks. We hope that by this means we may be brought into closer union with the German Evangelical Church, both on this and on that side of the ocean; and that with them we may labour for the salvation of our German countrymen, of whom so many, as you know, have forsaken their fatherland without God and without hope. To this class I once belonged myself; but through the miracle-working mercy, grace, and faithfulness of an infinitely forbearing and Almighty Saviour, I was plucked as a brand from the burning.

The instrument employed by God for this purpose was the Episcopal Methodist Church in America; and as soon as I had obtained forgiveness of my sins, and was turned from the power of Satan to the living God, she employed me as her first messenger among the German population of America.

What moved her to this? Not the love of proselytism, but the sad religious condition of the Germans. There were many thousands of Protestants like sheep without a shepherd, too poor, too much occupied, or too indifferent about having a preacher, and living for years without either the Word or the sacraments. Many Protestant congregations there were also without any appearance of Church discipline, without being united with any regular synod, and presided over by self-instituted men, unprincipled and without character. Unfortunately, too, there were

many German Protestant congregations which, though keeping up a relation with regular synods, were, according to the acknowledgment of many of their own preachers in later times, plunged in a deep spiritual sleep. Few of the preachers, although orthodox and moral, knew anything of conversion from their own experience. Most of them declared every other regeneration, except that of baptism, to be fanaticism. Experimental and personal Christianity was a rarity among them; indeed, even the outward appearance and form of godliness was too often wanting. Profanity, desecration of the Sabbath, and intoxication were common. It was not unfrequently the case that the very worst were appointed overseers of the Church, who caused honest preachers much grief. The venerable Dr. Kurtz, who has done so much for the revival of religion in the English Lutheran Church, wrote in January, 1855: "About thirty-five years ago, when God, through His grace, gave His sanction to our weak efforts by a solemn outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and for the first time vouchsafed to us a powerful revival, the opposition was frightful. A revival in the Lutheran Church was at that time quite a novelty; we had never heard of more than one, and that was in Dr. Bock's Church in Winchester, Virginia. He can testify to the bitterness, malice, and fearful ungodliness which characterised the enemies of that Divine visitation, at that time of ignorance, hardness of heart, and spiritual blindness."

Among the German Protestant congregations the right basis was wanting. In a country where Church and State are entirely separated, where the confession of Christianity and connexion with the Church is left to the free decision of the individual, the Church must appear in opposition to the world—a separation must take place between those who love the Lord, or are at least God-fearing, and those who are impenitent. As in America the cattle roam uncontrolled over the country, so that no garden or field can yield fruit without being enclosed, so no Christian community can prosper spiritually without the protection of Biblical Church discipline, and without a narrower door of entrance to membership, than the mere contribution for the support of the preacher, or the admission by confirmation without a perceptible change of heart.

Looking at these evils, the Methodist Church, urged by her peculiar missionary spirit, made the first attempt, in the year

1835, to effect by the grace of God a reformation among the Germans by the employment of missionaries.

In America this can be done without the charge being incurred of infringing on some supposed historical right, for there the unconverted are looked upon as the common mission-field of all the Churches, and it never occurs to any Anglo-American community to dispute the extension of any other, because the guarantee for the free working of the one is found in the freedom of all the rest. Besides, the Methodist Church has been, from its commencement, the Home Mission of the United States, and has thrust her roots more deeply into the very life of the American people than can be affirmed of any State Church. It has about one member in every twenty inhabitants, and now numbers, in the Northern and Western parts, 5,161 regular and 6,718 lay preachers, and 800,320 members; in the Southern States, 2,171 regular and 4,660 lay preachers, 460,161 white and 176,553 black members; and the number of edifices amounts to 12,467, of the value of 14,636,670 dollars. The Northern Church, to which alone the following remarks refer, has 10,600 Sunday-schools, 60,319 teachers, 604,113 scholars, and 1,954,308 books in the Sunday-school libraries. For the supply of these schools with books, and for the respectable clothing of poor children, 112,000 dollars were contributed in the past year. The Sunday-school libraries contain more than 1,000 different books. Our Missionary Society expended during the past year 260,000 dollars upon Home and Foreign Missions. The latter are in Buenos Ayres, Siberia, China, and India. We have, beside, two large book depôts, which, in the course of the last four years, have published 7,226,409 bound books, and 8,362,517 tracts and pamphlets. The Church maintains also nine weekly religious papers, one quarterly theological paper, two religious monthly magazines, and one Sunday-school paper. The total number of those who take our various periodicals is 285,460.

It is impossible that a Church which has shown such literary activity can be, as has been laid to her charge, indifferent to intellectual cultivation. Indeed, from her very infancy she has manifested a zeal for the institution of educational establishments. When she only numbered 16,000 members, the Methodists contributed 40,000 dollars for the establishment of one. At the present time we have 19 colleges, of the value of

1,655,900 dollars, with 105 professors and 2,862 scholars; and 68 seminaries, worth 1,190,000 dollars, with 306 teachers and 14,572 scholars; in addition to two exclusively theological institutions, of the value of 343,000 dollars. The Methodist Church also devotes much attention to female education. The Wesleyan Female College in Cincinnati was the first of the kind in America. Their number has since that time increased very much. This higher class of girls' school has already sent forth many experienced teachers, who exercise a great influence on the young. Lately the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Church has entertained the noble project of founding a school, to be called "Wilberforce University," for the youth of the free black population. As regards the literary cultivation of the Methodist preachers, you find among them every degree of intellectual culture. While the greater number of them have enjoyed no systematic literary education, but have been obliged to collect their theological information according to a prescribed plan of study during their time of probation for the ministerial office, there are also in the Methodist Church men of the profoundest theological learning, who are able to exercise their gifts as professors, editors, and bishops. The Methodists have always been of opinion that learning, together with piety, ought always to hold a firm position in the Church. She has never forgotten that learned men alone have been capable of giving the Bible to the various nations in their own tongues, and that Wesley, as well as Luther, was a member of a university. Notwithstanding this, it is a principle of Methodism that the condition of acceptance for the ministerial office shall not be literary cultivation, but true conversion, a knowledge of the plan of salvation, eloquence, and an inner call to the ministry.

In point of doctrine, the principles of Evangelical faith, as they are expressed in the nine articles of the Evangelical Alliance, are heartily believed and preached by the Methodist Church.

The characteristic type of our theology consists only in this, that we most decidedly reject the doctrine of unconditional predestination, and lay particular stress on the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit to the children of adoption, as well as in a deliverance, attainable in the present life, from all sin, by grace through faith.

As regards the doctrine of the sacraments, the Methodist



Church by no means understands them as is falsely reported of her. She maintains firmly the baptism of infants. She does not believe in baptismal regeneration, but declares that all children, "by virtue of the unconditional blessings of reconciliation, are brought into a state of grace, and therefore have a title to the blessings of baptism; and as all baptized children are in a state of covenant relation with God, that they should be placed under the particular care and oversight of the Church;" wherefore she ordains that every child of our Church members shall be instructed in the Christian religion; and as soon as he is of a suitable age and gives evidence of his desire to escape from the wrath to come, his name is placed on the list of probationary members, and after the usual time of probation is accepted into full union with the Church. In the Lord's Supper we hold with the Calvinists, not the Lutherans. Time does not allow me to enter upon the customs, Church government, admission of members and preachers. For information on these points I must refer to the "Hand-book of Methodism," which has been published by Mr. Jacobi, the Superintendent of our Mission in Bremen. I will only remark here that the Episcopal Methodist Church has retained episcopacy not in the High Church sense, but as a useful arrangement which tends to the furtherance of the work of God, in which sense it was approved of by Luther and Calvin.

There is still one point which may not be passed over in mentioning the characteristics of the American Methodist Church. "Is there not something," it may be asked, "which may eventually tend to endanger the interests of religion in that great mental excitement which is found among the Methodists?" First, we must understand the term "excitement." Who would question that religion must excite the feelings? Can a man repent or believe evangelically without feeling? To be spiritually poor, to endure suffering, to hunger and thirst after righteousness—are not these all matters of feeling? But the objector still urges, Does not Methodism require a certain amount of perception of sin and grace, a certain form of outward expression of spiritual suffering and joy? We decidedly answer, "No." We have never doubted the repentance of Lydia, because in her declaration of it she did not express herself as a Paul would have done; we have never maintained that prostration and loud weeping constitutes repentance, or that

exultation and similar demonstrations belong to the witness of our adoption. This powerful excitement of feeling is the accidental operation of the free and fervent worship of God in the Church, and frequently occurs among the less educated part of the people. That, at times, much that is unsuitable is connected with it, we do not deny. But does not much that is unsuitable and unnecessary take place in the public worship of others, who have nothing to do with prostrations and unsuitable outward demonstrations? A pious man says that "Men leave the trace of their fingers on what they touch." Moreover, we consider that the harm that has been produced here and there by exaggerated expression of feeling, is immeasurably less than the blessing that the liberty of such expression has produced. As long as the fruits of the Spirit are the results of a religious excitement, we dare not fear that it will grieve Him, even if it should displease the world. What a beneficent influence have the mighty movements of Methodism exerted on the population of the United States? Without the Methodist Church, what would have become of the hundreds and thousands who have lived piously in her midst, some of whom are already dead, and some are still living? Who would have followed the pioneers of the West into the wilderness, or with the emigrants have undergone all dangers, privations, and discomforts? What would have been the condition of the far West—the beautiful valley of the Mississippi—without the co-operation of Methodism in social and political as well as in religious affairs? Does the Methodist Church, under these circumstances, deserve to be accused of sectarianism, because, for about twenty years, she has sent her missionaries among the colonists to call them to repentance and conversion, has received as many of them into her bosom as have been awakened and converted through her preaching; and, after conscientious examination of our doctrines and Church discipline—for which we give them ample opportunity during the six months of probation which we require of them—have begged for full membership in her communion?

The commencement of our missionary work was very small; prejudice and opposition seemed unconquerable; the instruments, according to human computation, unusually weak; principally uneducated people from the artizan or peasant class, they knew nothing beside Jesus Christ and Him crucified, but they had learned to know Him in the forgiveness of their own sins, and

could proclaim with joy and confidence that Jesus Christ is come into the world to save sinners, and to give to every sinner who truly repents and heartily believes on His name a lively and certain proof of the forgiveness of his sins. They could also, from their own experience, tell believers how they might grow in grace by watchfulness, and prayer, and daily self-denial, and attain to sanctification by simple belief in the blood of Jesus Christ which cleanses from all sin. What was wanting in their sermons with respect to doctrine, was compensated by the powerful voice of exhortation: *now* to seek the converting grace of God, and to expect, trusting in the faithfulness, mercy, and readiness of God, that He will *now* fulfil His promises. This Gospel truth and His servants' faith in it, the Lord has continued to honour.

The oftentimes sudden manifestation of the Lord's grace is that which has given Methodism its peculiar character and value, and has kindled so many stars in the firmament of the Church. But it is this that has drawn upon it an evil report. We firmly believe that the blessed Redeemer can and will be gracious at any moment to those who, in faith, fly to Him for refuge; and according to the words, "*Now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation," we feel ourselves justified in always expecting the fulfilment of this promise. And, in order the better to reach this point with awakened souls, we often invite them, at the close of the service, to the altar of prayer (called by others, in mockery, the stool of repentance), where we pray and sing with them, give them counsel and consolation, and exhort them to give themselves with their whole heart to the Lord, and cast themselves on Jesus Christ. We know, and tell them in our invitation, that they can and ought to do it in any other place; but we invite them, lest the impression and desire to serve the Lord which may have been excited by the Holy Ghost during the sermon not being complied with, they should become a prey to the temptations of the enemy. We consider it to be our duty, when the Lord works repentance in the soul, to work with Him. Although we ought not to anticipate the Spirit, yet, on the other hand, we ought not to remain inactive when the Lord goes before us in a pillar of cloud. Conversion does not depend upon the will of man, but except man yields his will to it, it is impossible. But the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and

we must use violence in order to enter it. The soul must wait until it is clothed with power from on high, but not in quiet indifference or timid despondency, but hungering and thirsting, praying and striving, and should not feel itself secure until it has received from the Holy Spirit the testimony of its adoption; although we do not teach, as is falsely laid to our charge, that no one is converted unless he can name the very hour when his conversion took place. None, however, dare maintain that with this praying and striving for the witness of the Spirit there is not sometimes a mixture of an impure or strange fire. Who can prevent it? When the sincere heart becomes excited in supplication to God, or in apprehension for the salvation of the soul, is it to be wondered at that, here and there, some one else may also be touched, and, by natural sympathy, be carried away with the stream, and who, by fanatical conduct, or an over-hasty confession of faith, bring the truth into bad repute? But if this were admitted as a valid objection to the whole work, we must then object to the preaching of Philip in Samaria, because Simon Magus was baptized on a false confession of faith. And why should such instances of exaggeration and hypocrisy be produced as proofs that our whole work is not genuine by those who must themselves confess that the majority of their own members come to the table of the Lord, from year to year, with impenitent hearts? Besides, our prayer and class-meetings, love feasts, and the like, keep the members always in movement; they are like the sieve on the threshing-floor, which soon casts out the chaff from the wheat. Attendance at the class-meetings is as yet a condition of membership; how long it will remain so is doubtful; in many of the English congregations the regulation has become a dead letter. That it can and does often degenerate to a mere form, we will not dispute; but does the misuse of a thing prevent the right use of it or is there anything in class-meetings that positively leads to evil? With the consciousness of the omnipresence of God and before one's brethren, the giving an account of the condition of one's soul is an elevating and solemn act, that cannot remain without the most salutary effect. The humble confessions of his brothers and sisters, the hearing of their faith, growth, and joyful prospect of eternity must operate well, must lead to profounder self-examination, to humility, watchfulness, the strengthening of faith, and to consolation. We expect of every



member who wishes to remain in our community that he shall frequent the class-meeting, if possible, once a week, in order that he may communicate for the benefit of others his experience in grace and his growth in the Divine life. He who intentionally and repeatedly neglects this, forfeits his membership. We also expect that our members have regular family worship, which, indeed, the most of them faithfully and conscientiously perform as a holy duty and Christian privilege. We also insist upon strict morality, and consider it our duty to attack every sin and every vice, not only in a general manner, but also directly and singly. To those who desire to unite themselves with our communion, we declare openly that they must forego all that is expressly forbidden in the Word of God if they wish to remain among us. One point desires particular mention here. In the Temperance question, long before Teetotal Societies existed, Methodism had occupied a clearly defined position, which drew upon it many bitter enemies. Drunkenness, or even the drinking of spirituous liquors, where not absolutely necessary, is forbidden in our general rules, and also their manufacture and sale. Here we met, of course, with violent opposition from those whose trade was endangered, as well as from the moderate drinkers, who considered brandy as one of the creatures "which God had created to be received with thanksgiving."

I now proceed to give a short statistical account of the Methodist Mission among the Germans. In the year 1838, I formed the first German Methodist congregation, and I was the only German preacher of our Church. Now, we have in the North and West of the United States 188 German stations or congregations, with about 15,000 members, who, for the most part, declare that they have experienced the renewing grace of God; one-tenth of them, at least, have come over to us from the Roman Catholic Church; of the remainder, the number of those who were converted in Germany is exceedingly small. Yet the majority of those who have come to us from the Protestant Church is of the class of the better affected. We have, indeed, many examples of the conversion of hardened sinners; but by far the greater number of our members consist of those in whose hearts the fear of God was implanted in childhood, who still possess a measure of piety, and who would probably not have joined us if they could have found nourishment

for their souls in their own Church. Besides those who are now alive and in communion with us, hundreds have fallen asleep in the Lord; while others, who have found the Lord among us, have afterwards incorporated themselves with some other American denomination, or with a German Protestant congregation with a faithful preacher; indeed, since the commencement of our missionary labours, the number of such congregations support their own preachers; the greater number, however, receive still partial support from our Missionary Society. The newly established stations are generally supported by our Missionary Society for the first year. The German Methodists have contributed in past years about 45,000 Prussian dollars for the support and spread of the Gospel, for the Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies, for Sunday-schools, and the erection of places of worship. They have also commenced the endowment of German professorships in the English educational establishments; so that German students may pursue their studies in German as well as in English, and pious young men be prepared for the ministerial office. We may here also observe that the books and periodicals that we publish more than pay their own costs. The *Christian Apologist*, a weekly paper—the organ of the Methodist Church in the German language—now in the nineteenth year of its existence, has 8,000 subscribers; and 9,000 copies of the children's paper, which we commenced last October, called the *Sunday-School Bell*, are distributed.

For the supply of the 188 stations we have, in connexion with Conference, 225 accepted and appointed preachers, with about 120 assistant lay preachers, who receive no emolument for their services. Besides the German work in operation in the Free States, the Methodist Church in the South has 14 German congregations, with 750 members. The Methodist Church has also exercised a salutary influence upon our sister Churches, and has produced new life and zeal among them. The English maxim, "Competition is the life of business," has proved itself true in this case.

Still we have, as a Church, to lament our great deficiencies and imperfections. The older I grow, the more experience teaches me that the purest doctrine and the best Church discipline is incapable of creating a pure, unmixed, and perfectly holy community, while, on the other side, Christ can also give life in Churches where the discipline is imperfect. What

excellent regulations there are contained in our Church rules, but how few there are who completely obey them! We acknowledge the probability of attaining, even in this life, to a state in which we can love God with all our heart, with all our soul, and our neighbours as ourselves; but how few, of the millions of members which the Methodist Church numbers, have arrived at that state of holiness to which we acknowledge it possible and a duty to attain? But, however much we may fail in truth and wisdom, we ought not to be accused of a lack of broadheartedness, or with possessing a spirit of sectarianism. The basis and principles on which the Evangelical Alliance has fixed the union of all Evangelical Christians were the very principles of John Wesley. Had Wesley lived in our days, who can doubt that he would have been one of the most prominent upholders of the Evangelical Alliance? Or if this had been established a hundred years ago, what could he have done more than he really did for its advancement, and in its spirit? As early as the year 1744 he sent a circular letter to a great number of the clergymen of the Established Church, and the Dissenters, in which he made a proposition strikingly similar to the first invitation of the Evangelical Alliance. You know that, for admission to the Church he formed himself, he did not insist upon any complete code of belief as a condition, but only and solely required a sincere desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to obtain salvation from sin. Do not these words contain an epitome of the practical theology of the Evangelical Alliance? Wesley was no sectarian; he neither wished to injure any historical right, nor to break violently with the past, nor to separate from his mother Church. The successors of Wesley would not have formed themselves into a separate Church, if the Church of England had made an effort to retain them, or had suffered Christianity, which had become so degenerate, to be revived by their influence. However, the organisation of the Methodist Church, although effected in England contrary to Wesley's wishes, is not sectarianism, but was instituted under the Providence of God, and has been sealed by the blessing of God, as has been most fully proved in the whole history of her missionary work. I have already spoken of the Episcopal Methodist Church which Wesley felt himself called upon to found in America, and will only add, that we have remained true to the principles of true

Catholicity which he laid down. We consider the promotion of Evangelical union as one of the principal duties of Evangelical Methodism; and, therefore, the pages of the *Apologist*, which I have had the honour of editing from its first number, were always gladly filled with everything that relates to the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance since its establishment. Methodism knows of no saving Church, it only knows of a saving Saviour; it has nothing in its doctrines which prevents its acknowledging as children of the same Father all those who are born of God, whatever may be their difference of opinions or of customs. Methodism agrees most fully with what one of the speakers has so strikingly said, that the doctrine of salvation has been opened by the confession of faith contained in the Church, but not completed. We, therefore, extend the right hand of brotherhood to every preacher of any Evangelical denomination, and allow him to preach in our pulpits. We believe in a unity of Spirit, and most solemnly promise, by the help of the Lord, to maintain it in the bonds of peace. What I have heard fall from the lips of the beloved and highly-esteemed men of God here, has invigorated and strengthened my faith in a glorious future for the German Evangelical Church, has elevated my spirit and enlarged my heart. I shall never forget it; and while I have been listening, I have scarcely been able to suppress a loud, fervent, Methodist Amen!



## III.

## THE AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH.

BY PROFESSOR CARVER,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Beloved Fathers and Brethren,—I am the only member in this Assembly of the American Lutheran Church. The Lutheran Church in America was founded by men sent from Halle, by that blessed man, Augustus Herman Francke, whom, were he still living, we should, no doubt, see in this Assembly. This Church has only about a thousand preachers, while there is need of two thousand. Every year thousands and thousands of Germans land in America, but there are no pastors among them. Where I was last, on the banks of the Mississippi, and in a place where I founded an English Lutheran Church, there were about 5,000 Germans, and the majority of them were unbelievers. It was a common thing among them to baptize their children with beer or punch in the name of Liberty and Equality, and to deliver disgraceful addresses at the time. Germans in America need missionaries to be sent to them, such men as Augustus Herman Francke sent. Let me close with the prayer that the Lord, who has all power in heaven and on earth, may raise up many such.

## IV.

## ON EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

BY THE REV. DR. BAIRD,

NEW YORK.

I beg to claim your attention only for a few minutes, in order to offer some explanations on the subject of America, and suggest some advice.

During the last five or six years we have received every year 4,000 to 5,000 emigrants. The emigration to America in the years 1854 or 1855 was not so considerable as in former years, the cause of which lay in the war then going on, and which prevented the emigration of the people to America; but, in the present year, the emigration from Europe to America is much increased.

When I left New York there were daily arrivals of more than a thousand emigrants from Germany, Holland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, and other parts of Europe. I believe that by the end of this year 450,000 emigrants will have arrived in America by way of New York. In former years, the Europeans who went to America were so cheated that the Government found itself compelled to interfere and warn the emigrants. It was formerly particularly the practice of many of the inhabitants of New York to send their agents in small vessels to meet the arriving ships, with cards inviting the new comers to their different inns; and when once there, the grossest deceptions were practised upon them. But not confining themselves to this, these deceivers travelled through different parts of Europe, and there, though they sometimes sold genuine maps, they frequently also sold false ones. The people found on their arrival in New York that they had been cheated. In order to check this mischief, the Government was obliged to pass a law that no more contracts should be sold in Europe, but only in New York and in places appointed for the purpose by the Government; and in order to make it easier to the inhabitants, a certain building, called Castle Gardens, was devoted to the

purpose, where five commissioners were always ready to sell a contract to those who wished for one. These commissioners not only provide the travellers with these contracts, but also with information and advice as to where they may best settle; they have also contracted with the different railroads, so that the travellers may travel as cheaply as possible. It is to be wished that this information were spread as much as possible in Germany; and it were well, perhaps, if the pastors, many of whom must be present, would make their congregations acquainted with these facts.

I regret exceedingly that to-morrow I must return home; yet I cannot leave this Assembly without expressing my delight at seeing here so many brethren from different parts of Germany. I say Germany, and bear particularly in mind the blessings that America has received from Germany. We are, indeed, mindful of what Germany has been the means of spreading. It has exerted an influence on England, America, and Australia. I carry home with me a feeling of gratitude that, in the capital of Prussia, we have seen prominence again given to the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, and Zwinglius; and I could not leave this place without having expressed my heartiest thanks.





# PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

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## I.—TO THE HEATHEN.

1. LETTER FROM ENGLISH MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

2. REV. J. M. MITCHELL,  
BOMBAY.

3. REV. MR. RUDOLPH,  
FUTIGON, EAST INDIES.

4. MEDICAL MISSIONS.—J. COLDSTREAM, Esq., M.D.,  
EDINBURGH.

5. REV. MR. NAUHAUS,  
SOUTH AFRICA.

6. REV. J. H. BERNAU,  
[ERITH, KENT.

7. REV. PASTOR BERNSEE,  
STETTIN.

## II.—TO THE JEWS.

1. DR. CAPADOSE,  
THE HAGUE.

2. PASTOR REICHARDT,  
LONDON.

3. REV. D. EDWARDS, B.D.  
BRESLAU.



# PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

## I.—MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN.

### 1.—LETTER FROM ENGLISH MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

THE REV. ARTHUR TIDMAN, D.D., Secretary of the London Missionary Society, and the Rev. PETER LATROBE, Secretary of the Moravian Missionary Society, brought to the Assembly the Christian salutations of the principal Missionary Societies in England, and laid before it the following letter, addressed to themselves :—

London, August 21, 1857.

Dear Brethren,—We have heard with much interest that you have been deputed by your respective Societies to attend the Christian Conference to be shortly held in the city of Berlin.

As Secretaries of our respective Missionary Societies, who have been accustomed to meet together for mutual conference and united prayer upon our common object, we cannot permit such an occasion as the present to occur without an expression of our cordial sympathy with you in the prospect of your visit to Berlin, and the assurance of our prayers that you may be enabled to take full advantage of that opportunity to advance our common cause, and to interest the hearts of many of our Continental brethren more warmly in the work of British Missions to the Jews and heathen, both by the information you will be able to convey, and by explanations of the general principles and mode of operation by which our great work is regulated.

We doubt not that you will embrace the interesting occasion to assure our brethren and fellow-labourers, the representatives of all Evangelical Missionary Societies throughout the world, of your sincere and affectionate interest in the varied and extended labours in which they are engaged; and that we devoutly rejoice that the providence of God has opened in various heathen and

anti-Christian countries, inhabited by hundreds of millions of souls, a wide and effectual door for the entrance of the Gospel; that we thank and praise the Divine Head of the Church continually that He has so eminently qualified His missionary servants for the work of translating the sacred Scriptures, and for other labours to which they have been called; and that, in every instance in which devoted evangelists have faithfully honoured the high commission of the Saviour to preach the Gospel to every creature, their ministrations have been accompanied by the grace and power of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of the heathen, the establishment of Christian Churches, and the raising up of a native agency for the further extension of the truth.

We trust that you will assure our friends of many nations of our constant endeavours and prayers that the operations of the different Societies, emanating from various Churches, may all be conducted, at home and abroad, in that *spirit of harmony, Christian sympathy, and mutual love* which is essential to secure the presence of Christ in the work.

As the season of this Conference is marked by great missionary crises in many lands—in China, Turkey, and India, more especially—and by recent discoveries in Africa, we trust that you will be enabled to enlist much prayer in behalf of missions; that political convulsions and geographical discoveries may be overruled to the speedy establishment of the kingdom of Christ throughout the whole earth; and that those who have themselves received the truth in the love of it, throughout the Protestant Church, may be stirred up to greatly enlarged efforts, such as may be in some measure commensurate with the magnitude of the object and the depth of our obligations to the Lord, who bought us with His precious blood.

We trust, also, that you will especially ask for intercessory prayer on behalf of the managing bodies and officers of missionary societies, that they may be endued with wisdom “profitable to direct” them in their great and complicated undertaking. We affectionately commend you to the guidance and blessing of the great Head of the Church, and remain,

Very truly, your brethren in the Lord,

HENRY VENN,	}	Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society.
JOHN CHAPMAN,		



CHARLES JOSEPH GOODHART, Secretary to the  
Society for Promoting Christianity among  
the Jews.

GEORGE OSBORN, } Secretaries to the Wesleyan  
WILLIAM ARTHUR, } Missionary Society.

EDWARD B. UNDERHILL, } Secretaries to the Bap-  
FREDERICK TRESTRAIL, } tist Missionary Soc.

EBENEZER PROUT, Secretary to the London Mis-  
sionary Society.

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2. THE REV. J. MURRAY MITCHELL,

OF BOMBAY,

said he had much pleasure in directing the attention of this Assembly to some most interesting documents that had been sent from India. From Calcutta and Bombay papers had arrived, signed by members of various Evangelical communions, which expressed the warmest sympathy with the great object of this meeting. And although no such document had come from Madras, it would be wrong to think that the principles of the Alliance did not largely prevail there. Here was one cheering proof of their existence, in a letter from the Bishop of Madras to the Rev. Mr. Fenton, of Poona, which had been kindly transmitted by Mr. F. The heads of the Episcopal Church in India, the three Indian Bishops, are quite of one mind in this matter with such men as Dr. Duff, and earnestly pray for the blessing of God to rest on this attempt to unite into greater fulness of sympathy those who love the Lord Jesus Christ. We expected this manifestation. India has long been blessed with the possession of an Evangelical Alliance spirit; and in Western India, in particular, there has been a flourishing branch of the Alliance for nine years past. Men from many different lands, and from many different Protestant communions—Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Methodists, and Baptists—men from England, Scotland, Ireland, the Continent (especially Germany), and from far America—all meet in India, and co-operate with a large-hearted trustfulness and charity. Denominational distinctions exist, but nowhere do these subside more easily into their proper place than among Evangelical Christians in India.

Time does not allow me to detail the mission work in India,

as it was in my heart to do. But one thing must be done—I must press on this great Assembly the necessities of India at this moment. Her necessities, always great, are now overwhelming, awful; yet amid distractions, amid horrors without a name, our Indian brethren sympathise with us, pray for us; shall we deny them our warmest sympathy, our most fervent prayers? The heathen in India have sworn to extinguish the Christian name; let our cry pierce the heavens until God arise and vindicate His own cause!

Shall peace and order speedily revisit distracted India? shall success crown the British arms? We fervently pray for it. Why? Not so much for England's sake, as for India's sake. If Britain withdraw, India must become one wide weltering sea of blood. Therefore do all our missionaries, German and American, no less than British, plead that God would suppress these horrible outbreaks of heathen ferocity, and confirm the sway of Britain.

But when order is restored, what next? We need then an army of missionaries. Hitherto we have been playing at missions; we must henceforth really *work*. Let us proclaim a new and better crusade against heathenism! let us march in holy Evangelical Alliance to conquer India for Christ. Germany has sent admirable men, but we want more, more—a host of men who will tread in the footsteps of such noble evangelists as Ziegenbalg and Schwartz. America has done well; let her do still better. Our country will not be wanting—she will lay to heart the awful lesson which God is teaching; or, if she do not, woe unto her! When we move thus, as a great united host, against Satan's empire abroad, union at home will be easy; and as we have often felt in these meetings that our hearts were one, so all Evangelical Protestants will have one heart. And then draws nigh the fulfilment of the Redeemer's prayer, that His followers might all be one, in order that the world might believe on Him as the sent of God. Yea, then may East and West, severed from each other for ages, and incapable of mutual sympathy or even knowledge, meet at last as brethren, and kneel in brotherly love at the feet of their common Father. God speedily fulfil the blessed hope! Amen.

## 3. REV. MR. RUDOLPH,

MISSIONARY FROM FUTIGON, EAST INDIES.

Honoured Assembly,—Never in my life have I found myself in so great a dilemma as at the present moment. A few minutes are allowed me, and yet I am to represent the religious interests of a country that numbers 200,000,000 of inhabitants; of a land which, in ancient and modern history—both political and natural, as well as in the history of religion—has attained such great importance. You have received the greetings of the brethren from the East Indies, and I will only add one thought to that which has already been said. During the seventeen years that I have been there the Lord has opened doors in many districts. What has the Christian Church done? Where are the crowds of evangelists, who ought to have followed and proclaimed the Gospel? Two or three have been sent to different provinces, just enough to show the heathen that the Christian Church was not in earnest in the conversion of the heathen. How many preachers are there in Germany who never impress upon the congregations this necessity, and to whom, consequently, not a farthing is given for the cause—not even a sigh ascends to heaven for it? It is a reproach to Germany that not even 100,000 dollars are collected for the cause of missions. It ought to be different. I do not raise my voice to accuse, but to beseech that the work should be carried on with upright hearts and in a manner well-pleasing to the Lord. May He grant His blessing!

## 4. MEDICAL MISSIONS.—J. COLDSTREAM, Esq., M.D.,

OF EDINBURGH,

who was obliged to leave Berlin, committed his address to paper, which we communicate as follows:—

The special branch of Christian activity which I here represent, has been called into being by the necessities of the gradually-extending missions to the heathen. Since many missionaries saw themselves compelled, among the people to whom they brought the Gospel, to attempt the cure of the sick according to more rational ideas than those generally acknow-

ledged, and were, at the same time, convinced that they could not do justice to the sick without neglecting their real vocation, they have, from time to time, called upon their friends for assistance, such as can only be given by the educated Christian physician. It is well known to you that, since the reviving of the interest for heathen missions in the Protestant Church, some members of the medical profession have always been found in the ranks of the missionaries. It is now a hundred and twenty years since the Herrnhut brethren sent out two experienced medical men, Hocker and Russer, to the East; and the names of Van der Kemp, Parker, and Livingstone must be familiar to the Church, who were honoured to do so much for the spread of the Gospel. Yet the number of medical missionaries has always been very small, and has remained so, in spite of increasing necessities. To supply this want, the Medical Missionary Society was founded in Edinburgh in the year 1841; the object of which is to spread as much as possible a comprehensive knowledge of the application of medicines, combined with missionary work, and to devote medicine itself to the service of the great Head of the Church. The society consists principally of physicians, in part, however, of preachers of the Divine Word, and others to whom the cause of Heathen Missions is dear. Four professors of the medical faculty, as well as some medical students, are members of the Committee of Administration. By public and private meetings, as well as by the publication of a small quarterly pamphlet, and occasional addresses, the attention of the students, and of medical men generally, is drawn to the fact of the want of practical physicians in the mission field. Some able students are provided with pecuniary aid for their studies for the medical mission. One of these, a Christian Chinese—who spent three years at our university at Edinburgh, and took his degree in 1855—is now in Hongkong labouring in connexion with the London Missionary Society. Our society also sent out Dr. Evans as missionary to Mirzapore, in Northern India, where he remained three years. On account of his marriage he returned to Europe a few months before the rebellion broke out; but is now again with his wife on his way to his station, to stand ready for his work as soon as the hoped-for quiet is restored. One more member, David Paterson, went as medical missionary to Madras a year ago, where he has united himself to the Scotch Free



Church, and his services are most highly prized by the friends there.

I must allow myself to say further, that our Society is ready to work in connexion with every Evangelical Church or Society for the support of medical missionaries; and this gives me the opportunity of remarking that our Society consists of members from different Church communions, who have as yet been permitted to work together in the greatest harmony, and thus, from the spread of the principles of the Evangelical Alliance, to bring to practical demonstration its growing blessings. It is plainly to be seen, that the importance of the co-operation of medical men as an auxiliary to the work of Christian missions will be more and more understood by young people who are on the point of deciding upon their pursuit in life, and of such several have declared that they are ready to devote themselves in connexion with our Society to the service abroad. As circumstances in Edinburgh are especially favourable to the furtherance of the object of the Medical Missionary Society, we may hope that, with God's blessing, it may develop itself more and more, and that a considerable number of faithful and clever men may give themselves to the work, who may prove true fellow-helpers of Christian messengers in all parts of the earth. It will rejoice their hearts and strengthen their hands, when they go forth in the consciousness that the sympathies and prayers of the Evangelical Alliance accompany them. It is a most natural question whether there is not here, in your German country, one town and another in which the necessary connexion of a warm Christian interest in the conversion of the heathen on one hand, and, on the other, well-organised medical schools, may be promoted.

All who give their attention to this subject will at once perceive that the reaction of such a movement must prove itself beneficial in the highest degree. To a certain extent we have already experienced this.

Many medical men who confess themselves to be thankful debtors to the Gospel, and would otherwise have remained strangers to each other, have, by means of this Society, become intimate, thus leading to mutual edification, to a deeper interest in the spiritual interests of the students in general, some of whom have thereby been induced to regard the study of medicine as preparatory to future labours in the mission field, which, under other circumstances, might never have been the case.

## 5. REV. MR. NAUHAUS,

MISSIONARY OF THE UNITED BROTHERS, SOUTH AFRICA.

My Dear Friends,—It makes me really sad that the time is so short. I should like to tell you much, after an experience of thirty-one years in the great field of missions; but it is impossible now to enter into particulars. I will, therefore, say briefly and generally that, with all the crosses which encompass us, the Lord has laid His rich blessing upon our efforts. It is still a Divine truth that “the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to all them that believe.” And this is most distinctly seen when the Gospel is taken among a people who have heard nothing of the Lord and of His glory. I am a living witness of what the Lord does by weak instruments; I have seen miracles of grace among the poor people of the Caffre race, who have accepted the Gospel with joy. Out of these heathen nations, so deeply sunk that we might say they were composed of animal men, we see them become Christ’s lambs, and in their walk and conversation proving their faith in Jesus Christ, and their adoption into the family of God.

## 6. THE REV. J. H. BERNAU,

BELVEDERE, ERITH, KENT.

I have to bring you hearty greetings from South Africa. In the name of the missionaries there, an address has been given to me, which contains hearty wishes for the Assembly of Christians at Berlin. Time does not allow me to go into particulars, or I should like to tell of that which the Lord has done by His weak servant among the heathen. Everything tends to prove that the glorious dawning of that long longed-for day has begun, when there shall be one flock and one Shepherd; already they come from the east and from the west, from the south and the north, to enter into the kingdom of God; and that should rouse us to go afresh to the work. Perhaps our time is but short. The Lord is near, and happy is he who hearkeneth to Him, and when He comes is found ready to enter with Him into the kingdom of His glory. I should have liked to have led your attention to the field in South America, where, twenty years ago, I was privileged to proclaim the Gospel, and the

blessing was granted me to lead about four hundred Indians to the fold of Christ; but time does not allow. Much might be done in Germany for the kingdom of God, if we only had unity, and the love of Christ were richly poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit. For this we should pray, and this Assembly will aid to warm our hearts with love; so that, when we leave this place, we may say to our Churches, "Awake! Thus saith the voice of the watchman out of Zion, Awake, thou city of Jerusalem, and see what the Lord does in our days!" Who can tell how great the blessing we shall bring to our Churches!

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7. PASTOR BERNSEE,

STETTIN.

Dear Evangelical Brethren,—Allow me in a few words to prefer to you a petition to which I am moved both by the promptings of my own spirit and by outward circumstances. Our eyes have been directed just now, by the labourers of the Lord, to different heathen countries, and we feel deeply that it is our sacred Christian duty to pray and to labour for them. But, dear brethren in Christ, let us remember to-day the largest nation of all, that numbers more than four hundred million souls—the Chinese. Compacts are now being made against this people; fleets and armies are on their way thither. Oh! should not this be a call to the soldiers of Jesus Christ to think of a campaign of a different kind? Would that the love of Jesus Christ might awaken His disciples in all Evangelical Christendom to pray for poor China, that the Lord would also rescue this people from the powers of darkness, and bring it into the kingdom of His dear Son, through whom we have redemption by His blood. The enemy against whom we there have to struggle is, we know, one of great power and cunning. The hindrances are great which meet the efforts of the Chinese Mission—certainly greater than we are here able to imagine—and at the present moment China is more strictly closed against us than ever before. Ought this to frighten us from the Chinese Mission? Is not China included in the command, "Go into all the world, and teach all nations?" If Jesus Christ has thus commanded us to go into all the world, He will also go with us; and if He goes with us, He will open to us

doors where a human eye does not even perceive them. Faith in Him removes mountains—the faith which has overcome the world. In this confidence, dear brethren, the Pomeranian Association for China has sent out a missionary pair to that country, in spite of all the hindrances which stared them in the face. They are now staying at Java, and are there preparing themselves among the Chinese for the great work in China itself. Oh, that China might find a place in the Evangelical Alliance! A step has already been taken. The Chinese Missionary Association in Berlin, the Pomeranian Association for the Evangelisation of China, and the Chinese Institution at Cassel, have united themselves into a General Association for China, with the hearty desire that this General Association may extend itself over all Evangelical countries. My petition, therefore, is that you would deign to examine this weak beginning; and the Lord grant, if you approve of it, that you may assist the Association actively. But the chief thing remains—that we should pray for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon this people of darkness, by means of the Gospel light. The Lord grant this in His great mercy!



## II.—MISSIONS TO THE JEWS.

1. DR. CAPADOSE,

THE HAGUE.

*Tuesday, September 15.—Evening.*

President : Rev. J. CAIRNS, Berwick-on-Tweed.

Dr. CAPADOSE said that it was unnecessary for him to enter upon any historical account of missions to the Jews, since the subject had been so fully and ably treated at the Paris Conference by the Rev. J. A. Hausmeister, of Strasburg.\* He should, therefore, restrict himself to a few observations on two points. First, the certainty of the glorious future which awaits Israel ; and secondly, the blessings of which their conversion and national re-establishment will be the source to the world at large. The predictions of Isaiah and other prophets, he remarked, have been literally accomplished in the dispersion of the Jews, and that affords a guarantee that the promise of their restoration will be literally accomplished also. After their conversion they will be an instrument in the Lord's hand for gathering in the harvest of the nations ; then the whole Church will celebrate a grand resurrection festival, a glorious second Easter, and at the same time a second feast of Pentecost.

A grand crisis (the speaker said) is approaching. In the bosom of Israel, as among all other people, an increasing disquietude is observed, and deep sighs continually rise to heaven. The fig-tree puts forth its leaves, and we know that summer is nigh. Let not our eyes be closed to the marvellous signs of the times, but rather let us pray fervently for the ancient people of God, sending among them faithful and zealous missionaries, and God will grant His blessing on our work.

\* See "Religious Condition of Christendom, Part Second," p. 503.—ED.

## 2. BY PASTOR REICHARDT

LONDON.

I am to say a few words about the Jews, and to give a short account of the Christian missions among them. The children of Israel, although scattered abroad over the whole earth, are a very numerous people, about 10,000,000 souls. But, wherever they may be found, they firmly maintain their faith; wherever and however they may be oppressed, they believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and are always opposed to all kinds of idolatry; they believe, moreover, in a promised Messiah.

But it may be asked how it is, since they have lived so long in Christian lands, that they have not come to the knowledge that the Messiah has already appeared? This unbelief is not without its causes. They are inimical to the Gospel, first because they have had to suffer much persecution, and in these persecutions Christians have been the most guilty parties.

It must, further, not be overlooked, that the Israelites are a learned people, and that their principal men lived at a time when Christians were plunged in utter darkness. In the library at Oxford there are more than 2,000 Hebrew works, and among them a number of controversial writings upon Christianity. Among these is a book containing a history of the doctrines and deeds of Jesus Christ, which are most miserably described. This book was formerly the chief source of information on the subject of Christianity that the Jews possessed, and remained so for a long time; for there was no New Testament in the Hebrew tongue. It was not likely that they should be converted to Christianity; they rather learned to abhor it.

Another circumstance which has kept the Jews from reflecting on the authenticity of the New Testament, is found in the strong national sentiment which they cherish; and Christians ought to have guarded this point. I know that many Israelites have been convinced of the truth of Christianity, but, wounded on this point, they would rather remain with their own people and wait for their redemption.

It was only in the last century that the Christian Church began seriously to consider what could be done among the Jews. Then was founded the Kallenberg Institution, in Halle, on the Saal, from which a number of honoured messengers

of the Gospel went forth, particularly Stephen Schluz, who travelled over the three Continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and everywhere sought out the children of Israel. There have been other missions formed in Germany, as in Berlin, Basle, Barmen, and Bremen, as well as in Cologne, where pains have been taken to spread the truth of the Gospel among the people of Israel. But in Scotland and in England this has been done more than anywhere else, principally during the last forty years. The mission has, under the blessing of God, laboured most successfully. Nearly a hundred missionaries have been sent out. They have distributed the Scriptures in the Hebrew and other languages among them. Many of these missionaries were educated by that man of God, Pastor Jähncke. From his institution about 100 messengers of the Gospel have been sent forth, seventeen of them to the Jews. Six of these brethren are here present. There is now no mission in the kingdom of Poland; for thirty-three years the work flourished there, but it was put a stop to at the time of the last war.

But what shall we say of success? As I have been permitted to labour thirty-three long years in England, Germany, Poland, Turkey, and even in Palestine, and as, by the blessing of God, more than 400 Israelites were during that time prepared by me for baptism, I can speak from experience. Many of these baptized Israelities are now preachers, missionaries, and schoolmasters, and some are in other positions of life. Among them are more than 300 Christian preachers to various Protestant congregations; more than sixty in the Anglican Church, and others are missionaries to the heathen or the Jews.

Yet one word in reference to the blessing which rests on this missionary work. This is not limited to individuals, but there is a great change in the entire nation. The examination of the New Testament has begun; a blind belief and reliance on the Talmudical precepts has ceased; and many who have not yet seceded are only kept from doing so by manifold hindrances. Could they express their conviction, they would with one voice acknowledge that they believe that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ.

## 3. R. E. V. D. E D W A R D S, B. D.,

MISSIONARY TO THE JEWS, BRESLAU.

The Evangelical Alliance and the Mission to the Jews stand in nearer relation to each other than might at first sight be apparent. When I first entered on my field of labour at Breslau, it happened that a Jewish merchant to whom I was addressing the claims of the Gospel, started an objection in a way I have never forgotten, from the innumerable sects into which Christianity is broken up, especially in England. The reply—that this, so far from being against Christianity, was a proof of its strength, an argument of the activity of conscience, of men's resolution to admit nothing which offended their convictions—that the distraction was merely seeming—that the differences referred to matters of very inferior moment—and that on proper occasions all the parties, whose names and number so perplexed the observer, might be seen on one platform, in a serried phalanx, witnessing together for the vital truths of the Gospel—made a remarkable impression on the Israelite, and he of himself observed, that it would be advantageous if a statement to this effect were published and made generally known. What the Jew saw to be desirable, but no right opportunity occurred for effecting, He who brings the righteousness of His people to light, and makes judgment as the noon-day, has now brought to pass in the most lively and convincing shape. Now, for the first time, the demonstration is presented to the eyes of Germany and of Europe, that those who consider every particle of revealed truth as weightier than the world, and more powerful than all natural and earthly bonds, know at the same time of a love which can reach over all partitions to embrace every brother whose heart is sound, and of a faith which expects that where any are otherwise minded God will eventually reveal even this unto them.

The missionary feels himself to be a mere pioneer, preparing the way of the Lord—no doubt an honourable office for any man, yet inevitably carried on amidst much discouragement and weakness, till the Lord himself appear in power—till the Lord himself speak. Such a voice of God is the Alliance, a fact from which men cannot turn away their eyes if they would. Even if this cause should go back for a time, this single demon-



stration would be of indestructible value, as evidence of an inherent tendency, of a principle of life in the Gospel, which will infallibly heal all its divisions, and clear the face of Christianity before the world of the thousand deformities which have accrued to it in its dealings with sinful flesh and blood.

The Alliance has a special mission to Israel, as a demonstration that it is the genuine fruit of the Gospel, that all distinction on its domain implies and requires unity. The Jew professes to tremble above all things for the Unity; he fears that the Gospel, with all its undeniable excellences, will still rob Him of this prime jewel in the Divine name. All arguments and verbal professions have not sufficed to satisfy and quiet him; and it is often the way of Divine condescension to convince by facts those who will not listen to testimony. The Alliance is a substantial evidence, emanating from the life of Christianity, that all its distinctions reconvert to unity—the evidence on earth in His people of the fact declared by the Lord himself, “As the Father and I are one,” and the fulfilment of the prayer based upon it, “that they may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.” Verily, all who go forth in faith, in singleness of heart, conscientiously looking to the Star of Bethlehem, listening to that one voice which is appointed to guide into all truth, will be reconducted to the point at which they will find themselves at one with all the upright in the Father and the Son.

This Alliance is a phenomenon which can never have a parallel in Judaism, whether Israelite or Christian. Clear and ample as the apostolic directory upon the subject is, it is still a marvel in the life of the Church, to which the sense of weak and sluggish humanity is suffering itself to be slowly and reluctantly trained, that those who differ in circumstantials should set them in abeyance for the sake of the weighty verities which they have in common. This is an attitude most of all worthy of the kingdom of heaven, which exalts the spirit above the letter, eternal and imperishable truth above the integument of carnal circumstance, in which it is necessarily for a time enclosed. In Judaism (Romish as well as Israelite) we see the converse of this: men combining, irrespective of principle and truth, in the community of rites and forms. We are uttering no calumny; we express not what we know of the Jews, but what the Jews know of themselves. Their revered Mendelsohn

defined Judaism to be a consent, not in articles of faith, but in rites and ceremonies. It is a boast that they don't interfere with each other as to faith, if there be no offence in the practice—that each may think and believe as he likes before God, if he only comply with the order of the community. This goes so far, that it was reckoned quite allowable for the new Christians in Spain, who were Jews at heart, to profess Christianity with the mouth, if they only kept themselves unpolluted as to the requirements of the ceremonial law. In modern treatises it is their outspoken principle, that neither the renunciation of the hope of the Messiah, nor the denial of revelation, nor Pantheism, hinders a man from being a good Jew. In the synagogue, Pantheists and Atheists are suffered to take their place with all the honour of true believers, provided only they do not cut themselves off by an overt act from its fellowship. What a sordid union!—what an odious fallacy!—when men give each other the hand as brethren over the body of truth, thus foully trodden on. What a different attitude—will it not impress some of those who witness it?—when men meet spontaneously and deliberately to embrace around the altar of Divine truth, confessing their infirmities, and magnifying the truth and promise of Jehovah above all!

That the sentence, “Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not,” is at this hour still pressing upon Israel with all its force, is too evident. Not only did they stumble at the stone when it lay before them on earth, but even after it has fallen upon them, and ground them to powder, their obstinacy has not been overcome. Even after God has set David's Son at His right hand, and made Him who drank of the brook in the way to lift up His head, and made His enemies His footstool, and thrones and principalities to bow down before Him, and made Him the head of a new creation, and caused a new world of humanity, and morality, and cultivation to spring up under His sceptre, Israel still defies, and boasts of his defiance. The most recent Christian writer on the history of the Jews expresses his wonder that, after the light of the Gospel was anew kindled in purity at the Reformation, it had not the influence on Israel that might have been expected; adding, that God had a remnant from Israel even in the darkest times, and as yet there has been nothing more even after the Word of Life has been long preached in the

whole world. We might actually be tempted sometimes to think that we are no nearer our end now than the Church was ages ago. We read that immense numbers of Jews in Spain joined the Christian Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—a movement due principally to the writings of Maimonides. We read that 35,000 Jews were converted in the different countries of Europe by the preaching of Vincent Ferrer, a Dominican monk, in the beginning of the fifteenth century. In vain do we seek for a parallel to this in more recent times. We have much reason to believe that many of these were actually brought to Christ, just as we have reason to fear that a great proportion of those baptized in our own times are far from Him. The truth is, however, that the Church in our day occupies a vastly more advantageous position towards Israel than at any former time.

1. The Church with one voice, with a voice that resounds through all its borders, has now owned its duty, and proclaimed its purpose to seek Israel. The Church has vowed to give God no rest till He turn the captivity of Zion, and to give Israel no rest till the awful obstinacy of their enmity be wearied and subdued by the still more awful importunity of Immanuel's love. It is no longer some fervent soul that awakes in amazement to the perception that the once favoured children of the kingdom are outcasts from the love which is able to reconcile the whole world, and make some spasmodic effort, leaving no other trail in history than the impression of the enterprise of truly Christian love. No: the present attitude of the Evangelical Churches has been taken up slowly but inevitably, under the constraining influence of conscience and conviction, as to a warfare to which they have been led up by the Great Captain, from which they dare not flinch. The Church has set about the recovery of Israel, as the awakened soul sets about the work of its salvation, from which he never thinks of desisting, though the mountains should depart and the hills be removed. Individuals in different countries awoke and yielded to the sense of duty; by unwearied testimony they constrained the Churches to which they belonged; the example of one section of the Church compelled the attention of the other, till at last the Church is seen bearing witness to its duty to Israel by prayer meetings or missions through all its bounds. The Church has addressed itself to its task in the right frame, everywhere with confession

of her shortcoming and neglect in the times that are past, and led and guided in her views and expectations by the Word, the light that shineth in the dark place of this world's transactions; so that, in this work, if anywhere, she is "fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." A work so undertaken, a duty so understood, the Church can no more abandon than she can deny her own existence and her aim in the world.

2. A second respect in which the attitude of the Church towards the Jews differs from all former times, is in the express renunciation of all other helps and appliances for conversion but the Word. This is a matter of prime importance. How like a harlot did the Church approach the Jew, with a bribe in the one hand, and deeds of violence and tyranny in the other! The same age that witnessed the conversion of whole synagogues to the Gospel in Spain, cast the foulest stain upon the name of Jesus, by penalties enacted against such as continued in unbelief. Christ still bears the marks of the wounds which He received in the house of those friends. The Jew still nurses himself in indifference by the conceit that Christianity has no other persuasive than the gifts or the weapons of this world. How important that there is now no section of the Gospel Church which would present any temporal motive, were it to gain the corporate nation, that would not raise its voice as one man against any attempt on the part of the most mighty to coerce a Jew to receive the Christian name.

It would have been surprising, indeed, if the Church of the Reformation, after she had anew taken the Word, the perfect Word, for the light of her feet, had given no tokens of an interest in the Jews. Luther himself conceived sanguine expectations of the conversion of the Jews, thought the Gospel should be able to deal with their disease as well as with that of other men, and was disposed to lay the blame of their prolonged unbelief to account of the unworthy treatment to which they had been subjected by popes, bishops, and councils. Had I been treated as the Jews have been, says he in his own way, I would rather have become a swine than a Christian. But he himself was destined to furnish an example how ready men are to weary when success is withheld. When he found the Jews inaccessible to that Gospel which shone in such noon-day splendour before his own soul, he proclaimed them reprobate. "A Jewish heart,"



says he, "is so stick-stone-iron-devil-hard, that there is no possibility of moving it; they are young devils condemned to hell. To convert these devil's children is impossible, although some have taken up such an imagination from the Epistle to the Romans." Finally, he became the advocate of the same stringent and tyrannical measures for which he had reviled his predecessors; he called upon the princes to shut up their synagogues, and restrict them in the common benefits of society. It is a glorious contrast that is thus presented between the weakness and fickleness of the most eminent of the servants, and the unwavering faithfulness of the Lord himself. There is only one to whom the name belongs, "*the* Servant of the Lord,"—only one of whom can be predicated, "He shall not faint nor be discouraged." Luther fainted, and gave up the work among Israel: not so Christ and His Spirit. Ever and anon He re-awakens in His people the sense of duty, and the hope concerning the people in whom more than in all others the Lord is to be glorified. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Dutch synods and the Dutch theologians display a steadfast interest in Israel—no doubt to be traced to the thorough study of the Old Testament, which was then more prosecuted in Holland than elsewhere. This view is confirmed by observing that the next spark of zeal in the same behalf was struck out among the German Pietists, who were eminent for assigning the Old Testament its place as equally with the New the Word of God. The fruit of this zeal was the foundation of the Collenberg Institute at Halle. These, as well as the efforts of individual Moravians, were premature struggles of the Church to reach an aim she knew to be hers—as it would have been on the part of Israel to take possession of the Euphrates before David's day. They were the strivings of noble-hearted individuals, whose views and longings outstripped their time. The conversion of Israel as a people had not yet become a well-defined object in the view of the Church at large.

In the beginning of this century, when the Lord shook heaven and earth, and the sea, and dry land, and brought men to reconsider their state and practice from all sides, some began to think that the day when the Desire of all Nations would manifest himself to Israel was not far distant. One after another those movements began, which rapidly spread, till they have taken an indestructible hold of the mind of the Church. "The London

Society for Propagating Christianity among the Jews," formed in 1808, which originally, like the Bible Society, was an association of all believers, and after some years became exclusively episcopal, has borne the burden and heat of the day. Associations were formed about 1822 in Berlin and Basle. In Scotland, a private association was formed originally at Glasgow, and then, 1839, the Church of Scotland took up the work as a national object, and excited attention by a deputation of four of its most esteemed members, sent out to investigate the state of the Jews in the different countries where they mostly reside. The non-Episcopal Churches of England put their hand to the work in 1843, under the name of the "British Society for the Conversion of the Jews." The same year gave birth to the "Rhineland and Westphalian Society;" and since then, the Society of the non-Established Churches (apart from the Free Church which, in 1843, carried along with it the entire Jewish Mission, committee, stations, and men of the National Church) was formed, under the name of the "Scottish Association for the Conversion of Israel," and sends a number of labourers into the field. In 1839, a society was formed at Bremer-lehe; several in the United States; the Reformed Presbyterians have a missionary of their own to seek Israel. Now, after the lapse of fifty years, what a display have we of the esteem which the Gospel Church has for Israel! There is scarcely a region or city in which the Jews live in considerable numbers where ambassadors for Christ have not appeared with the message, "Be ye reconciled to God." We shall never obtain a right survey of the work as long as we are considering what men, or societies, or the Churches have done: let us see it, as it is the fruit of the travail of the Spirit of Christ. After mighty and unwearied travailings and wrestlings in the Churches to bring them to a sense of their obligations and call, the Spirit of God (for who else has done it?) has planted witnesses for Jesus, heralds to Israel, in every chief city of Europe, when they have not been excluded by the civil power, and occupied every practicable position in Asia and the north of Africa. It cannot be without risings and swellings of heart that we contemplate the indefatigable strivings with the Jews in Russia, and Poland, and Germany, and the Danubian Principalities, and Hungary, and Gallicia, and Turkey, and Egypt, and Tunis, and Algiers, and Arabia, and Persia. We

think, if only sober-minded Israelites would consider the fact, and inquire into the meaning of this urgency of all who are guided by the Gospel of Christ for Israel, they would see something else than a blind, undistinguishing rage for proselytism; they would inquire why more attention has been devoted to their small nation than to all the heathen besides. Can we rate too highly the import of the token when Christ in our day has posted deputies on every eminence, and sent after Israel into every country of their dispersion, entreating them to come in? Even the missionaries to the heathen have shown universally what the heart of Christ is to the Jew, wherever they have met him, whether among the palms of the East Indies, or the sugar plantations of the American islands. Deeper and deeper we may see into the heart of the Christian people, how it is affected towards Israel. It is the least part that they send voices to plead with him—they cry to God for him, and labour for him. Contemplate the English officer a captive in the wild mountains of Affghanistan! What occupation does he find? what call does the Redeemer address to him? To make known a Saviour to wanderers of Israel in these wilds, upon whom He had set His love.

Let it not be supposed that we mean to drown in any pompous display of achievement the general feeling of despondency springing from the paucity of the results. It is no secret that this whole mission is denounced by many as a mere chimera, a sham, in which there is no action and no room for action; that men of note in the Churches stand aloof from it as a department to which they have no call, and where their abilities would be thrown away; that the messenger is often perplexed, and, with the best will to be diligent, knows not to what hand to turn; that men of sanguine minds often write in their reports their expectations rather than their experience, which, not being verified, cast a slur upon the whole cause. It is worth laying to heart, that the curse not only still rests upon Israel, but in a measure upon all who meddle with Israel. He who engages in this work must make up his mind, as strength is vouchsafed, to “fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ” in his body for Israel’s sake. As Christ, to help man, took all their sicknesses and diseases upon himself, so he who in the spirit of Christ seeks Israel must be content to taste of the weakness and dishonour of fallen Israel’s state. Much as

there is to cheer the Church in this whole business, even that is only discernible by the eye of faith, and when contemplated from its spiritual side. The missionary is the most direct object of the enmity of the Jew. It is he who must again and again hear the coarsest revilings, the contempt and scorn of the natural heart with the coarsest utterance, against our blessed Lord and her who bare Him. Upon the missionary recoil all the reproach and offence when the work looks dull and cheerless. Upon the whole, we are called to labour with discouragement ever before us, with rare gleams of favour from on high. Those who have to maintain the interest of the people by a review of what is doing in the field, wade through shoals of letters and reports from the stations, and cast their pens from them, confessing, with a sigh, that the field is barren. We hear of missionaries and teachers retiring from the field, on the ground that there is no access. Voices have been raised, "Cease your fruitless labours; the time is not come for building the temple of Zion;" or, which is exactly equivalent, "There is no use for special missionaries to the Jews—the clergy in Christian countries are sufficient for the purpose." Now all this is exactly as it should be. We are fools and slow of heart to interpret the Scripture, if we think that we, with our associations and missions, are to put the cope-stone on the temple of the Lord. Even when Zerubbabel and his fellows were hard at work to rear the material fabric, the prophet indicated sufficiently that they, with all their diligence, were not to see the end attained by their own labour. They were bound, on pain of unbelief, to toil, and yet to expect the issue from a manifestation of the Lord. "Behold the Man whose name is the Branch; and He shall grow up out of His place, and He shall build the temple of the Lord; even He shall build the temple of the Lord; and He shall bear the glory." Give us only a believing Church realising its task, men that know what Israel ought to do; give us witnesses and labourers at their posts clearing away rubbish, bringing material, and, above all, waiting for the coming of the Lord, and all is as it should be. It is as it should be that Jerusalem be built in troublous times, that standard-bearers faint, that enemies stir and rage within and without the camp. Who does not know that the overthrow of Antichrist and the conversion of Israel, events synchronising with the building of the temple, are works reserved, as the



taking of Rabbah for the presence of David, for the out-putting of the glorious right hand of the Lord? We may not see any great result which the Lord does not effect by His own right hand; and we all know that He comes as a thief. Who could speak of results in the commencement of the year 1517, when Leo was building St. Peter's in the height of his carnal pride, when Erasmus and Reuchlin were busy with the revival of letters, when all the din and dust of reformation had settled on the floor of the halls at Constance, and with it the hopes of those who had longed for purity in the Church? Yet the Lord was at the door: He had already prepared His instrument; in an hour He brought him forth; and when the voice sounded aloud into the wilderness of the nations, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord," the Lord himself was at hand with showers of blessing. It does not seem as if we had less promise of the conversion of Israel at this moment, than there was of the renewal of the Church in the year of the Reformation. Possibly we are on the very eve of that great event, so pregnant with glory, for which the Scriptures still more than the Church travail in birth, as the grand epoch in the counsels of God in behalf of this world. As the night grows darkest, and quietest, and coldest just before the dawn, let all who would be found faithful seek to be on the watch for the breaking of day. Let every servant be found at his post: happy he who is found watching!

It is quite in conformity with this view what has often been remarked, that the most striking conversions among the Jews have been wrought by the Lord himself without the instrumentality of missions. The case of Dr. Cappadon is of this kind, and many others will occur to every one who is acquainted with the field. Mr. Stern reports from his recent journey: "In Persia and Arabia, there are a vast number of Jews who feel the burden of sin, and secretly trust for pardon and salvation in the atoning blood of the Lamb." Again, in the same report: "I have seen vast numbers of Jews, whose faltering voices solemnly declared to me that they believed in Christ." Whatever abatement some may make here, and after we have taken into account the difference between the impressions of the man who pays a cursory visit to a place (to whom, as I have often experienced, as at Adrianople and Ebrailon, the Jews are all cordiality and concession), and the experience of the man who settles down

among them, and calls them to take up the cross and follow Jesus, who will generally find that they were not weary of sin but of oppression, and seeking, the most of them, not a spiritual but a temporal Saviour; still no one can mistake that there is an appearance of the moving of the Spirit of God upon these waters. Conceive to yourselves an Israelite preacher of the reformed type, in the chief town of Wallachia, delivering to his delighted hearers a discourse upon the Rabbinical sentence, "You (Jews) God has called man; the nations of the world He has not called man," as he proves that all the blessings of humanity were derived to the world from the Jew! Behold that man, as he turns from the spot where he had heard the plaudits of the flattered people, arrested by the Spirit, smitten, as once Herod was (but in mercy, not in judgment), by the reflection, "Yet the whole stream of civilisation in the world has been in connexion with the Christian name!" See this man led by the Spirit to his home, the prisoner of besieging and agitating thoughts! First, he takes the map to trace the course of Christianity among the nations; then he takes the New Testament to contemplate the source of Christianity itself. The passage which lays hold of him sets forth Jesus on the eve of His sufferings. The spectacle before him is the awe-inspiring phenomenon, Jesus, with the old world in all its forms hastening in his view to dissolution; Jewish, Greek, and Roman culture all rushing to decay; and he, travailing with the purpose of creating a new and better one out of his own resources. From that moment he has imbibed a permanent veneration for Jesus; he was broken off from Judaism, and renounced his office as its teacher, but it went no further. An attempt to settle himself in the world by marriage, though favourably entertained, failed; the Spirit, that had begun to deal with him, gave him no rest. Onward he was driven, from city to city, without an aim, but ever hearing something to enlarge his knowledge of Christ and His work. At last, in this very city, in the visions of the night on his bed, another dart of the Spirit pierced him, to the effect, that if the new state of things, the new world in Christianity, be seen emanating from Christ, He must be more than man; and he bowed his head and worshipped—in his own words, "the living Son of God was risen for him," and he sought and found acceptance and reconciliation through Him. There are many who say, "There is nothing doing in the Jewish field;"

and who is not tempted sometimes to acquiesce in the complaint? But in truth it is due to a sinful disregard of the Lord's work. It will one day appear that the leadings of Immanuel in bringing back chosen souls from apostate Israel are among the greatest wonders of His tenderness and wisdom, which are to be searched out of the annals of His providence. Every faithful labourer among Israel knows of things of which he hardly trusts himself to speak, partly because of his own unbelief, and partly because of that of others.

Is this way of God's operation without traceable instrumentality peculiar to our day? Not at all. We see here the recurrence of His dealings with Cornelius, the Ethiopian eunuch, Rahab, and others. And it is on all hands agreed that such instances, so far from rendering the agency of the Church superfluous, constitute the call for her most energetic diligence: to work because God works. Nay, while we must strenuously labour to arouse the careless, we shall find that the most satisfactory part of the work assigned us is to cherish the soul that the Lord has awakened in His own way, and guiding it in the way of His steps.

At this moment there is a most natural and legitimate current of zeal set in for the East. Where God has been pointing with the finger of His providence, where such marvels have been witnessed as will make the day in which we live ever memorable—the iron band that held Islam together burst, Turks reading the New Testament, Evangelical Churches starting up on the field so long covered with dry bones—it would argue the utter absence of life in the Church if its breast did not swell with a tide of high expectation and generous enterprise. The more life, however, the more enthusiasm, so much the more need of guarding against carnal elements. The Church must beware of surrendering herself to the youthful and specious theories of one or other of the more forward of her members. She must not haste to be rich, nor be smitten with the desire of having a grand scheme. She must be on her guard against the ruinous influence of such spells as “strong mission,” “centralisation,” &c. Let the Church, above all, beware of compassing herself about with sparks, instead of trusting in the name of the Lord; of trying the dangerous experiment of creating an artificial flame of excitement by the circumstances connected with the establishment of a new mission, instead of seeking the blessing

patiently in the way of faith. But it were surely not the way of faith to shake ourselves clear of the work in which we have been engaged, and when the Lord has shown himself with us, that we may rush impetuously into a new career. The gorgeous and imposing East does not seduce us from our duty to the West. No doubt, when we look in that direction, immense fields, prospects, enterprises, are spread out before us. But the work of the Gospel knows of other principles and another direction than the work of this world. Sometimes the apostles could not go where the natural understanding would have guided them, because the Spirit suffered them not. All merely human theories must here be carefully excluded. As little as we may exalt the claims of the heathen over the Jew in general, just as little may we exalt the Spanish above the German Jews. Or would it be like a Christian Church to conclude that, after so much labour has been expended upon the German Jew without appreciable results, he must be considered hopeless? Or shall we resolve to leave him to the casual charity of the Christians among whom he dwells? Who knows not that this would be the same as leaving him to himself? Let us honestly confess that all these are subterfuges, that the Church feels that the method which she has been till now pursuing has been a failure, and that she wants courage and inclination to change. In the place where we are, nothing can be more suitable than to consider the present aspect of German Judaism; and if it should appear that our present weapons for dealing with them are obsolete, let us think of David—"Also he bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow;" and some one may be stirred up to the task of preparing something more meet for the work. It will not be out of place to remember in this question, that God has chosen the most eminent of His instruments in every age from the disciples of the schools, and that those who are to guide the day of Israel in the East may not improbably be nursed and called in the West.

It is not to be denied that the field in Germany, the more accurately we know it, assumes a more unpromising, difficult, and impracticable aspect. German Judaism has now taken up a well-defined position, very different from that which it occupied when it first, under Mendelsohn and his disciples, quitted the soil of Talmudism. The first generation had no other



thought than to participate of the benefits of Christian civilisation without renouncing the creed and ceremonial of their fathers. Their object was to justify and excuse themselves to their brethren for introducing the literature and science of the Gentiles. In the next generation, however, the weakness of this apology was demonstrated. The Jew, once imbued with Christian ideas, honestly felt that he had nothing in Talmudism. Its rites he could no longer respect, and, apart from its precepts, it was a hideous, soulless nonentity. There was a period of several decennials when it became a question in the minds of most reflecting Jews, whether Christianity was not to supply the lack they felt. Who can think without emotion of the occurrence, when in 1799 "a letter was addressed by certain heads of families of the Jewish faith to the universally respected Teller" (of Berlin), in which they set forth the want of satisfaction and perplexity they feel in Judaism, and solicit from the Christian theologian the counsel which they had sought in vain in their own faith. But that time and that spirit is long past. There is no doubt that the most influential party in Judaism has organised a system, the soul of which is hatred to Christ and His name. We say, advisedly, that no other symbol can be found around which they rally but antipathy to the Gospel. It is no longer the tenet of one God; for they are quite ready to claim Spinoza and his followers as their own. It is not adherence to Rabbinical forms; for the most have renounced these. It is not zeal for nationality; for it is their avowed purpose to sink this point, and to belong heart and soul to the nation among which they dwell. They are determined to be Germans, French, English, in nation, but not Jews; their common descent is only improved as a convenient rallying point. They own that Judaism had crumbled away under their feet; they found themselves without religion; the warm breath of German literature had dissolved the whole system of their fathers into thin air; and, after many fruitless attempts by modern chemistry to put life into the carcase of Talmudism, they flatter themselves with having created a system on which they can nurse their enthusiasm—no doubt as monstrous and incongruous a shape as any of the idols of Hinduism; but it is not the only time that the false prophet has given life to the image of the beast that it should live! To impose upon men, it is not necessary that the lie be consistent, but that it profess to be so.

The Reformed Jews are animated by the same spirit as the heathen of the type of Julian and Symmachus, who, after heathenism had been judged and demolished in the very eye of the world, undertook by dint of bold allegories and fancies to resuscitate it. They have laid a sufficient basis, amounting to nothing more nor less than the assumption, that whatever is, is right for its time; that the justification of each form and phase of belief or practice in Israel is its historic existence. While every nation has a mission of a certain kind, the Jewish nation has committed to it to bear before others the torch of truth. Every passage in their national history is boldly adopted and justified. In the patriarchal period the Hebrews gave to the world the sacred institution and pattern of family life. Under Moses they took their permanent form as a nation, and were trained under the prophets to contemplate their calling as the representatives of true humanity. One of the most extraordinary positions is that by which the Pharisee is set up as the advocate of progress. The Pharisee, who would not suffer a cure to be performed on the Sabbath, and bound every precept of the oral law about the neck of the people with tyrannical rigidity, is, by a strange perversion (only too awful to be comical), exalted as the defender of a living tradition, of a free interpretation in the spirit, in opposition to the Sadducean servility to the written letter. With the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus came the happy hour that sent the Jewish nation abroad on their high commission to benefit the earth (every suggestion that this is to be regarded as the punishment of sin, as a Divine judgment, the modern Jew repels with scorn): only as Christianity, in its juvenile vigour, proved too mighty an antagonist, they laid themselves to sleep in the forms of the Talmud, like the chrysalis in its shroud, for the period of 2,000 years. The Talmudical system is to be venerated as the conservation of the people, although they may now lay it aside when they have awoke in our day to bless the earth with the treasures still reserved in the womb of the Jewish nation, of which they were themselves till now unconscious. Such a monstrous concoction of lies and hypocrisy is it which the most influential, because the only stirring party, among the Jews has adopted. In this city they boast of a compact body of 2,000 trained in these principles, of whom for eleven years no individual has embraced Christianity. We say hypocrisy; for it is

the well-calculated scheme of men bent on fanaticising the people against the Christian name, so constructed as to offend none, to drive none with violence from their ranks. If the question be started, What is Judaism? their answer is, It is difficult to define! It is not doctrine, it is not even ceremonial in the view of this party, nor circumcision itself. In short, any one is a Jew who is conscious to himself that he is so. They are resolved to hear nothing of a Messiah or of a national restoration—they are bent on settling in the midst of the professing Churches as an organised opposition to the truths of the Gospel. While denying all proper revelation and all miracles, they magnify Moses as the first of men, whom they must at the same time in heart regard as a prime liar and impostor. The Pharisees, who made men puppets, and prescribed every turn of the natural as well as of the religious life, are made to be the champions of liberty of conscience; and the Rabbis of the Middle Ages, who had no other conception than that God wore phylacteries and studied in the Talmud in heaven, and who, with the best conscience, would have strangled our modern Reformers with their own girdles within the walls of the synagogue, are held up to veneration as the conservators of Judaism. Who does not dread the result, if once the impetuous, highly-gifted, incomparably enterprising Jewish mind have fully surrendered itself to the service of such a lie? And is it not to be feared? Is it not evident that the authors and advocates of this scheme, while professing to renounce their national distinction, are flattering in the most gorgeous manner the pride of the Jewish heart? Every passage, even the most inglorious, of their national history, is encircled with a halo. Far from taking the shame of apostasy which the prophets charge upon them by the Word from heaven, they give their people the honour of having brought forth and preserved this Word for the benefit of the world. Plain as it is, and so often asserted in Scripture, that the Jew was plastic as wax to take on all the vices of surrounding nations, and only stubborn against the Most High, Bernays tells his people that the term “stiffnecked” is a testimony to the hereditary firmness and steadiness of the national character. Men who proclaim their satisfaction in the insults which Voltaire and Rousseau heaped on the head of the Nazarene, are prosecuting their purpose unscrupulously, in defiance of every

obstacle and objection, to imbue their people with a hatred to Christ; and the current of the age is favourable to their undertaking. Shall we look further still, and see those who already boast how many Christians make light of Christ, gather under their banner the apostate masses of Europe? And with this before our eyes, shall we retire from the scene, and carelessly deliver over the rising generation in Israel to be the victims and the ministers of this hideous plot? Bad as the case is, the missionary, and only he, can testify that there are everywhere desolate and dejected souls to be met with, who are rather kept back by ignorance than by enmity from the way of Jehovah. Why should we doubt that a glorious remnant at least would be granted us, if suitable weapons were forged for this service? Where are the Origenes and Tertullians of our time? Would it not be as meritorious to take the field against those who are leading Israel's sons and daughters (for the latter most of all are carried away by these delusions) captive by lies, as it was of old, to break the spells by which heathen rhetoricians and astrologers held the world in chains? Will the men of might among the servants of Christ continue to think this work beneath their dignity?

Love to the people requires us to proceed against their oppressors. Just as our Lord himself, who discovered such grace to the chief of sinners, unsparingly exposed the dishonesty of the priests and rulers, so must all who will help Israel resolve to engage in determined controversy with the Rabbis and literati. These men have been nursed at the breasts of Christian civilisation, and have turned all their abilities to keep their people at a distance from the source of salvation. If it be true that heathenism fell mainly before the influence of Christian love and holiness in the lives of professors, yet it was not without the sword of truth in the hand of the Christian apologists.

"Ye are my witnesses," is the honourable mark which Jehovah has set upon the brow of Israel. Of what are they witnesses? For the unity of the Divine nature, is the reply studiously put forth by the modern Jew, and superficially vended in newspapers. When or where was this dogma, or any other, made the subject-matter of Israel's testimony? It is a very different thing that they are witnesses of the revelation which Jehovah has given of His own great name. The Jew is a



witness that Jehovah is faithful in His covenant and engagements, and the Author of promises yet to be fulfilled. But they are also appointed by the Most High to serve as unconscious witnesses to the world of many things more in His economy. They have been witnesses for 1,800 years, in the eye of the world, of vengeance pursuing those who rejected Jehovah when He spoke first by the prophets, and then by the Anointed Word. They are irrefragable witnesses of the Divine origin of the Word by Moses, that they should be a curse and by-word among all nations under heaven. They are standing witnesses of the desperate wickedness of the human heart, that no severity any more than goodness can change it or work its repentance, in that, while they carry about and own as divine the book that specifies their guilt, and which individual voices have been ever and anon called forth from their own bosom to testify to them, they have never turned generally and said, "In this matter we have sinned." They are witnesses of the awful manner in which proud men may defy the Lord of all, in daring to interpret the curse of Jehovah as a blessing; and instead of reading, as everywhere admonished, their dispersion from Palestine as a call to search for a reason of God's striving with them, boasting of this judgment as a commission to propagate the principle of their rebellion in the world, to agitate against the Lord and His Anointed. But they are still witnesses—they are still a nation! Has God done with them? Is He about to let them drop undistinguished, after being kept so wonderfully in the eye of the earth—the people terrible from their beginning hitherto—into the mass of the nations? Such a result is neither consistent with the enunciations of the Divine Word, nor (with reverence spoken!) does it look like the wonted way of the Divine economy. They must still be witnesses of the inexhaustible force of the love of Christ working in His members, pursuing His adversaries, and heaping coals of fire upon their heads. As Christ's personal work was the great manifestation of the love of God to man, so the work of the Church, in seeking and regaining stiffnecked Israel, is to be the grand revelation of the love and patience of Christ in His members. As Paul was a witness, who was once a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious, when he received mercy for this cause, that Jesus Christ should show forth all long-suffering for a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on Him; so Israel, when their captivity is

turned, and they are restored as a nation upon the height of Zion, will be a witness of the power of Christ's love, to subdue *all things* to himself. When we pray, "Thy kingdom come," let us think of our obligation to help forward the conversion of this people. We have no hesitation in declaring it to be our growing persuasion, that the most effectual step to the conversion of the nation would be taken by organising and giving a position to those among them who are obedient to the faith. Then we should no longer approach the Jew with the abstract proposition that Christianity is the truth of Moses and the prophets. We should point with much advantage to congregations of his own people worshipping in the name of Jesus. Why should there not be *Protestant Jewish* as well as Protestant Armenian congregations? Then we may hope that the house of David will grow stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul weaker and weaker. Notwithstanding the complaints of the barrenness of the Jewish field, there are already goodly thousands bearing the reproach of the Nazarene. If the converts are, in many instances, feeble in the faith and carnal, yet not more so, certainly, than the generation that came forth from Egypt. Some are known to the Churches as mighty in faith and deed: a goodly number are certainly working out their salvation with fear and trembling: and another generation will rise up in their places, a noble host like that which entered Canaan under Joshua, following the Lord with their whole hearts.

We are aware that the warning will meet us in the teeth against adding fuel to the flame of pride and self-conceit which slumbers in every Jewish heart; and we are free to confess that the Jew has probably more to contend with in the prejudices, habits of thought and disposition, which have become a second nature during 1,800 years' defiance of the Lord, than the heathen when the Gospel first appealed to them. When we have had some experience of the seven-fold intricacy of the toils of Satan in which the Jew is held, we learn to see every true conversion as a greater marvel. But we must trust the work of delivering the Jew from his pride and conceit to the Spirit of God, and school ourselves to the work of being, and showing ourselves to be, cordially his friends. Some are ever harping upon the danger arising from ministering to the pride of the Jew, when the warning of Scripture would lead us to beware for ourselves. It is to the Gentile, and not to the Jew, that the word is

addressed, "Be not high-minded, but fear." We are persuaded that the Gentile Church is now especially put on its trial as to its behaviour towards Israel. The Jew was put upon his trial towards us, and failed. The crowning sin and condemnation of the elder brother was envy and bad feeling towards the younger: therefore he would not go in to the feast prepared in the Father's house. It was jealousy of the heathen, and resistance to God's purpose in their favour, that precipitated Israel's ruin. "When they saw the multitudes they were filled with envy." The Gentiles have a clear intimation that their trial shall come in like kind: "Thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear." Is there really no danger of the Gentiles stumbling and falling by opposing God in His purposes with restored Israel? Oh, the lofty scorn! oh, the supercilious indignation of some Christian professors and ministers at the suggestion that they are to learn anything from the Jew! What though some have been extravagant on this point, and suffer their imagination to go unscriptural lengths? We do not expect a new Gospel, a new revelation, a new word for Israel. But we soberly expect that as the Reformation elicited the truth of Scripture more fully and largely than had been granted to any former age, so the conversion of Israel, God's own act in bringing back the seed of Abraham his friend—the arrival of the moment for which the Spirit of God has been travailing from of old, when He says, "I have surely heard Ephraim bemoaning himself, . . . Turn thou me, and I shall be turned"—will shed floods of light upon that which was dark and perplexing.

It seems highly probable that converted Israel is to be the main instrument in helping us to the goal which the Evangelical Alliance proposes to itself, of realising before the world the essential unity in which all genuine followers of the Lamb are actually embraced. The feeder of division in the one Church is, confessedly, not the indistinctness of Divine truth, not even those sinful human tempers and infirmities which prevent men from looking upon this truth with full and steady gaze; there is another element in the set and adjustment which men and parties have obtained to each other which is, no doubt, the fruit of these sinful tempers, and which no human effort can overcome. This is the great mountain which before Zerubbabel must become a plain. There may be some men—there are some

—who think that the very cast which things have taken among themselves shall endure for ever. They have seen the plough of Divine Providence again and again overturn, in the course of history, all the institutions of which men most boasted, to make way for others more suited to the day ; but they cannot suppose that the tree under whose shadow their fathers have sat may be touched, topped, or even pruned. Very many, however, have come so far as to admit that they themselves, as well as their neighbours, may be short-sighted, may be cherishing what may prove eventually inexpedient for the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. We on the other side of the North Sea observe much in this land (Germany) which might be altered for the better ; and although we see nothing in our own practice which we desire changed, yet we are not so confident about the whole of it as of the truth that Jesus is the Saviour of mankind. This present Assembly is a grand demonstration that modest, and liberal, and humble thoughts concerning themselves and others, have widely imbued the minds of men. This Alliance is a sensible manifestation of a deep and mighty longing in the hearts of all who love the Lord to get nearer to each other, and to have His name cleared of one of the foulest blots with which the sins of time have aspersed it. When, oh ! when shall it be brought about, that a Christian, wherever he come, will be able, without offence to his sense of truth and his zeal for righteousness, without risings of heart in behalf of truths neglected and trodden on, to join with his whole heart and soul in the fellowship of all who are called by the one blessed name ? Who sees any probable period to the wars, and jarrings, and controversies, among Christians ? Who sees any approximation to agreement ? Who sees the cloud, were it but as a man's hand, of which it might be hoped that it would enlarge and swell, and burst upon the parched soil of Israel ? Many minds, on all sides, in all lands, are mourning over divisions ; the mass is prepared, and all is in solution ; but where is the crystal, prepared of Him "*who hastens it in His time,*" that is to precipitate the whole, and give us a compact and glorious unity ? Converted Israel, taken as a whole, will have the singular advantage that even we may see to be adequate to make the last first. Disencumbered of the prepossessions which all others have inevitably imbibed along with the Gospel, free from the necessity of accommodating themselves to already existing conditions, they will draw from



the pure deep of truth : unswayed by any ground-plan already existing, they will lay anew the simple glorious foundation of a spiritual temple, which will draw the eyes of all nations and tribes to Mount Zion, and evidence itself as that which came down from heaven.

In fine, we shall never get rid of the words of the Apostle, as inculcating a peculiar obligation and peculiar attention due to the Jew, "Of whom are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came," &c. It is vain to say, "The Christian Church is Israel." The proposition is undeniable; but that Israel which is the Christian Church was already set up in all its reality when Paul wrote to the Romans; and he still speaks of the literal Israel according to the flesh as entitled to special consideration, "for the fathers' sakes." The Christian Church is Israel; that title is hers in the amplest sense, which we dare not suffer to be touched or diverted from her: we are all Israel, as truly as Ruth or Rahab, and their descendants, were so. We are Israel the trunk; but that does not hinder that the converted Jews may yet become a noble, it may be the noblest, bough upon this stock. Some forget that the Holy Spirit by Paul owns their title, even after they rejected Christ, to be specially regarded, "for the fathers' sakes." It is not in one place of Scripture that God engages to remember, for their benefit, His relation to the fathers, not so as to tolerate them in sin, but to recover them from it. When the nations of Europe lately, with one consent, set Greece free from the Turkish yoke, and made it an independent kingdom, what moved them to the step but the memory of the illustrious ancestors from whom they derive? And shall not God do as much for the children of those who witnessed for Him when all the world was in league with the prince of darkness? If it is the pleasure of God that we regard the Jews with special affection, will He not himself do so, and will He not do it in the view of the world? Shall not converted Israel still celebrate the sacrament of Divine faithfulness before the eyes of the nations on Mount Zion?

Who was it wept over Jerusalem? Who was it said, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled?" but surely after that, no more. Let those who have no ear for Hosea (ch. iii.), "Thou shalt not be for another man, *so will I also be for thee.*" "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a

prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim. Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days:" nor for Isaiah (ch. xi.), "There shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the *peoples*; to it shall the Gentiles seek; and his rest shall be glorious. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people which shall be left" (where the Gentiles come first, and the second stretching out of the hand is to recover Israel's remnant): listen to the words of the Lord and His apostles. Luther, to support his own views, has seen it necessary to mistranslate the passage (Rom. xi. 15), "What shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?"

It would be a step in faith, but we believe a step attended with blessing, a step of progress towards the great end of the Alliance, if it took up the cause of Israel energetically. Might we not look for a happy result from an address sent forth to the sons and daughters of Israel from this Assembly of consenting brethren? It would certainly command their attention. Would that some of the men of might in the Scriptures would cast themselves, heart, and soul, and strength, into the service of seeking the brethren of that Paul who sought us with untiring love, and nursed the Gentile congregations as a nurse doth her children! Would that men would a little enlarge their sphere of sympathy, and come to consider it to be fully as important how Israel stands to Christ as how the different controversies among ourselves are conducted and faring, or how the interests of the different Gentile Churches are affected! Would that the Evangelical Alliance would apply to itself and its peculiar work the promise irrevocably given to Abraham, "I will bless them that bless thee." The word has been already fulfilled, but not exhausted—it will be fulfilled of Israel in especial—"As for thee also, by the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water!" The word has been already fulfilled, but it expects a more glorious exhibition of its fulness: "When I have bent Judah for me, and filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and made thee as the sword of a mighty man. And

the Lord shall be seen over them, and his arrow shall go forth as the lightning; and the Lord God shall blow the trumpet, and shall go with whirlwinds of the south. . . . And they shall drink and make a noise as through wine; and they shall be filled like bowls, and as the corners of the altar. And the Lord their God shall save them in that day as the flock of his people; for they shall be as the stones of a crown lifted up as an ensign upon his land." Then shall the Lord rest in His love; then shall the Church have rest under the wings of Immanuel. "For how great is his goodness, and how great is his beauty! Corn shall make the young men cheerful, and new wine the maids." Then shall His people, with more than Pentecostal peace and joy, break bread and drink wine in the kingdom of heaven.





# REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

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## FAREWELL ADDRESSES.

1. THE VERY REV. HENRY ALFORD, B.D.,

DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

2. REV. W. PATTON, D.D.,

NEW YORK.

3. REV. G. FISCH,

PARIS.

. REV. F. W. KRUMMACHER, D.D.,

POTSDAM.

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## THE LORD'S SUPPER.



## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

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THE Committee appointed at the first meeting of the Conference presented a report, which, however, referred to a part only of their proceedings. It was deemed prudent by the brethren in Berlin who took the principal management of the Conference, that no mention should be made in public of much that had been done by the Committee, nor can a full account be rendered here. They held meetings every day in the small Church of the Holy Ghost; but as their business was conducted in English, the meetings were not attended by many of the German brethren. With two exceptions only, can their transactions be spoken of as the transactions of the Conference, since they received no sanction from it, nor, indeed, were reported to it.

The two exceptions referred to consisted of two letters—the first addressed to the Vaudois and the Free Churches of Piedmont, exhorting them to peace and mutual Christian forbearance. The other was addressed to such Christians, in all parts of the world, as, living in remote places and in an isolated condition, are deprived of the public means of grace and the regular participation of Divine ordinances. It is expressed in the following terms:—

“The Christians from Germany, Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Spain, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, and other countries assembled for conference in the city of Berlin, in the month of September, 1857,

“To their brethren in Jesus Christ, who are scattered abroad in various parts of the globe, send affectionate salutation.

“Brethren, beloved in the Lord. While enjoying the happiness of united worship and of communication on the affairs of the kingdom of our common Lord, our hearts have been directed

in tender regard to you, who, in lands of darkness, have been visited with the 'Day-spring from on high.' (Luke i. 78.)

"With you who are restrained from the utterance of your religious convictions, we deeply sympathise, and we offer our fervent prayer that there may be granted to you, speedily, times of freedom and enlargement. We would urge you, meanwhile, to 'hold fast the beginning of your confidence steadfast unto the end' (Heb. x. 35), and to persevere in a watchful, charitable, and holy life, such as 'your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist.' (Luke xxi. 15.)

"Those of you who are under no such restrictions, but who are yet isolated and imperfectly known to each other, we would earnestly recommend not to neglect 'the assembling of yourselves together' (Heb. v. 25), but to meet for Christian fellowship and worship every Lord's-day, or, when that is impracticable, at the most frequent possible intervals, encouraged by that promise of our Lord, 'Wheresoever two or three are met together in ( $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) my name, there am I in the midst of them.' (Matt. xviii. 20.) Where it is possible to open communication with Evangelical congregations, either near or distant, it will be most desirable to do so; where it is not, the most blessed results may nevertheless be anticipated from gathering together simply to 'search the Scriptures,' which 'are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith that is in Jesus Christ.' (2 Tim. iii. 15.)

"We, though attached in our several countries to various forms of Church government, and holding divers opinions in harmony with our common love to God, have found it so good to 'dwell together in unity,' that we have the greater confidence in offering to you this counsel. We entreat you to receive it as a proof of our affection, and of our readiness to obtain from you any communication which you may desire to make to us, as well as an assurance of our earnest prayers for your prosperity and final acceptance 'at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.'" (2 Cor. v. 9, 10.)

Of the other matters which engaged the attention of the Committee, it is only necessary now to mention the following. The most important was the preparation and adoption of a memorial to the Emperor of Russia, praying for the free circulation of the Bible in that empire. The Committee were the more induced to press forward this business, as the Emperor



was at the time in Berlin, and the hope was entertained that, possibly, an opportunity might be obtained of presenting the memorial in a personal interview. This, however, was found impracticable; but some of the Committee followed the Emperor to a military review, and deposited the document in the hands of an aide-de-camp of his Majesty, by whom they saw it placed in his Majesty's carriage.

The Committee directed its attention also to reports, principally oral, of the intolerance still practised in some Protestant countries; and adopted such resolutions and other measures as they seemed to call for. It was particularly engaged at different meetings, with the complaints brought to it from the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and an opportunity was afforded, both to German and Danish brethren, to state the case from both sides. And finally, it appointed a deputation, consisting of the Rev. Dr. Steane and the Rev. Hermann Schmettau, to visit the Protestant Churches in Carniola and Carinthia, and carry to them assurances of Christian sympathy under their trials.

# FAREWELL ADDRESSES.\*

[THE KING AND QUEEN BEING PRESENT.]

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1. THE VERY REV. HENRY ALFORD, B.D.,

DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST,—It has fallen to my lot on this delightful occasion to express the sentiments of my countrymen, and especially their thanks to his Majesty the King, who has given his protection and support to this Assembly, and has also honoured it with his presence. Added to this, the brethren in Berlin have shown us so much kindness that it will long be remembered by us. But these thanks are presented not only in the name of those who are here present, but of many thousands in England who are waiting eagerly for the news of our proceedings.

May Christian love strike deep root into all hearts! May we everywhere come together with more Christian and more brotherly feelings, so that the blessing of the Lord may be upon us! Amen.

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2. REV. DR. PATTON,

NEW YORK.

Dear Brethren,—Listen to me but for two minutes. America is strong, powerful, united, ready to every good work, and devoted to the cause of Christ. When next you have such an Assembly, give us timely warning, and we will come to you, forty, fifty, even 200 men strong. We will then take pains to learn German, if you have not first learned English.

\* It was arranged that three addresses only should be delivered before Dr. Krummacher's—one by the English, one by the American, and one by the French.—ED.

Now, allow me, in the name of my American brethren who have come so far across the ocean, to say we thank you. I thank you in the name of very many who are not here present, but whose hearts beat for this Assembly, although a wide ocean rolls between them and us. And now let me thank you for the friendly reception you have given us. Let me express the warmest thanks to your highly honoured King for all the attention he has shown us in his country. Though we are Republicans, we have still a heart that knows how to honour a King who loves the Lord Jesus. If America should ever have such an Alliance Assembly, I hope all Germany will come, for America is large enough, and the hearts of the Americans wide enough, for you all to find room. Amen.

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### 3. PASTOR FISCH,

PARIS.

Honoured Assembly,—I will only say a few words to tell you of the deep feelings that move me at these moments of separation. The deeper the feeling and the more the certainty of its being reciprocated, the fewer are the words necessary. I come now in the name of my French brethren, though not in our beloved French language, to express our gratitude first of all to God who has permitted us to hold these glorious assemblies in this city. With overflowing hearts, dear brethren, we leave Berlin, and it will be long ere all the feelings that arise within us will have poured themselves forth in rich blessings upon France. But we also thank our dear brethren in Berlin, we thank his Majesty the King of this country, for all the kindness we have received. May the Lord pour out the blessing which we have received from these assemblies, upon this city, upon the head of the King of this country and his entire family, upon the country itself, to the very least of its inhabitants! May the Lord who reads, understands, and accepts so many a silent prayer in the hearts of those present, may He remember these feeble words, and grant us more than we ask or understand. Amen.

## 4. REV. DR. KRUMMACHER,

POTSDAM.

Respected Friends and Brethren,—Our proceedings have ended—the delightful days that we looked forward to with such expectation are past. Scarcely have we bidden our friends welcome, ere the farewells must be spoken. While we bade you welcome hopefully, there was still many a secret anxiety ; we now say farewell with sad emotions, and yet a joyful feeling of gratitude to God preponderates in our hearts. Has anything really been done during these days ? I answer confidently, Yes, and that which has been effected will be followed by consequences. In conclusion, therefore, let us take a brief retrospective glance at the one, and then a prospective view of the other. May the Spirit that has reigned among us also inspire us now, and sanctify the last hour of personal communion with each other, making it indeed a truly sacred hour !

What has been done during the days that we have been together ? Let us attain to a thorough consciousness of this, that the fire of praise on the altar of our hearts may glow afresh. A new sign, full of promise, has risen upon the sky of our Church, and that sign is—this Assembly ; and, if I view it correctly, it presents five different aspects.

*First* of all, I view it under the pure and glorious splendour of the communion of spirits and hearts, resembling that of primitive Jerusalem Christianity. Notwithstanding all the diversity of confessional and ecclesiastical types and impressions, there has been found in it a positive representation of the truth such as has never been seen on German soil before, in the unity effected by the Holy Spirit of all those who have imprinted the Magdalen's kiss on the foot of Jesus, or who, like Peter, have thrown themselves into His arms, exclaiming—“ Lord, to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life.” Our communion was—I appeal to the innermost consciousness of all present—no dissimulation, but true ; not an artificial, but a natural growth ; not embarrassed with all sorts of reservations, but free and unprejudiced ; not making silence a condition, but unconditional, and requiring neither reserve nor limitation. We were not obliged, as is necessary in many other Assemblies, to walk with fearful and timid steps, as if we were



treading on eggs. We trod firmly and naturally, being impressed with the feeling that our union rested upon a good and strong foundation. Nor was it necessary that we should take care to guard the sparks of our words lest, ere we were aware, some mine should explode under our very feet. We let them fly as they pleased, and had no idea or suspicion that there could be either mines or powder-magazines concealed amongst us. We gave ourselves to each other as we were, and laid our opinions and feelings bare before all men. But thus laid bare, we discovered everywhere the sacred sign of the Cross, and the Name that is above every name; and this signature was sufficient to establish and secure our brotherhood. Representatives of so many nations, of such diverse Church systems, and yet, at the first mere greeting, all truly of one heart and one mind in Christ Jesus. Has not this been the case, dear friends? This Assembly is, therefore, a consoling picture. Bright beams it shoots across the dusky clouds of the sky of our German Church—precious sign that Christ has not as yet exchanged His character as the Prince of Peace for any other! The Assembly stands henceforth as a witness of the possibility of healing the divisions that exist at the present time in the Church of God—as a precursor of the union which God desires among all believers, and as a solemn judge against all those who are striving to divide asunder that which God has joined! Behold this, the first signification of the Assembly, and the first thing that has been effected by us during these days.

In the *second* picture that unfolds itself before me, I behold this September Assembly ornamented as with a wreath of honour. It has gained a victory, a glorious victory, over itself. “He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city;” and, I add, testifies thereby that the Spirit from above is in him, and has conquered and bound the carnal spirit. It is difficult for the flesh not to rebel when it has been subjected to injuries such as we have had to suffer. Yet I have not heard one bitter word against our Christian opponents. Lamentations, indeed, I have heard at the ill-will of brethren, and that some of them should go so far as to wish that we with our cause might utterly fail. But none of these lamentations had any of the gall of bitterness in them, but rather breathed of pain and deep regret. I can even vouch for it, that if any of the hostile party, especially its leaders, had met with us during the days of our meet-

ing together, we should have given them the hand of fellowship, and should have asked them why they could be angry with us? Every one will have felt this, even if he has only been among us once; and thus passing through, has breathed something of the spirit that pervaded and animated our Assembly. Praise be to God the Lord, who has made the love that dwelleth in us to triumph over hatred! Praise be to Him, who has appointed our Assembly to shame the evil opinion, that the love which He has poured out into our hearts possessed no greater nobleness than mere natural love, which waits for reciprocal love before it can burn brightly, and blesses only so long as it is not itself cursed! On the other side, there have certainly been some discords heard. We regret them deeply, and nobody regrets them more than the excellent men from whom they have proceeded. In their name, and in the name of this entire Assembly, I may say, We honour and love the man\* who has published the best hymn and prayer-book that we know; we honour and love him who is the founder of the hospital for German patients in London; we honour and love him who is the cheerful, self-sacrificing coadjutor in all undertakings for the interests of the kingdom of God; we honour and love the man who has done so much to encircle the Prussian name with that splendour which adorns it in the eyes of all intelligent and impartial Britons!

What has been done? I hear again demanded. That which is both consoling and exalting, dear brethren! The Assembly shows itself to me, in the *third* picture, as a crowd of labourers building up the walls of Jerusalem, and, as such, justifies us in the most joyful hopes for the future of the Church. Look, how varied, fresh, and joyous a throng! The aged, with silvery hair, but renewing their youth in their enthusiasm at the coming of the kingdom of heaven. Younger men, who, having overcome Satan, now follow the banner of Christ with eager hearts. Among them, rising theologians, the standard-bearers of the future, scarce consecrated to the sacred office, but already completely equipped with the armour of the Spirit; not altogether healed of the evils of the time in which the hour of their birth fell, yet cared for well and faithfully by the great Head of the Church, and, led by no human counsel, helping on the great

\* In allusion to Chevalier, now Baron von Bunsen.--ED.

work and ensuring a blessed future. At their side, the bearers of theological science, scholars of the highest rank, but no longer, as formerly, looking down, with grand reserve, from their proud height, upon the province of practical activity in Church matters, but now joining us even with plummet and trowel, and aiding in the building of the walls of Zion, in the sweat of their brow. Then clergymen, in considerable numbers, all afresh and deeply penetrated with the grandeur of their vocation as well as with the importance of God's demands upon them at this time; messengers from Africa, Asia, Australia—men who have not held their lives dear for the sake of Christ and of His honour; Noah's doves, with the olive branch of the glad tidings in their mouths, that the waters of the deluge are everywhere ceasing upon the earth; members of the Churches in great multitudes—the so-called laity—thoroughly capable of exercising the functions of their office as members of the universal priesthood. And all these, fully conscious of the evils of the time, armed and fraternised as a phalanx against the anti-christian powers that distract the world; all, being bathed in the fountain of the Gospel and imbued with the spirit of the Reformation, sound in faith and glad in hope; all being persuaded of the progressive efficacy of the Holy Ghost in the world, without anxiety as to the final triumph of the Church; all being certain that the Lord will create a "new thing" in the land, more full of holy expectation, and looking forward for that which is to come, than backward, like antiquaries and collectors of relics; and all full of good-will to the builder of the spiritual city of God, ready to aid Him as stone and mortar-carriers. Almost every one of these old and young brethren, from far and near, assure us that there are crowds left behind for whom he is deputed to speak! I say, is not such an Assembly a friendly morning star dawning through the beclouded firmament of the Church? and can it fail, on separating, to diffuse far and near the impression of spiritual excitement, awakening, and encouragement?

The Assembly rises before me in a *fourth* form. I see her—what shall I say?—as a holy council? Oh, no! although in a wider Protestant sense it might be so termed; but she will willingly forego the honour of this name. With official title derived from no ordination of an ecclesiastical government, with no legislative authority, have we here met together. That

which has brought us from all countries of the earth, was that mysterious wind, of which the Lord says: "It bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth." We could only show the mandates of our hearts. Letters of legitimation, signed and sealed by the queen of the passions, the love of Christ and of the brethren, gave us place and voice in these halls. And yet a testimony has gone forth from hence which, in the world of Protestant Christianity, will find a more powerful and efficacious echo than many a highly-sounding brief has found, in spite of its curial stamps and its dictatorial grandeur—a testimony from many countries and Churches unanimously renewed, borne by strong arguments and warm enthusiasm for the Reformation foundation of the Protestant Church; the infallibility, sufficiency, and sovereignty of the Word of God; for the justification of the sinner only through faith in Christ, not by the merit of works, but by free grace—a testimony to the universal priesthood, not as an arbitrary dignity, but as a service of humble love for the Church; and at the same time a testimony against everything which, in the exposition of the Scriptures, threatens to limit the free efficacy of the Holy Ghost, to narrow the immediate and personal relation of the believer to his Lord and Master, and instead of an organic, living, progressive development and movement of the Church, again attempts to substitute an external ecclesiastical mechanism. This testimony, which certainly gives an energetic check to everything un-Evangelical and un-Protestant in the projects and tendencies of the time, will make thousands and thousands of our brethren to rejoice; it will purify the air for them, light up the ecclesiastical horizon for them, and give them again the encouraging conviction that the Evangelical Church is once more herself, and has again become conscious of her Divine vocation and her true character.

But once more is demanded, What has been done? I answer, Something unique has been effected! In a *fifth* picture the Assembly presents itself to me, and behold, as a multitude of worshippers, it stands before me composed of all peoples and tongues. Brethren from all quarters of the globe, deputies from Spain, Italy, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, from America, too, from Africa, and even from the antipodes, from Australia—men from



the most differently organised Churches and Governments—they come, assuring us that they represent thousands upon thousands, and bow, full of veneration, before a crowned head, before one of the Lord's anointed, as if he were the prince of all, their leader and commander; and prayers for a blessing gush forth from the inmost depths of their hearts such as never, perhaps, before have been uttered aloud on earth? What does this signify? O, we know well why this overwhelming stream of revering love is poured out upon him appearing among us as the exalted standard-bearer of Christ, and the faithful and dear protector of His Church on earth: we saw in him the image of the King of kings; and to Him whom he loves, to Him our hearts went out in the person of His crowned representative. O lively vision of God's kingdom on earth! People from every nation, tribe, and tongue, and all intimately united under the gentle gracious sceptre of one and the same king and Prince of Peace. O edifying reflection and significant figuring forth of that great scene of homage and adoration that we have yet to witness, when He himself, the Prince of all the kings of the world, will again appear for the completion of His kingdom. Then, truly one Shepherd and one flock, all nations worshipping at the feet of one Lord; and what a *Benedictus* in the higher choir will there be upon Him who has bought us with His blood, and is now there to give us the full inheritance of glory. But instead of the *Ein feste Burg*, the last great and eternal song of triumph then sounds, "Now are the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our Lord and his Christ." Never will be forgotten by us the rich and beautiful picture of the homage there, under God's blue sky, in the forecourt of the royal palace! This presentation will live in our remembrance, standing alone of its kind. Wonderfully did the earthly and heavenly mingle together, and in that precious moment of the present, each one who looked beyond, beheld a great and glorious future.

Behold, my friends, such things as these have been accomplished; and the best, perhaps, still lies veiled, and is as yet only known to God. At all events, the future will show us still that the Lord was among us, and with us, and that to bless us. For nothing is more certain than that that which was accomplished will be followed by beneficial results.

Sacred ties have been formed during these days ; sincere communions have been entered into. If the wings of time should carry us far from each other, over land and sea, our spirits will have daily intercourse—only in transposed relations to those in the picture of the battle of the Huns on the walls of our museum. With warm-hearted love they will embrace each other, and unite in mutual petitions at the throne of grace. The newly-kindled torch of love we will take home with us, that henceforth each may make it burn more brightly in his own circle than ever before. When in future we have to combat with our brethren in religious and ecclesiastical matters, we will, of course, at all times give our pens and our tongues to the service of truth ; but, to bring these miserable squabbles of the Church to a conclusion, we will put all gall and bitterness from us. We will rather seek, with all our power, to give the world a positive testimony that the Gospel does not narrow the heart, but widens it—does not render it hard, but gentle ; so that the charge shall not lie against us that we have learnt much from the Scriptures, but have closed our understandings to the apostolic words : “ Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three ; but the greatest of these is charity.”

We shall feel more deeply the position of our oppressed and persecuted brethren, and particularly those of whom I said in my opening speech that they were standing knocking at the door of our Protestant Church, calling upon us to open to them an asylum and a sphere of labour. Our relation, too, to our Baptist brethren will become, henceforth, different and more friendly. They have made us ashamed by touching confessions, bearing at the same time the stamp of the deepest sincerity. They will find a place for the spirit of moderation and discretion as we also shall do ; and if, in future, we shall still contend with them on account of their different doctrine and their separation from our Church, yet we shall not forget that the weapons of the Christian are not carnal, but spiritual, and that we are contending with brethren in the Lord and not with strangers dwelling without the gates of Zion. Armed anew against the errors of the times on the right hand and on the left, imbued too with newly-strengthened and glad certainty of victory, we part from each other and—we look forward to it with confidence—we shall henceforth find an incomparably richer entrance with our Gospel among the people than hitherto, because now the widely-

spread suspicion that it was the intention of all the clergy of the present day to beguile the Churches into the bonds of a new popedom and hierarchy, has been thoroughly contradicted and settled by our Assembly and its proceedings. Yet I think, dear brethren, we can leave it to the future to raise the veil from the manifold glorious fruits which our meeting together has already borne, and will undoubtedly continue to bear for the kingdom of God. Good seed has been sown in hope and in God during these days. That there will be a rich harvest of blessing from above, assuredly cannot be doubted.

I conclude, but not forgetting the duty of acknowledgment to all those through whose service of love the Lord has cheered, supported, and blessed us. In the name of the entire Assembly, I give my warmest thanks, first of all, to the chief magistrate of this metropolis, for the kind and effective assistance he has afforded us for the attainment of our object; also to the honoured representatives of this city—the municipal body—and with feelings of sadness I recall to your remembrance its superintendent, who, shortly before our meeting, was called to his eternal home. He had, as he often assured me, rejoiced like a child in the expectation of this occasion. He was not, however, permitted to live to see its fulfilment. A greater delight, we hope and believe, was awarded to him, and an incomparably more glorious assembly has received him into its midst. To the Christian friends in Berlin we owe our heartiest thanks, who have given shelter and hospitality to so many dear guests from far and near. May the Lord reward them for it. Further, to the Managing Committee of the German Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, and its President, for their assiduous care, and the diverse sacrifices by means of which they have brought this great Conference together; nor less would I thank the Local Committee, which was established in this city, and has regulated everything so well and effectively, so that we must ever admire and rejoice in it afresh. Yet I observe how all are impatiently waiting for me to strike the grand chord on the keys of your hearts. I will now strike it; and say, moved with feelings of enthusiastic gratitude, God preserve, God bless our beloved King, our beloved Queen, the Royal house, and may it be henceforth a continual blessing, in time and in eternity, to our own people, and to the nations of the earth. Amen.

And now, Lord, we turn to Thee, our Saviour. When we first

trod the threshold of this Assembly doubtfully, we ventured to beseech Thee, in profound humility, that Thou wouldst have the condescension to preside over this Assembly. O Lord, we are abashed before Thee; Thou hast heard our prayer; Thou hast presided over us; Thou hast conducted the Assembly by Thy Spirit, the Spirit of grace and of wisdom, and also the Spirit of discipline. We extol Thy holy name!

To Thee now, O Lord our God, we commit the rich seed of thought which has been scattered amongst us during this time; water it with the dew of Thy Holy Spirit, that it may bring forth rich and precious fruits—fruits for time and for eternity!

O Lord, our Saviour, we stand here assembled before Thee, and desire to do Thee fresh homage, Thee our King! Accept our vows to live to Thee, to serve Thee, and to die to Thee. Whither else shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. Lord, here are we; accept us, bind us together in the bundle of life, arm us for the battle against all antichristian forces, crown us with triumphs, and lead us happily through the wilderness of the world, till we arrive where we shall see Thee face to face, and unite in the song of praise: To the Lamb who was slain, to our Lord Jesus Christ, be glory, honour, praise, and power, from eternity to eternity. Amen. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

The Assembly sung, accompanied by the organ and trumpets, *Nun danket, Alle, Gott, &c.* ("Let all now thank the Lord.")



# CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

IN THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN.

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After the proceedings had ended, a large number of the Assembly, especially the English brethren, proceeded at once to the Church of the United Brethren for the general celebration of the Lord's Supper. Both the lower parts of the church were completely filled.

Addresses were successively delivered in the German, English, and French languages, by Pastor Schröder, of Elberfeld; Rev. J. S. Jenkinson, of Battersea; and Professor Chappuis, from Lausanne. They also distributed the elements.

Thanksgiving was offered up in the same order, by Pastor Kuntze, of Berlin; Rev. J. S. Jenkinson, of Battersea; and Pastor Jean Monod, of Nismes.

The solemnity was closed at half-past ten o'clock.



LIST OF BRETHREN PRESENT

AT THE

CONFERENCE.





## LIST OF BRETHREN PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE.

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### I.—AFRICA (3).

Dawes, Rev. Mr., British Guinea.  
Murray, Charles, Esq., Cape Town.  
Nauhaus, Rev. Mr., Missionary of the Moravian Brethren, South Africa.

### II.—AMERICA (24).

Baick Dr., New York.  
Baird, Rev. Robert, D.D., New York.  
Bayard, Mr., Maine.  
Black, Rev. Dr., Pittsburg.  
Cheeseborough, A. S., Esq., Pittsburg.  
McClintock, Rev. Mr., New York.  
Eldridge, Rev. Mr., Massachusetts.  
Forsyth, Rev. John, New York.  
Frühaufl, Rev. Frederic, Holydaysburgh, Pennsylvania.  
Garver, Rev. Professor, Pennsylvania.  
Hart, Rev. Dr., Newhaven.  
Kent, Rev. B., Newhaven.  
Helmer, Mr. C. D., New York.  
Griffith, Mr., Baltimore.  
Nast, Rev. Mr., Cincinnati.  
Patton, Rev. Dr., New York.  
Peters, Rev. Mr., Cincinnati.  
Simpson, Charles, Esq., Pittsburg.  
Simpson, Rev. Dr., Bishop of the Episcopal Methodist Church, Philadelphia.  
Warren, Mr., Massachusetts.  
White, Mr., Princetown.  
Witter, Mr. (Bookseller), St. Louis, Missouri.  
Wright, the Hon. Mr., American Ambassador at Berlin.  
Wright, Mr.

## III.—ASIA (3).

Mitchell, Rev. Dr., Missionary, Bombay.  
 Rankin, Rev. Henry, Missionary, Ningpo, China.  
 Rudolph, Rev. Mr., Missionary, Ludiana, India.

## IV.—AUSTRALIA (3).

Earp, John, Melbourne.  
 Göthe, Rev. Superintendent, Melbourne.  
 Krause, Rev. Mr., Society Islands.

## V.—EUROPE.

## 1. BELGIUM (4).

Anet, Rev. L., Brussels.  
 Durand, Rev. Mr., Liege.  
 Panchaud, Rev. E., Brussels.  
 Scheler, Dr., Royal Librarian, Brussels.

## 2. DENMARK (2).

Gude, Rev. Mr., Hunseby.  
 Kalkar, Rev. Dr., Gladfaxe, near Copenhagen.

## 3. SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN (9).

Cartheuser, Rev. Mr., Dittmarchen.  
 Fricke, Rev. Dr., Professor, University of Kiel.  
 Jacobson, Rev. Mr., Suderholm, near Toudern.  
 Jensen, Rev. Mr., Gluckburg.  
 Lonzer, Rev. H. J., Altona.  
 Moursen, Mr., Toudern.  
 Tidemand, Rev. Superintendent, Toudern.  
 Totsen, Mr., Merchant, Toudern.  
 Volquardsen, Dr. Phil., Schleswig.

## 4. GERMANY.

## (a) DUCHIES OF ANHALT (6).

Brandt, Rev. Mr., Mühlstedt.  
 Laddey, Rev. Mr., Neundorf, near Gusten.  
 Pászler, Rev. Mr., Brambach.

Schulze, Rev. Mr., Köthen.  
 Stenzel, Rev. Mr., Rutha, near Zerbst.  
 Wessel, Rev. Mr., Zerbst.

## (b.) GRAND-DUCHY OF BADEN (5).

Beyschlag, Rev. Mr., Carlsruhe.  
 Brückelmann, Mr., Heidelberg.  
 Bunsen, Chevalier, Heidelberg.  
 Ledderhose, Rev. Mr., Bombrach, near Lärnach.  
 Plitt, Rev. Prof., Heidelberg.

## (c.) KINGDOM OF BAVARIA (6).

Felshoff, Mr., München.  
 Harker, Rector, Schwarzenbach.  
 Hoffman, Rev. Mr., Spires.  
 Lampert, Rev. Mr., Ippesheim.  
 Risser, Rev. Mr., Sembach.  
 Tretzel, Rev. Mr., Nürnberg.

## (d.) DUCHY OF BRUNSWICK (5).

Appelius, Rev. Mr., Brunswick.  
 Böhm, Rev. Mr., Sambleben.  
 Breymann, Candidat, Brunswick.  
 Dieckmann, Rev. Stift Königslutter.  
 Hille, Consistorialrath, Wolfenbüttel.

## (e.) FREE CITIES.

## 1. BREMEN (3).

Jacoby, Rev. Lud., Superintendent of the Episcopal Wesleyan Church  
 in Germany.  
 Mallet, Rev. Dr.  
 Treviranus, Rev. Mr.

## 2. FRANKFORT (3).

Griesinger, Dr. Ph.  
 Poper, Rev. H.  
 Speyer, Merchant.

## 3. LUBECK (1).

Deiss, Rev., Lubeck.

## 4. HAMBURG (7).

Craig, Rev. Dr.  
 Becker, Rev. F. W.  
 Bertheau, Candidat.  
 Oncken, Rev. Mr.  
 Oncken, Mr. P. G.

Roosen, Rev. Mr.

West, Rev. Mr.

(f.) KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA.

I. PROVINCE OF BRANDENBURG.—BERLIN (330).

Abeken, Privy Councillor of Legation.

Adlich, Chemist.

Allonchery, Mr.

Alt, Rev. Mr.

Andrié, Rev. Mr.

Arndt, Rev. Mr.

Bätke, Mr.

Baldenius, Mr.

Barraud, Mr.

Bauer, Mr.

Baumgart, Judge.

Baurath, Mr.

Beck, Mr.

Becker, Merchant.

Behrendt, Mr. F. W.

Belle, Dr. Von, Trantwein.

Bellson, Rev. Mr.

Bendler, Mr.

Berend, Bookseller.

Berner, Alderman.

Berner, Rev. Mr.

Bernhard, Mr.

Besser, Mr.

Bethmann-Hollweg, Von, Privy Superior Councillor of Government.

Betzow, Teacher.

Beverhaus, Mr.

Biermann, Mr.

Biesenthal, Dr.

Bismarck-Bohlen, Graf-Von, Lieutenant-Colonel and Adjutant.

Blankenburg, Mr.

Bleick, Privy Councillor.

Bloomfield, Lord, British Ambassador.

Blume, Rev. Dr.

Bodeck, Mr.

Böhmer, Chemist.

Bötticher, Candidat.

Boldt, Candidat.

Bollert, Candidat.

Bonnell, Professor and Tutor of College.

Bormann, Councillor of the Educational Office.



Bormann, Candidat.  
Borsum, Mr.  
Bräunig, Rev. Mr.  
Brauer, Referendary.  
Breitsprecher, Student.  
Bremer, Mr.  
Busse, Rev. Mr.  
Coste, Rev. Mr.  
Conard, Rev. Dr.  
Dahms, Student.  
Dahms, Rev. Mr.  
Dannenberg, Candidat  
Dehmel, Teacher.  
Denecke, Teacher.  
Didler, Schoolmaster.  
Dième, Surveyor.  
Dico, Rev. W.  
Dilthey, Teacher.  
Dregher, Schoolmaster.  
Drogand, Councillor of the Court of Chancery.  
Engmann, Post Secretary.  
Erbkam, Dr., State Physician.  
Esse, Dr., Privy Councillor of the Government.  
Feller, Mr.  
Finger, Mr.  
Fischer, Secretary of Magistrate.  
Flashar, Rev. Mr.  
Fleischmann, Teacher.  
Franke, Alderman.  
Frick, Mr.  
Fricke, Merchant.  
Fricke, W., Student.  
Fürbringer, Councillor of Education.  
Gärtner, Painter.  
Gäür, Student.  
Gamet, Privy Councillor of the Treasury and President.  
Gans, Candidat.  
Gautzer, Dr.  
Gaulke, Teacher.  
Geertz, Captain.  
Geest, Mr.  
Geffcken, Ambassador of Hamburg.  
George, Professor.  
Gensike, Rev. Mr.

Gerhard, Privy Councillor of Government.  
Gessell, Educational Director.  
Glöckner, Merchant.  
Glogner, Wine Merchant.  
Goeltzer, Mr.  
Gosche, Rev. Mr.  
Grieben, Teacher.  
Griese, Mr.  
Griese, Mr., Jun.  
Grobe, Bookseller.  
Groh, Teacher.  
Gross, Captain of Police.  
Gross, Candidat.  
Grossheim, Student.  
Grossheim, Judge.  
Grundmann, Student.  
Haager, Candidat.  
Haate, Candidat.  
Hacker, Councillor of the Court.  
Hahn, Banker.  
Hammerschmidt, Candidat.  
Hanstein, Rev. Mr.  
Hapke, Student.  
Hartkaes, Mr.  
Hartkäs, Mr.  
Heine, Candidat.  
Heinrich, Chapel-keeper.  
Hellserich, Dr. A.  
Henckels, Merchant.  
Henschel, Mr.  
Herms, Referendary.  
Hezel, Rev. Mr., Superintendent.  
Höhne, Student.  
Hoffmann, Dr., General Superintendent.  
Hoffmann, Mr.  
Hollenberg, Licentiate  
Hoppe, Mr.  
Horn, Schoolmaster.  
Hornung, Mr.  
Hortmann, Mr.  
Hübner, Rev. Mr.  
Hübner, Rev. Mr.  
Jacobs, Teacher.  
Kachler, Schoolmaster.

Karser, Rev. Mr.  
Kaiser, F. A., Mr.  
Kalekhoff, Merchant.  
Kampfmeier, Judge.  
Katte, Teacher.  
Kawran, Dr., Teacher.  
Kiessling, Provincial Councillor of Schools and Tutor of Gymnasium.  
Kinzel, Architect.  
Kirsch, Rev. Mr.  
Klaeden, Rev. Mr.  
Klehmet, Student.  
Knoblanck, Surveyor.  
Könen, Von, Privy Councillor of the Exchequer.  
Koenig, Rev. Mr.  
Koeppel, Rev. Mr.  
Kohlheim, Teacher in Gymnasium.  
Kohlstock, Dr., Judge.  
Kolbe, Teacher.  
Kop, Inspector of Education.  
Krack, Councillor of Royal Domains.  
Kraft, Rev. Mr.  
Krieger, Rev. Mr.  
Krieger, Mr.  
Kriz, Bookseller.  
Kühne, Privy Councillor of the Exchequer.  
Kühne, Teacher.  
Küntzel, H., Bookseller.  
Kuntze, Rev. Mr.  
Kursch, Barrister.  
Lange, Schoolmaster.  
Legeler, Merchant.  
Lehmann, Mr.  
Lehmann, Rev. G. W.  
Lehmann, Rev. J.  
Lepte, Mr.  
Lepsius, Professor.  
Liba, Candidat.  
Lichterfeld, Mr.  
Lietzmann, Merchant  
Lionnet, Rev. Mr.  
Lobeck, Dr.  
Loesche, Banker.  
Lohse, Surveyor.  
Loos, Rev. Mr.

- Lowe, Mr. C. S.  
 Lucke, Teacher.  
 Maetzner, Dr., Professor.  
 Mannhardt, Dr.  
 Marggraf, Mr.  
 Marggraf, Dr.  
 Martini, Rev. Mr.  
 Massmann, Professor.  
 Messner, Licentiate.  
 Messing, Mr.  
 Metzel, Director.  
 Meyer, Rev. Mr.  
 Meyerhoff, E., Student.  
 Millard, Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society.  
 Moeser, W., Alderman.  
 Moritz, Rev. Mr.  
 Moritz, Merchant.  
 Muhlbach, Von, Captain  
 Müllensieffen, Rev. Mr.  
 Müller, Rev. A.  
 Müller, Charles, Student.  
 Müller, Dr.  
 Mulzer, Dr.  
 Muyschel, Mr.  
 Neithardt, Dr.  
 Neumann, Merchant.  
 Nickel, Merchant.  
 Nittack, Rev. Mr.  
 Nitzsch, Rev. Dr., Superior Councillor of the Consistory, and Provost.  
 Noël, Rev. Mr.  
 Noeldechen, Candidat.  
 Obitz, Mr.  
 Oehme, Merchant.  
 Oehmigke, Mr.  
 Opitz, Mr.  
 Peschelt, Mr.  
 Pfänder, Inspector of Schools.  
 Pfeiffer, Teacher.  
 Piater, Mr.  
 Piper, Dr., Professor.  
 Pischon, Rev. Dr., Councillor of Consistory.  
 Pollack, Councillor of Accounts.  
 Pätter, Mr. W.  
 Ranke, Director and Professor.



Rathke, Teacher.  
Rauh, Bookseller.  
Rechenberg, Teacher.  
Reinbott, Schoolmaster.  
Reineck, Rev. Mr.  
Remy, Rev. Mr.  
Rhode, Candidat.  
Richter, Mr.  
Riese, Councillor of Accounts.  
Rietz, Mr.  
Ritter, Dr.  
Ritzmann, Mr.  
Rocholl, Judge.  
Roesener, Councillor of Accounts.  
Rosenthal, Schoolmaster.  
Runde, Dr.  
Rust, Rev. Mr.  
Sättler, Director.  
Schimmeltennig, Councillor of Accounts.  
Schimmelpfennig, Student.  
Schlomka, Candidat.  
Schmack, Captain.  
Schmettau, Von, Captain.  
Schmieder, Dr.  
Schmidt, Privy Superior Councillor of the Exchequer.  
Schmidt, Inspector.  
Schmidt, Mr.  
Schmidt, Teacher.  
Schmidt, Rev. Mr.  
Schneider, Mr.  
Schneider, Mr.  
Schneider, Merchant.  
Schneider, Councillor of Accounts.  
Schneider, Editor.  
Schobert, Teacher.  
Schöne, Rev. Mr.  
Schütze, Rev. Dr.  
Schuler, Schoolmaster.  
Schultz, Rev. Superintendent.  
Schultz, Teacher of Gymnasium.  
Schultze, Schoolmaster.  
Schulz, Lieutenant.  
Schulz, Bookseller.  
Schulze, Councillor of Schools.

Schulze, Student.  
Schumann, Student.  
Schwartz, Referendary.  
Schwarzlose, Mr.  
Schweitzer, Dr., Director.  
Sebald, Dr., Schoolmaster.  
Seidel, Candidat.  
Selasinski, Von, General of Infantry.  
Selle, Chemist.  
Seufft, Von Pilsach, Student.  
Siegel, Rev. Mr.  
Sieger, Rev. Mr.  
Simon, Student.  
Snethlage, Dr., Professor.  
Sprömberg, Rev. Mr.  
Staberow, Mr.  
Stäckel, Teacher.  
Stämmler, Judge.  
Stahn, Judge.  
Stahn, Rev. Mr.  
Stern, Von, General.  
Stiehl, Privy Superior Councillor of Government.  
Stobwasser, Rev. Mr.  
Stöwesand, Teacher.  
Strauss, Rev. Mr., Chaplain to the King.  
Strauss, Rev. Mr.  
Strauss, Rev. Mr.  
Strubing, Teacher.  
Thies, Rev. Mr.  
Thilo, Director of Seminary.  
Thomas, Merchant.  
Tobold, Dr. M.  
Tobold, Dr. M., Jun.  
Tournier, Rev. Mr.  
Twesten, D.D., Rev., Superior Councillor of Consistory and Professor.  
Uhlemann, D.D., Rev., Professor.  
Unger, Mr.  
Viedebrandt, Rev. Mr.  
Vierich, Mr.  
Vogel, Mr.  
Voigt, Student.  
Vorbodt, Teacher.  
Wagner, Builder.  
Wagner, Student.

Wagner, Mr.  
 Walter, Mr.  
 Walter, Alderman.  
 Wehrenpsennig, Dr., Licentiate.  
 Wenke, Candidat.  
 Wernicke, Francis, Student.  
 Wernicke, Dr., Teacher of Gymnasium.  
 Westphal, Major.  
 Westphal, Councillor of Commerce.  
 Westphal, Mr.  
 Weyrowitz, Merchant.  
 Wieding, Mr.  
 Wilkinson, Dr.  
 Willigmann, Rector.  
 Witte, Referendary.  
 Wölfer, Mr.  
 Wolff, Professor.  
 Wolf, Dr., Teacher of Gymnasium.  
 Wolf, Schoolmaster.  
 Wolf, Mr.  
 Wünsche, Rev. Mr.  
 Wulsdorff, Candidat.  
 Zimmermann, Candidat.  
 Zimmermann, Colonel.  
 Zschiesche, Inspector.

PROVINCE OF BRANDENBERG (269).

Albrecht Von, Governor of District, Gütergotz, near Potsdam.  
 Allendorff, Rev. Mr., Ketzur, near Rathenow.  
 Alsleben, Alderman, Potsdam.  
 Amelung, Rector, Charlottenburg.  
 Amen, Rev. Mr., Prenzlau.  
 Apel, Candidat, Havelberg.  
 Arndt, Rev. Mr., Sieversdorf, near Neustadt on Dosse.  
 Bärenroth, Rev. Mr., Merzdorf, near Baruth.  
 Baerwinkel, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Dalmin, near Perleberg.  
 Baetheke, Rev. Mr. and School Inspector, Beeskow.  
 Baldenius, Rev. Mr., Neustadt on Dosse.  
 Bauer, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Brandenburg.  
 Bauer, Rev. Mr., Rixdorf.  
 Beck, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Luckenmalde.  
 Beermann, Privy Councillor of Government, Frankfurt-on-Oder.  
 Bellermann, Rev. Mr., Gesundbrunnen, near Berlin.

- Bercht, Burgomaster, Brück, near Potsdam.  
Berger, Rev. Mr., Cottbus.  
Berger, Rev. Mr., Schildberg.  
Bethmann-Holweg, Von, Landowner, Hohen-Finow.  
Bögehold, Moabit.  
Bögehold, Student, Moabit.  
Böhl, Rev. Mr., Wansdorf, near Spandau.  
Böhmel, Rev. Mr., Schonborn, near Dobrilugk.  
Bösche, Rev. Mr., Perleberg.  
Borne, Rev. Von, Königsberg, N. M.  
Bornitz, Rev. Mr., Lichtenberg, near Berlin.  
Brand, Rev. Mr., Pechow, near Wittstock.  
Braune, Rev. Mr., Provost and Superintendent, Mittenwalde.  
Brenske, Director, Charlottenburg.  
Brohm, Rev. Mr., Lübnitz, near Belzig.  
Bronisch, Rev. Mr., Peitz.  
Bruhn, Rev. Mr., Grotz-Mehssow, near Kalau.  
Buchholtz, Rev. Mr., Rhinow Kreis, Westhavelland.  
Buchholtz, Rev. Mr., Brunne, near Wusterhausen.  
Buchholtz, Rev. Mr., Gottberg, Kreis Ruppin.  
Burow, Mr., Brandenburg.  
Cochius, Rev. Mr., Brunne, near Fehrbellin.  
Crudelius, Rev. Mr., Stülpe, near Luckenwalde.  
Dabelow, Rev. Mr., Seebeck, near Lindow.  
Dähn, Rev. E., New Holland, near Liebenwalde.  
Dienemann, Rev. Mr., Glienick, near Zossen.  
Dreising, Mr., Rüstrin.  
Drude, Rev. Mr., Dobritz, near Spandau.  
Dürr, Rev. Mr., Königsberg, near Wittstock.  
Ebert, Rev. Mr., Woltersdorf.  
Ernst, Rev. Mr., Vehlow, near Kyritz.  
Feller, Rev. Mr., Petbus, near Interbogk.  
Fendler, Rev. Mr., Copenick.  
Fischer, Rev. Mr., Kumlosen.  
Franke, Rev. Mr., Alt Rudnitz, near Zehden.  
Franz, Burgomaster, Friesack.  
Frege, Rev. Mr., Alt Schöneberg.  
Fritsch, Rev. Mr., Gumston, near Kyritz.  
Funcke, Rev. Mr., Hetzdorf, near Prenzlau.  
Gerhard, Rev. Mr., Bietz.  
Gerhardt, Rev. Mr., Weggun.  
Geyer, Rev. Mr., Charlottenburg.  
Giese, Mr., Wrietzen.  
Göhler, Rev. Dr., Christendorf, near Trebbin.



- Golling, Candidat, Døetz, near Gross-Kreutz.  
 Golling, Rev. Mr., Døetz, near Gross-Kreutz.  
 Gottschick, Rev. Mr., Wusterhausen.  
 Graefe, Rev. Mr., Kolrep, near Kyritz.  
 Gruss, Rev. Mr., Bierraden.  
 Hallenhuber, Rev. Mr., Liebenfelde, near Soldin.  
 Hänsch, Rev. Mr., Werder, near Potsdam.  
 Hanstein, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, New Ruppin.  
 Hasché, Rev. Mr., Copnick.  
 Haussig, Rev. Mr., Kolkwitz, near Cottbus.  
 Heegewald, Candidat, Potsdam.  
 Heidtmann, Student, Neustadt-Eberswalde.  
 Heinrich, Rev. Mr., Buelcon, near Bieskow.  
 Henscheke, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Sarendorff.  
 Hermanni, Rev. Mr. Krahne, near Brandenburg.  
 Herzberg, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Storkow.  
 Hevelke, Rev. Mr., Ahrensdorf, near Potsdam.  
 Heyse, Rev. Mr., Bleesendorf, near Werder.  
 Hildebrand, Rev. Mr., Drossen.  
 Hildebrand, Rev. Mr., Gottlin.  
 Hildebrand, Rev. Mr., Pfaffendorf.  
 Hitzer, Rev. Mr., Schwank.  
 Hoffmann, Rev. Mr., Kirchhain.  
 Hoffmann, Rev. Mr., Grunefeld.  
 Hoffmann, Rev. Mr., Jeserich.  
 Hoffmann, Rev. Mr., Königswalde.  
 Hollefreund, Rev. Mr., Deehton.  
 Hopff, Rev. Mr., Blumenhagen.  
 Horn, Rev. Mr., Dalldorf.  
 Hoyoll, Rev. Mr., Bruck.  
 Hubert, Rev. Dr., Gr. Zeithen.  
 Jacobi, Rev. Mr., Liebenwalde.  
 Jaffé, Rev. Mr., Frankfurt-on-Oder.  
 Jahn, Mr., Prenzlau.  
 Janeke, Rev. Mr., Neider-Oderbruch-Melioration.  
 Jantzen, Mr., Finstenan.  
 Ideler, Rev. Mr., Koritz.  
 Jungck, Bailiff, Falkenberg.  
 Jurk, Rev. Mr., Klosterfelde.  
 Jusche, Mr., Charlottenburg.  
 Kaehler, Candidat, Zulichau.  
 Kaempfe, Rev. Mr., Eichberg.  
 Kaestner, Rev. Mr., Frankenfelde.  
 Kammer, Rev. Von der, Wolgatz.

- Karsten, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Zulichau.  
Kellner, Rector, Charlottenburg.  
Kemnitz, Rev. Mr., Templin.  
Kirchhoff, Mr., Kmtschow.  
Klamrott, Rev. Mr., Neuenhagen.  
Klehmet, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Potsdam.  
Kleiner, Rev. Mr., Reibzig.  
Kober, Rev. Mr., Strehlen.  
Koch, Mr. Rixdorf.  
Köppel, Rev. Mr., Kurtschow.  
Kollberg, Rev. Mr., Brandenburg.  
Koztôrski, Rev. Mr., Custrin.  
Knopff, Rev. Mr., Neuendorf.  
Krummacher, Rev. Dr., Potsdam.  
Krummacher, Rev. Mr., Brandenburg.  
Kühne, Teacher, Woltersdorf.  
Kummer, Candidat, Beerbaum.  
Kunert, Rev. Mr., Soellenthin.  
Kunsch, Rev. Mr., Kulhausen.  
Laas, Student, Furstenwalde.  
Lambateur, Rev. Mr., Oranienburg.  
Lange, Rev. Mr., Malchow.  
Lehmann, Rev. Mr., Soldin.  
Lehnerdt, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Linum.  
Lembke, Mr., Schlepkow.  
Liebig, Mr., Reetz.  
Liesegang, Rev. Mr., Schwedt.  
Linat, Rev. Mr., Strasburg.  
Loffhagen, Mr., Putlitz.  
Lozze, Candidat, Hildebrandshagen.  
Luther, Mr., Pankow.  
Magnus, Rev. Mr., Sohren.  
Manowski, Rev. Mr., Kerslin.  
Mayerhoff, Rev. Mr., Grossbeeren.  
Meifzner, Rev. Mr., Retzow.  
Meifzner, Rev. Mr., Wutike.  
Metzig, Rev. Mr., Bentnitz.  
Metzkow, Rev. Mr., Wuetzen.  
Meyer, Rev. Mr., Beerfelde.  
Meyer, Rev. Dr., Lichtenrade.  
Müller, Teacher, Wahlsdorf.  
Müller, Teacher, Potsdam.  
Nalop, Rev. Mr., Zechlin.  
Neuhauz, Rev. Mr., Werder.

Neumann, Rev. Mr., Casel.  
Neumann, Rev. Mr., Gr. Zieschl.  
Niedlich, Rev. Mr., Templin.  
Noack, Rev. Mr., Luga.  
Nonnig, Rev. Mr., Nitzow.  
Oesterwitz, Rev. Mr., Cottbus.  
Otto, Candidat, Rechfelde.  
Paalzow, Rev. Mr., Lohme.  
Pannwitz, Lieutenant-Colonel Von, Potsdam.  
Pasewaldt, Candidat, Potsdam.  
Pfeiffer, Rev. Mr., Lowgow.  
Pickert, Rev. Mr., Felgentren.  
Poppe, Rev. Mr., Hasselberg.  
Posner, Dr. Med., Schloss Steinbeck.  
Priedemann, Rev. Mr., Voigtsdorf.  
Prömmel, Rev. Mr., Furstenwalde.  
Quast, Rev. Mr., Neustadt-Eberswalde.  
Quehl, Rev. Mr., Hachlenberg.  
Rahardt, Rev. Mr., Kl-Schönbeck.  
Rahardt, Rev. Mr., Frudersdorf.  
Rahart, Rev. Mr., Frudersdorf.  
Rakow, Rev. Mr., Zehdenick.  
Ramdohr, Rev. Mr., Pankow.  
Rascher, Rev. Mr., Bodowin.  
Reichenbach, Rev. Mr., Wandlitz.  
Reinhardt, Rev. Mr., Schönwerder.  
Rendtorff, Rev. Mr., Gutergotz.  
Rettig, Rev. Mr., Furstenwader.  
Reuscher, Rev. Mr., Blumberg.  
Rhein, Rev. Mr., Klinkow.  
Richter, Rev. Mr., Walsleben.  
Richter, Rev. Mr., Mariendorf.  
Richter, Rev. Mr., Falkenhajen.  
Riebe, Director of Grammar School, Bradenburg.  
Rindfleisch, Rev. Mr., Meinsdorf.  
Rohde, Rev. Mr., Bahnhof Glowen.  
Rolle, Rev. Dr., Oderin.  
Rouven, Rev. Mr., Französisch.  
Rudolph, Dr., Strasburg.  
Sachse, Student, Buchholz.  
Schadow, Rev. Mr., Weiszensee.  
Schallehn, Rev. Mr., Schulvorstch.  
Schelle, Rev. Mr., Freyenstein.  
Scheller, Rev. Mr., Blankenberg.

- Schenk, Rev. Mr., Heinersdorf.  
 Schiering, Mr., Altmahle.  
 Schinkel, Rev. Mr., Barsikow.  
 Schmilinsky, Rev. Mr., Sprenberg.  
 Schmidt, Mr., Russnitz.  
 Schmidt, Rev. Mr., Schmerzke.  
 Schröder, Rev. Mr., Brandenburg.  
 Schroeder, Rev. Mr., Strodehne.  
 Schüler, Surveyor, Spandau.  
 Schütze, Candidat, Warwitz.  
 Schütze, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Warwitz.  
 Schultze, Judge, Brandenburg.  
 Schultze, Rev. Mr., Neustadt-Eberswalde.  
 Schultze, Teacher, Kopenik.  
 Schulze, Rev. Mr., Gruneberg.  
 Schulze, Rev. Mr., Ruthnick.  
 Schulze, Rev. Mr., Heiligensee.  
 Schulze, Rev. Mr., Vehlin.  
 Schumacher, Candidat, Carwe.  
 Schumann, Rev. Mr., Luckenwalde.  
 Schwartz, Rev. Mr., Jagow.  
 Schwarzschnitz, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Guben.  
 Seeger, Rev. Mr., Bendelin.  
 Seger, Rev. Mr., Lenzke.  
 Seld, Baron von, Potsdam.  
 Siber, Rev. Mr., Grunthal.  
 Siecke, Rev. Mr., Kattenborn.  
 Spiecker, Rev. Dr., Superintendent, Frankfurt-on-Oder.  
 Staemmler, Rev. Mr., Gross Leppin.  
 Staemmler, Rev. Mr., Quitzoebel.  
 Stareke, Rev. Mr., Plotzin.  
 Stephani, Rev. Mr., Geisendorf.  
 Stiebritz, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Beisenthal.  
 Stöhr, Rev. Mr., Lippehne.  
 Strasburg, Rev. Mr., Stadt Buckow.  
 Strassner, Rev. Mr., Schoneberg.  
 Strehz, Rev. Mr., Königsberg, Pnognitz.  
 Strietz, Rev. Mr., Councillor of Consistory, Potsdam.  
 Struensee, Rev. Mr., Flatow.  
 Suin de Boutenard, Candidat, Rheinsberg.  
 Syleel, Student, Potsdam.  
 Tannhäuser, Rev. Mr., Lowenberg.  
 Thiele, Rev. Mr., Bertikow.  
 Thomas, Rev. Mr., Furstenfelde.



Thormann, Teacher, Charlottenburg.  
 Todt, Rev. Mr., Wittenberg.  
 Todt, Rev. Mr., Breddin.  
 Torffstecher, Rev. Dr., Lychen.  
 Treplin, Surveyor, Potsdam.  
 Trepte, Rev. Mr., Paplitz.  
 Typke, Rev. Mr., Templin.  
 Uhlmann, Rev. Mr., Lutte.  
 Uhrlandt, Rev. Mr., Trampe.  
 Ulbrich, Rev. Mr., Walchow.  
 Vollmar, Rev. Mr., Tyschecheln.  
 Vozz, Rev. Mr., Salzbrunn.  
 Wapler, Rev. Mr., Selchow.  
 Waller, Rector, Potsdam.  
 Wehmer, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Prumfier.  
 Weichmann, Rector, Charlottenburg.  
 Weimann, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Lenzen.  
 Weist, Rev. Mr., Stolzenberg.  
 Wellmer, Conrector, Luckenwalde.  
 Werthemann, Rev. Mr., Potsdam.  
 Wessel, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Schwedt.  
 Wichert, Von, Councillor of Government, Potsdam.  
 Wiehler, Rev. Mr., Reetz.  
 Will, Teacher, Blankenberg.  
 Wilte, Mr., Prenzlau.  
 Wolff, Candidat, Wusterhausin.  
 Wolff, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Wusterhausin.  
 Zarnack, Rev. Mr., Schrepkow.  
 Zehe, Rev. Mr., Golssen.  
 Zeller, Rev. Mr., Golssen.  
 Zecshke, Rev. Mr., Frankfurt-on-Oder.  
 Zschieschke, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Sonnenwalde.

## (h) PROVINCE OF POMERANIA (45).

Baumgarten, Rev. Mr., Gross Mellen.  
 Billroth, Candidat, Greisswald.  
 Billroth, Mr., Greisswald.  
 Bindemann, Rev. Mr., Beiersdorf.  
 Brandt, Candidat, Stettin.  
 Brode, Rev. Mr., Paknlint.  
 Bues, Rev. Mr., Stettin.  
 Claasen, Rev. Mr., Falkenwalde.  
 Dabis, Rev. Mr., Sagard.

Denzin, Mr., Lauenberg.  
 Döhling, Rev. Mr., Stramehl.  
 Dür, Rev. Mr., Polzein.  
 Hahn, Rev. Mr., Pritter auf der Insel Wollin.  
 Hammer, Rev. Mr., Lebbin.  
 Hartmann, Rev. Mr., Warnitz.  
 Hertel, Rev. Mr., Blumberg.  
 Klein, Rev. Mr., Klatzow.  
 Kerkow, Rev. Mr., Altenhagen.  
 König, Rev. and Licentiate, Wolkwitz.  
 Lehmann, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Belgard.  
 Lüling, Rev. Mr., Rutzenhagen.  
 Moldenhauer, Student, Belkow.  
 Müller, Rev. Mr., Langenhagen.  
 Niemann, Candidat, Stettin.  
 Noht, Rev. Mr., Gollnow.  
 Paulsdorff, Mr., Berzen.  
 Paulsdorff, Mr., Berzen.  
 Pfister, Candidat, Hohenmocker.  
 Picht, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Loitz.  
 Pütter, Dr., Professor of Theology, Greisswald.  
 Quandt, Mr., Coslin.  
 Regensburg, Rev. Dr., Schonwalde.  
 Roth, Rev. Mr., Schlawe.  
 Schumacher, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Treptow.  
 Schütz, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Grieffenhagen.  
 Schultz, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Biersdorf.  
 Schwarze, Rev. Mr., Cunow.  
 Sprengel, Rev. Mr., Labes.  
 Stabenow, Mr., Stettin.  
 Stümmler, Mr., Stettin.  
 Tessmer, Rev. Mr., Nehmer.  
 Vogel, Rev. Mr., Rheinberg.  
 Vogt, Rev. Professor and Councillor of Consistory, Grieffswald.  
 Volkmar, Mr., Griefenberg.  
 Weygoldt, Teacher, Stettin.

## (i) PROVINCE OF POSEN (12).

Bötticher, Rev. Mr., Fordon.  
 Boretins, Judge, Meseritz.  
 Drude, Teacher, Bankan.  
 Erdmann, Rev. Mr., Buk.  
 Göbel, Rev., Councillor of Consistory, Posen.

Graf, Rev. Mr., Posen.  
 Jaeckel, Rev. Mr., Wronke.  
 Mischke, Rev. Mr., Runan.  
 Nitzschke, Rev. Mr., Neubruk.  
 Scharffenorth, Rev. Mr., and Superintendent, Mur-Goslin.  
 Skolkowski, Missionary, Posen.  
 Tamm, Alderman, Strzelno.

## (j) PROVINCE OF PRUSSIA (34).

Blech, Rev. Mr., Dantzig.  
 Bodin, Rev. Mr., Gr. Lenichen.  
 Borehert, Mayor, Strassburg.  
 Braunschmidt, Candidat, Koppershagen.  
 Bressler, Rev. Dr., Councillor of Consistory, Dantzig.  
 Consentius, Rev. Mr., Kulm.  
 Dohna-Wesselshöfen, Count of —, Wesselshöfen.  
 Epp, Rev. Mr., Henbode.  
 Erblam, Rev. Dr., Councillor of Consistory and Professor, Königsberg.  
 Erdmann, Professor, Königsberg.  
 Falkenberg, Rev. Mr., Alt-Christburg.  
 Glogau, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Tilsit.  
 Goldinger, Missionary, Oletzko.  
 Grawert, Rev. Mr., Fischhausen.  
 Grunewald, Mr., Secretary of the Prussian Bible Society, Königsberg.  
 Jablonowsky, Rev. Mr., Lyk.  
 Klefeld, Mr., Elburg.  
 Lehmann, Rev. Mr., Gross Krebs.  
 Mannhardt, Rev. Mr., Dantzig.  
 Markull, Rev. Mr., Thorn.  
 Niemetz, Rev. Mr., Memel.  
 Penner, Rev. Mr., Elbing.  
 Peterson, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Grandenz.  
 Rindfleisch, Rev. Mr., Ohra.  
 Rindfleisch, Candidat, Pillwen.  
 Schenck, Rev. Mr., Nemmersdorf.  
 Schnibbe, Rev. Mr., Thorn.  
 Schrage, Rev. Mr., Milken.  
 Sieffert, Rev. Dr., Councillor of Consistory, Chaplain and Professor of  
 Theology, Königsberg.  
 Sommer, Dr., Professor of Theology, Königsberg.  
 Stagnowski, Rev. Mr., Goyden.  
 Tartakover, Rev. Mr., Königsberg.  
 Thiel, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Strassburg.  
 Wilm, Teacher, Strassburg.

## (\* RHINE PROVINCE (54).

- Ball, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Bartels, Mr., Barmen.  
 Brandt, Rev. Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Bresges, Mr., Rheit.  
 Brinck, Mr., Gladbach.  
 Brohn, Rev. Mr., Frechen.  
 Bunsen, Dr. George, Rheinsdorf.  
 Cochran, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Dörmer, Rev. Mr., Altweid.  
 Engelbert, Rev. Mr., Inspector, Duisburg.  
 Fasbender, Teacher, Ronsdorf.  
 Frick, Mr., Barmen.  
 Friederichs, Mr., Elberfeld  
 Frink, Mr., Barmen.  
 Fudickar, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Göbel, Rev. Dr., Coblenz.  
 Haupt, Rev. Mr., Alpen, near Meurs.  
 Henn, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Herrmann, Rev. Mr., Biersen, near Crefeld.  
 Henser, Rev. Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Heydt, Von der, Elberfeld.  
 Hingmann, Rev. Mr., Wald, near Salingen.  
 Huyssen, Rev. Mr., Xanten.  
 Jäger, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Jahn, Rev. Mr., Duisburg.  
 Kalekhoff, Rev. Mr., Solmgen.  
 Kempfer, Mr., Barmen.  
 Kerlen, Dr., Malheim.  
 Klein, Mr., Barmen.  
 Köbner, Rev. Mr., Barmen.  
 Krafft, Dr., Professor, Bonn.  
 Krummacher, Rev. Mr., Greunten, near Elberfeld.  
 Krummacher, Rev. Mr., Licentiate, Duisburg.  
 Küntzel, Rev. Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Lamberts, Mr., Gladbach, near Elberfeld.  
 Lange, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Martin, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Metzkes, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Neviandt, Rev. Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Pferdmenes, Mr., Biersen.  
 Pickhardt, Rev. Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Reinhardt, Rev. Mr., Emmerich.  
 Reinhold, Rev. Mr., Louisendorf, near Cleves.



Rinck, Rev. Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Rödel, Mr., Schoolmaster, Elberfeld.  
 Roemer, Mr., Wesel.  
 Schröder, Rev. Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Schwabe, Rev. Mr., Solingen.  
 Seyd, Rev. Mr., Saarn, near Mulheim.  
 Strintz, Mr., Elberfeld.  
 Ströter, Mr., Barmen.  
 Trappenberg, Mr., Barmen.  
 Willerhaus, Rev. Mr., Cleves.

## (I) PROVINCE OF SAXONY (67)

Abel, Rev. Mr., Magdeburg.  
 Barmann, Rev. Mr., Wittenberg.  
 Berger, Dr., Magdeburg.  
 Berger, Rev. Mr., Schonebeck.  
 Bertram, Rev. Superintendent, Anderbeck.  
 Bethmann, Rev. Mr., Parey.  
 Borghardt, Rev. Superintendent, Stendal.  
 Borgmann, Rev. Mr., Stappenbeck.  
 Brohm, Rev. Superintendent, Wegeleben.  
 Buttner, Rev. Mr., Gross-Schwechlen.  
 Clajus, Mr., Schwanebeck.  
 Clausnitzer, Rev. Mr., Pretzsch.  
 Diedrich, Rev. Mr., Magdeburg.  
 Dienemann, Rev. Mr., Schartan.  
 Friedlander, Mr., Magdeburg.  
 Hagemann, Dr., Burg.  
 Heinzelmann, Rev. Mr., Gardeligen.  
 Hennecke, Rev. Mr., Langenstein.  
 Hoffmann, Dr., Oschersleben.  
 Holst, Student, Halle.  
 Hosse, Candidat, Wittenberg.  
 Hubner, Rev. Mr., Kelbra.  
 Hufeland, Rev. Mr., Schlanstedt.  
 Jackert, Rev. Superintendent, Prettin.  
 Jacobi, Dr., Professor, Halle.  
 Kaiser, Rev. Mr., Wittenberg.  
 Karo, Student, Halle.  
 Klee, Rev. Mr., Haburg.  
 Krummacher, Rev. Mr., Halberstadt.  
 Langethal, Rev. Mr., Schlensingen.  
 Lantenschlager, Rev. Mr., Brannsrode.

Lossius, Rev. Mr., Gispersleben.  
 Lotze, Rev. Mr., Torgan.  
 Moll, Rev. Dr., Professor, Halle.  
 Moser, Rev. Mr., Schkolen.  
 Muller, Rev. Mr., Irrleben.  
 Nebelung, Rev. Mr., Groningen.  
 Neuenhaus, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Halle.  
 Niese, Professor, Schulpforte.  
 Nietner, Dr. Professor, Wittenberg.  
 Pflug, Rev. Mr., Wessmar.  
 Pilarik, Candidat, Wittenberg.  
 Raabe, Candidat, Gossitz.  
 Reinthaler, Rev. Mr., Erfurt.  
 Sachse, Rev. Mr., Grossgrabe.  
 Sack, Rev. Dr., Oberconsistorialrath, Magdeburg.  
 Sasse, Rev. Mr., Hadusleben.  
 Schimpf, Rev. Mr., Hadusleben.  
 Schmidt, Teacher, Halle.  
 Schsenc, Osmersleben.  
 Schoenner, Rev. Mr., Domsdorf.  
 Schollmeyer, Rev. Mr., Alten Goddern.  
 Schreck, Rev. Mr., Linstadt.  
 Schweinitz, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Cloden.  
 Schuler, Rev. Mr., Werbis.  
 Simon, Rev. Mr., Motzlich.  
 Stange, Rev. Mr., Gross-Quenstadt.  
 Tacke, Rev. Mr., Westdorf.  
 Thilo, Rev. Mr., Schwanebeck.  
 Thisius, Rev. Mr., Bollenbey.  
 Topp, Rev. Mr., Glothe.  
 Voigt, Rev. Mr., Halle.  
 Wagner, Rev. Mr., Afchersleben.  
 Weiss, Rev. Mr., Schkenditz.  
 Wemhack, Rev. Mr., Hansneindorf.  
 Zscheyge, Rev. Mr., Schweinitz.

(m) PROVINCE OF SILESIA (39).

Behrens, Rev. Mr., Breslau.  
 Biedermann, Rev. Mr., Maiwaldan.  
 Borchardt, Student, Gross Glogan.  
 Bourgeois, Breslau.  
 Dewitz, Von, Candidat, Gnandenfeld.  
 Drischel, Rev. Mr., Warmbrunn.

Edward, Rev. Mr., Breslau.  
 Floter, Rev. Mr., Neusladel.  
 Gilet, Rev. Mr., Breslau.  
 Grassmann, Rev. Mr., Podrosche.  
 Haebnel, Rev. Mr., Buchwald.  
 Hanke, Rev. Mr., Bellmansdorf.  
 Hartmann, Rev. Mr., Breslau.  
 Hubert, Rev. Mr., Oberlichtenau.  
 Jacobi, Rev. Mr., Herrnsdorf.  
 Jacobs, Professor, Oberlichtenau.  
 Jahn, Dr., Oberlichtenau.  
 Jonas, Mr., Oberlichtenau.  
 Jungnitz, Teacher, Oberlichtenau.  
 Klinker, Rev. Mr., Liegnitz.  
 Kostercal, Rev. Mr., Gorlitz.  
 Lange, Rev. Mr., Breslau.  
 Lierke, Dr., Schnellewalde.  
 Matschat, Rev. Mr., Gnadenfrey.  
 Meissner, Rev. Mr., Primkenau.  
 Nowotny, Dr., Petershain.  
 Paulack, Rev. Mr., Ruhland.  
 Pfeiffer, Rev. Mr., Radmeritz.  
 Pohl, Candidat, Oberweistriz.  
 Polko, Rev. Mr., Rosenberg.  
 Pritzel, Colporteur, Rauffe.  
 Rohricht, Mr., Bunzlan.  
 Romann, Rev. Mr., Breslau.  
 Rudolp, Colporteur, Breslau.  
 Siegert, Rev. Mr., Alt Rohrsdorf.  
 Stephany, Mr., Frankenstein.  
 Uttendorfer, Teacher, Niesky.  
 Ziegler, Teacher, Galitz.  
 Zukertort, Rev. Mr., Breslau.

## (2) PROVINCE OF WESTPHALIA (18).

Baumer, Rev. Mr., Rock.  
 Brepohl, Mr., Bielefeld.  
 Burchardt, Rev. Mr., Altena.  
 Cramer, Candidat, Unna.  
 Davidis, Rev. Mr., Polkum.  
 Essellen, Rev. Mr., Raumland.  
 Gobel, Rev. Mr., Bodelschwingh.  
 Hengstenberg, Rev. Mr., Bochum.

Kaiser, Rev. Mr., Hennen.  
 Koch, Rev. Mr., Warburg.  
 Pajenstecher, Mr. G., Lienen.  
 Platzhoff, Rev. Mr., Hamm.  
 Rottcher, Student, Halle.  
 Schmolder, Rev. Mr., Oestrich.  
 Schollenbmck, Rev. Mr., Schwelm.  
 Stahler, Rev. Mr., Mussen.  
 Winckel, Rev. Mr., Berleburg.

## (o) PRINCIPALITY OF HOHENZOLLERN (1).

Jungck, Rev. Mr., Sigmaringen.

## (p) KINGDOM OF HANOVER (9).

Held, Rev. Mr., Gottingen.  
 Merlecker, Rev. Mr., Osterode.  
 Meyer, Rev. Mr., Narnelsloh.  
 Queckenstedt, Mr., Hanover.  
 Schlager, LL.D., Hanover.  
 Schlager, D.D., Hanover.  
 Uhlemann, Dr., Gottingen.  
 Walther, Rev. Mr., Rehburg.  
 Wittichen, Candidat, Niedergandern.

## (q) ELECTORAL HESSE (7).

Hartert, Student, Marburg.  
 Henke, Professor, Marburg.  
 Heppe, Professor, Marburg.  
 Hitzeroth, Student, Marburg.  
 Mangold, Professor, Marburg.  
 Rothsuchs, Student, Witzenhausen.  
 Weissenborn, Professor, Marburg.

## (r) GRAND-DUCHY OF HESSE (8).

Eich, Dr., Worms.  
 Hamm, Dr., Darmstadt.  
 Kritzler, Rev. Mr., Crumbach.  
 Kraetzing, Teacher, Darmstadt.  
 Kunzel, Professor, Darmstadt.  
 Molenaar, Rev. Mr., Monsheim.  
 Sell, Rev. Mr., Nieder, Modau.  
 Vogel, Advocate, Darmstadt.



## (s) PRINCIPALITY OF LIPPE DETMOLD (1).

Klemme, Rev. Mr., Haustenbeck.

## (t) GRAND-DUCHIES OF MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN AND STRELITZ (11).

Engels, Rev. Mr., Selow.

Fischer, Candidat, Mirow.

Giesebrecht, Prepositus, Miron.

Herrmann, Candidat, Gr. Daberkow.

Kindler, Rev. Mr., Kladron.

Kracht, Rev. Mr., Woldegk.

Manecke, Mr., Duggenkoppel.

Rohrdantz, Mr., Dutzow.

• Schultze, Mr., Mecklenburg.

Sellmer, Rev. Mr., Gohren.

Sperling, Rev. Mr., Lubchin.

## (u) DUCHY OF NASSAU (1.)

Kurtz, Rev. Mr., Dachsenhausen.

## (v) GRAND-DUCHY OF OLDENBURG (4).

Bohlken, Rev. Mr., Oldenburg.

Groning, Rev. Mr., Oldenburg.

Remmers, Rev. Mr., Jever.

Thaden, Rev. Mr., Oldorf.

## (w) KINGDOM OF SAXONY (12).

Bohmel, Rev. Mr., Tancha.

Bottger, Rev. Mr., Dresden.

Braner, Rev. Mr., Drevenack.

Grossmann, Rev. Superintendent, Grimma.

Kohlschutter, Dr. Superintendent, Dresden.

Kruger, L., Senr., Dresden.

Mathieson, Teacher, Herrnhut.

Pasch, Candidat, Grossenstein.

Schroder, Rev. Mr., Oelsen.

Teichgraber, Rev. Mr., Oberlonsnitz.

Wahl, Rev. Mr., Kaschenbrode.

Zaslin, Teacher, Herrnhut.

## (x) DUCHY OF SAXE ALTENBURG (2).

Kloetzner, Rev. Mr., Superintendent, Eisenberg.

Nitzalnadel, Rev. Dr., Hermsdorf.

## (y) GRAND-DUCHY OF SAXE WEIMAR (1).

Muller, Rev. Mr., Ruhla.

## (z) KINGDOM OF WURTEMBERG (13).

Barth, Dr., Calw.  
 Blaich, Martin, Zwerenberg.  
 Diestilbarth, Rev. Mr., Metzingen.  
 Gottheil, Rev. Mr., Canstatt.  
 Haas, Rev. Mr., Ruith.  
 Hahn, Rev. Mr., Tubingen.  
 Hardegg, Mr., Kirschenhardhof.  
 Herwig, Candidat, Wurtemberg.  
 Hoffmann, Mr., Kirschenhardhof.  
 Kapff, Rev. Prelate Von, Stuttgart.  
 Link, Rev. Mr., Stuttgart.  
 Mosapp, Rev. Mr., Mainhardt.  
 Stendel, Rev. Mr., Ravensburg.

## 5. FRANCE (14).

Fisch, Rev. G., Paris.  
 Garve, Mr., Nismes.  
 Grandpierre, Rev. Dr., Paris.  
 Heimpel-Boissier, Mr., Nismes.  
 Matter, Mr., Strasburg.  
 Matter, Rev. Mr., Neuwillers.  
 Meyer, Rev. Mr., Lyons.  
 Monod, Rev. Jean, Nismes.  
 Pressensé, Rev. E. De, Paris.  
 Rivier, Rev. Mr., Anonay.  
 Scheffer, Rev. Mr., Jagerthal.  
 Stober, Rev. Mr., Mulhausen.  
 Stromwald, Professor, Paris.  
 Wallbaum, Mr., Rheims.

## 6. GREECE (1).

King, Rev. Dr., Athens.

## 7. GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND (165).

Alcock, Rev. J., Dublin.  
 Alexander, Rev. Will. L., D.D., Edinburgh.  
 Alford, Henry, Dean of Canterbury.

- Anderson, David, Esq., Glasgow.  
 Anderson, Rev. Hugh, Bratton, Westbury.  
 Anderson, Rev. John, Kilsyth, Glasgow.  
 Annendale, James, Esq., Newcastle.  
 Banks, Rev. James, Kilmarnock, Scotland.  
 Batty, Rev. Edmund, London.  
 Baxter, Rev. J. C., Dundee.  
 Baynes, Rev. R. H., London.  
 Birrell, Rev. C. M., Liverpool.  
 Bernau, Rev. Mr., Belvedere, Kent.  
 Betts, Rev. John C. A., Whittington, Lancashire.  
 Bewley, Henry, Esq., Dublin.  
 Bloomfield, Lord, Ambassador to Prussia.  
 Broad, —, Esq., London.  
 Brook, Rev. W., London.  
 Bunsen, Ernst, Esq., London.  
 Bunting, Rev. W. M., M.A., London.  
 Burnett, Alex. G., Esq., Kemnay House, Aberdeen.  
 Buxton, Sir Edward, Baronet, London.  
 Cairns, Rev. John, Berwick.  
 Cameron, Rev. Andrew, Edinburgh.  
 Capper, John, Esq., Upper Clapton, London.  
 Chalmers, Rev. William, London.  
 Coldstream, John, M.D., Edinburgh.  
 Cornwall, Rev. A. G., M.A., Rector of Deverstone.  
 Crichton, Rev. George, Liverpool.  
 Cunningham, A. W., Esq., Edinburgh.  
 Cunningham, James, Esq., Edinburgh.  
 Dallas, Rev. Alex., London.  
 Davidson, Dr. Benj., London.  
 Davis, G. H., Esq., London.  
 Dill, Rev. Richard, Dublin.  
 Dobson, Rev. Mr., Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, London.  
 Doke, Rev. Mr.  
 Duncan, Dr. M. B., Dublin.  
 Eardley, Sir Culling E., Baronet, President of the British Organisation  
     of the Evangelical Alliance.  
 Easton, Rev. M. G., Girvan, Ayr, Scotland.  
 Eckett, Rev. Robert, London.  
 Evans, Rev. John, B.A., Stockport.  
 Everett, Rev. James, Newcastle-on-Tyne.  
 Farmer, Thomas, Esq., Acton, Middlesex.  
 Fenner, W., London.  
 Finch, John, Esq., Treasurer of the Evangelical Alliance, London.

- Findlay, Rev. W., Fraserburgh, Scotland.  
 France, Rev. Will., Paisley, Scotland, N.B.  
 Fremantle, Rev. W. R., Rector of Claydon, Bucks.  
 Freede, Banker, Melrose, Scotland.  
 Friedberg, Julius, London.  
 Gaunt, Matthew, Esq., Stafford  
 Gausson, Charles, Esq., Dublin.  
 Gehle, Dr., London.  
 Gell, Rev. Frederic, M.A., London.  
 Gibson, Rev. Mr., Melrose, Scotland,  
 Gladstone, T. H., Esq., Stockwell.  
 Glyn, Rev. Carr John, Rector of Witchampton, Dorset.  
 Graham, Thomas H., Esq., Edmond Castle, near Carlisle.  
 Hall, Esq., London.  
 Harris, Rev. William, Leamington.  
 Harrison, G. R., Wakefield.  
 Heidenheim, Dr. M., Kilburn, London.  
 Henderson, John, Esq., Glasgow.  
 Hendry, Rev. Mr., Crail, Scotland.  
 Heptonstall, W., Esq., London.  
 Herschell, Rev. D. A., London.  
 Herschell, Rev. R. H., London.  
 Hill, Robert, Esq., Stirling.  
 Hinton, Rev. J. H., London, Secretary of the Baptist Union.  
 Hoby, Rev. Dr., Twickenham.  
 Hoppus, John, LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of University College, London.  
 Horschel, Rev. Daniel, London.  
 Howard, John Eliot, Sen., Tottenham.  
 Howard, John Eliot, Jun., Tottenham.  
 Hunter, Rev. Hugh, Nottingham.  
 Isaacs, Rev. Mr., London.  
 Jackson, Rev. E., Bartley.  
 Jardine, Dr., Brighton.  
 Jenkinson, Rev. Mr., Battersea, London.  
 Jones, Rev. Edward, London.  
 Jones, Rev. J. Herbert, M.A., Liverpool.  
 Keedy, Rev. William, Mile-end.  
 Ker, Rev. John, Glasgow.  
 King, Dr. Daniel, Glasgow.  
 Laischley, G., Esq., Southampton.  
 La Trobe, Rev. Peter, London.  
 Lawrie, Thomas M., Esq., Glasgow.  
 Leather, —, Esq., Liverpool.  
 Leighton, —, Esq., Edinburgh.



- Leitch, Rev. William, Monimail.  
Lloyd, Rev. William, Birmingham.  
Lord, James, Esq., London.  
Lord, Rev. Isaac, Ipswich.  
Luke, Rev. Samuel, Clifton, Bristol.  
Mac Ewan, Rev. Alexander, Glasgow.  
Macfarlane, George, Esq., Glasgow.  
Macfarlane, Rev. Dr. John, Glasgow.  
Macfie, Robert Andrew, Esq., Liverpool.  
Mac Gill, Rev. H. M., Glasgow.  
Mac Gregor, Rev. Alexander, Kilwinning.  
Maunder, Frederic, Esq., Barnstaple.  
Millingan, Rev. W., Kileunquhar, Scotland.  
Mitchell, Rev. Alex., Dunfermline, Fife, Scotland.  
Morris, W., Esq., London.  
Noel, Hon. and Rev. B. W., London.  
Nussey, Rev. H., Nice.  
Oldham, David, Esq., Macclesfield.  
Palk, Edward, Alderman, Southampton.  
Pearson, B. C., Esq., Hull.  
Pease, Thomas, Esq., Henbury-hill, Bristol.  
Philpot, Rev. Benjamin, Archdeacon, Canterbury  
Philpot, Rev. William, Walesby, England.  
Pope, Rev. Mr., Hull.  
Prout, Rev. E. T., Northampton.  
Pulling, Rev. John, Deptford, Kent.  
Rees, Rev. Henry, Liverpool.  
Reichardt, Rev. Mr., London.  
Rigg, Rev. Mr., London.  
Roberts, Rev. John, Liverpool.  
Robertson, David, Glasgow.  
Robertson, John, Glasgow.  
Robertson, Patrick, Glasgow.  
Robertson, Rev. W. B., Irvine.  
Robson, John, D.D., Glasgow.  
Rome, Rev. T. L., Hull.  
Rosenthal, W. L., Willenhall.  
Rouse, Stud. Theol., London.  
Rowan, Michael R., Esq., Glasgow.  
Russell, Rev. Joshua, Greenwich.  
Salomon, C., London.  
Schmettau, Rev. H., London.  
Scott, Rev. G., Liverpool.  
Sherman, Rev. James, Blackheath.

- Slater, Rev. George, Holme Mills, near Knutsford.  
 Smith, Rev. George, Secretary of the Congregational Union of England  
 and Wales, Poplar, London.  
 Smith, John, Esq., Irvine.  
 Smith, Rev. K. H., Dundee.  
 Smyth, Rev. Dr., London.  
 Smyth, Raffles, London.  
 Spicer, James, Esq., London.  
 Spicer, R. James, London.  
 Stabb, John, London.  
 Steane, Edward, D.D., Honorary Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance.  
 Stedman, Mr., Hampstead.  
 Stiphon, W. E., London.  
 Stone, Rev. William, Hackney, London.  
 Strousberg, —, Esq., London.  
 Sutherland, G. S., Esq., Edinburgh.  
 Tidman, Rev. Dr., London.  
 Turner, John, Esq., Glasgow.  
 Tweedie, Rev. Dr., Edinburgh.  
 Vine, Rev. M. H., London.  
 Wallace, Mr., Edinburgh.  
 Warton, W. H., Esq., London.  
 Waschitschet, Missionary, London.  
 Watson, —, Esq., Newcastle.  
 Watson, Rev. Archibald, Glasgow.  
 Waterston, Rev. Mr., Edinburgh.  
 Williams, W., Esq., Liverpool.  
 Williams, Rev. J. de Kewer, Bayswater.  
 Winsor, F. A., Esq., Lincoln's-inn Fields, London.  
 Young, Henry, Esq., Captain, Bedford.

## 8. HOLLAND (11).

- Andel, Rev. Von, Amsterdam.  
 Bervoets, Rev. Mr., Hague.  
 Bockhurst, Mr., Amsterdam.  
 Capadose, Dr., Hague.  
 Geerd, Rev. Dr., Bunschoten.  
 Gerdes, Rev. Mr., Amsterdam.  
 Jamieson, Rev. W., Amsterdam.  
 Linden, Baron von, Nymingen.  
 Liefde, Rev. J., Amsterdam.  
 Looman, Mr., President, Amsterdam.  
 Racine, D. H., Amsterdam.

## 9. ITALY (1).

Kind, Rev. P., Milan.

## 10. RUSSIA (12).

Backmann, Rev. Mr., St. Petersburg.  
 Bahr, Baron von, Edwahlen.  
 Blafield, Rev. Mr., Kuopio, Finland.  
 Berkholz, Rev. Dr., Riga.  
 Bruckner, Candidat, St. Petersburg.  
 Bruckner, Student, St. Petersburg.  
 Frommann, Mr., St. Petersburg.  
 Glitsch, Mr., Sarepta.  
 Grunewaldt, Von, Revel.  
 Nielsen, Rev. Mr., St. Petersburg.  
 Schwebs, Von, Privy Councillor, Revel.  
 Vogdt, General, Revel.

## 11. SARDINIA (1).

Malan, Rev. Professor, Latour.

## 12. SWEDEN AND NORWAY (2).

Mollersward, Rev. Mr., Stockholm.  
 Muns, Candidat, Christiania.

## 13. SWITZERLAND (12).

Appia, Dr., Geneva.  
 Chappuis, Professor, Lausanne.  
 Eymar, Rev. Mr., Geneva.  
 Legrand, Rev. Mr., Basle.  
 Guggenbuhl, Dr., Abendberg.  
 Hofer, Rev. Mr., Zurich.  
 Merle d'Aubigné, Rev. Dr., Geneva.  
 Pronier, Candidat, Geneva.  
 Rivier, Mr. Th., Lausanne.  
 Schlienz, Rev. Mr., Chrischona.  
 Schlottmann, Professor, Zurich.  
 Zust, Mr., Herden.

## 14. SPAIN (1).

Mora, An. Her. de, Professor, Madrid.

15. TURKEY (2).

Dwight, Rev. Dr., Constantinople.  
Catujian, Rev., Constantinople, Armenian Pastor.

16. HUNGARY (8).

Ballagi, Dr. Professor, Pesth.  
Duzs, Rev., Pesth.  
Hornyansky, Dr. Von, Pesth.  
Kolbenheyer, Rev. Dr., Oeldenburg.  
Kovazs, Student, Pesth.  
Malatidu, A., Teacher, Lajos, Komarom.  
Szekacz, Rev., Pesth.  
Szeberiniski, Rev., Schemnitz.







